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TERRORISM IN BENGAL

A Collection of Documents

VOLUME II

Compiled and Edited
by
AMIYA K. SAMANTA
DIRECTOR
Intelligence Branch

Government of West Bengal
Calcutta
1995

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TERRORISM IN BENGAL

VOLUME II

Compiled and Edited by :

AMIYA K. SAMANTA
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Intelligence Branch

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INTRODUCTION

The second volume of 'Terrorism in Bengal' contains the following printed notes and reports :

- Anushilan Samiti, Dacca, Part-I, H. L. Salkeld, Magistrate on special duty, 1908.
- Anushilan Samiti, Dacca, Part-II, H. L. Salkeld, Magistrate on special duty, 1908.
- Anushilan Samiti, Dacca, Part-III, H. L. Salkeld, Magistrate on special duty, 1908.
- Anushilan Samiti, Dacca, Part-IV, H. L. Salkeld, Magistrate on special duty, 1908.
- An account of the Revolutionary Organisations in Bengal other than the Dacca Anushilan Samiti - compiled by J. C. Nixon, 1917.
- An account of the Revolutionary Organisation in Eastern Bengal with special reference to Dacca Anushilan Samiti, Vol-I, Part I and II : J. E, Armstrong, Superintendent of Police on special duty, 1917.
- An account of the Revolutionary Organisation in Eastern Bengal with Special Reference to Dacca Anushilan Samiti, Vol. II : J. E. Armstrong, Superintendent of Police on special duty, 1917.
- Note on the Jugantar Gang subsequent to the search of Maniktala Garden - G. C. Denham, 1909.
- Report on the Samities in the Dacca division, Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1908.
- Report on Shri Sangha, Dacca, upto 1929 - R. E. A. Ray.
- Report on the Jugantar Party in Dinajpur - R. E. A. Ray.
- Note on Kalyan Sangha in Tippera - R. E. A. Ray, 1932

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- Note on Tripura Anushilan Samiti by Gopal Chakravarty of Tripura D.I.B.
- Brief life sketches of (1) Satish Chandra Chatterjee, (2) Pulin Behari Das, (3) Bhupesh Chandra Nag and (4) Surendranath Sen.

While the notes and reports incorporated in the first volume have dealt with the actual terrorist movement and its potentiality and trend, the reports in this volume deal with the principal revolutionary orgnisations, like the Jugantar Party and the Anushilan Samiti which inculcated militant nationalism through physical and mental training among the students and youth, a good number of whom eventually took to revolutionary terrorism. Although the headquarters of these orgnisations were in Bengal, their network spread to entire North India. Consequently the terrorist activities outside Bengal have been dealt with in some of these reports.

The four volumes by H. C. Salkeld, magistrate on special duty, contain an analytical account of the ideology, organisation and objective of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti on the basis of the books, registers and other documents seized from the Samiti's office. H. C. Salkeld succeeded B. C. Allen, as D.M., Dacca. Allen was shot by unknown persons at Goalando station on December 23, 1907, but he survived. In 1908 when the existence of the Anushilan Samiti as a revolutionary organisation was unearthed, he was appointed a magistrate on special duty to look into the affairs of the Samiti. Salkeld, notwithstanding the inescapable bias common to the British officers of his time, did his job exceedingly well.

The Dacca Anushilan Samiti was formed in November, 1905 in the wake of the Partition of Bengal, ostensibly for "the improvement of Bengali youth by the promotion of discipline and physical exercise". The Government took a serious view of its activities, much of which till the end of 1908 was unknown. Till then the Government used to

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consider it as a disciplined, philanthropic organisation. Only after the unearthing of the arms and explosives at Maniktala and the resultant Alipur Bomb case in 1908, the existence of this well-knit organisation came to light. In view of such revelations. F. C. Daly, the then D.I.G. in charge of the Special Branch (as the Intelligence Branch used to be called at the time) recommended legal action against the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. Daly wrote, "The Dacca Anushilan Samiti was more rapid in its advance, more businesslike in its organisation and more daring in its deeds, perhaps owing to the fact that the young Bengali of Eastern Bengal and Assam is generally ahead of the young Bengali of this province, (after the Partition of 1905, Western Bengal constituted a separate province) in natural audacity and physical courage". Daly, in fact, wanted the Government to apply the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act XIV of 1908, which apart from providing for a very speedy and one-sided trial where "the accused shall not be present during an enquiry, unless the magistrate directs, nor shall he be represented by a pleader during any such enquiry", enjoins, in section 15, "If the Governor-General-in-Council is of opinion that any association interferes or has for its objects interference with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of the law and order, or that it constitutes a danger to the public peace, the Governor General-in-Council may, by notification in the official gazette, declare such association to be unlawful".

Accordingly under Section 15(2)(b) of this amended law, in January, 1909, five Samities, namely (i) Anushilan Samiti, headquarters Dacca, (ii) Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, headquarters Barisal, (iii) Brati Samiti, headquarters Faridpur, (iv) Surhid Samiti, headquarters Mymensingh, (v) Shadhana Samaj, headquarters Mymensingh, were banned - But before that the Anushilan Samiti's office at 50 Wari,

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Dacca and later on at 452 South Maisundi, Dacca were searched thrice along with the houses of Pulin Behari Das and Bhupesh Chandra Nag of Dacca. Salkeld, who was district magistrate of Dacca, was made magistrate on special duty, and the Dacca Anushilan Samiti became the subject matter of his special enquiries. Over 1400 documents, books and various types of records and registers were seized from the headquarters and other offices of the Samiti. Salkeld analysed them, and put the results of his year - long hard work in these four volumes. He was still engaged in the work at the time of this death in the September 1909.

Salkeld made a critical evaluation of each and every document and tried to bring out the import of them. In doing so, one of his objectives was certainly to establish the culpability of the documents and ultimately of the Samiti, in the light of the legal provisions then in force. But at the same time he tried to glean out the strength of the organisation, the depth of the inspiration the members derived from the study of various literature, and the spread of the organisation by identifying, as far as possible, persons connected with the Samiti, and the areas covered by its network. He also could make out a clear outline of the organisational structure of the Samiti and their discipline and devotion to the assigned job. On the occasion of big fairs, or religious gatherings, the members of the Samiti used to work as volunteers in helping and assisting people, controlling the crowd etc. with the sanction of the local authority. Thus they created a very favourable impression on the public mind as well as on the local administration. Salkeld as district magistrate had used the services of the volunteers of the Anushilan Samiti in a religious fair, but later on when he came to know about the real aim of the volunteers, he sounded a note of warning, "Now that the true character of the Samiti organisation has been unmasked. I would deprecate strongly any further recognition of volunteers on these occasions. The services rendered to individuals have been purchased at much too dear a price. These remarks cover all

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Samities whether Anushilan, Surhid, Brati or other, for all unite as Sebaks".

The volumes by H. C. Salkeld are, therefore, primary source of information about a revolutionary organisation of tremendous significance. As a matter of fact, it will not be much exaggeration to state that without the help of these four volumes the study of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti will remain incomplete. All these four parts together, it is learnt, are not available either in the State or the National Archives. The reprint of all the four parts, it is presumed, will be useful for scholars and academics.

The two volumes of "An Account of the Revolutionary Organisations in Eastern Bengal with Special Reference to the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, by J. E. Armstrong, Superintendent of Police on special duty and formerly S. P. Mazaffarpur during the bomb attack, are based on intelligence reports, Salkeld's volumes, and the reports of Daly and Hutchinson on the history of the movement prior to 1914 (printed in Volume I). These two volumes record the growth of various nationalist and revolutionary organisations and try to make a comparative assessment of their potential. It may also be noted here that all the facts about the terrorists organisations and their activities did not come to light at one time, and as such some new facts are found to have been incorporated in the accounts prepared by Armstrong in 1917. He, no doubt, got the advantage of Salkeld's analysis and the narratives of Daly and Hutchinson; thus he succeeded in making his account more comprehensive, systematic and useful. It may be pertinent to note here that Armstrong has left two more slender but useful booklets on the Calcutta Riots of 1926 which he had to handle as officiating police chief of the city.

An Account of the Revolutionary Organisations in Bengal, other than the Dacca Anushilan Samiti by J. C. Nixon, an officer of the provincial Home Department, was compiled mostly from the intelligence reports and the court records. Nixon also had

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opportunity to see reports from other non-police agencies and from the Home Government in England. He very rightly did not want to go over the same ground dealt with by Salkeld; but he has added two important chapters, one of foreign connections and the other on extra-provincial connections of the Bengal terrorists. Besides, this volume throws considerable light on various small revolutionary organisations in different parts of the province of Bengal. Additionally he has given graphic representation of the intensity of terrorist violence in Bengal upto 1917, and has painstakingly made out tables and charts not only to bring out the level of violence at different periods, but also to indicate the involvement of the individuals in it. Interestingly, though Nixon claims this to be a compilation, he has freely expressed his views about the revolutionaries and their organisations.

The "Note on the Jugantar Gang – subsequent to the search of the Maniktala Garden," by G. C. Denham, is in fact, a record of the persons who were associated or suspected to have been associated with the Jugantar party. Some of them were convicted, but quite a large number of them were underground. Denham has given a very matter-of-fact account of these persons, on the basis of the reports he received as Special Assistant to the D.I.G., C.I.D., and Special Branch. He has also described one or two political decoities committed by the "Bhadralok" criminals. It is a factual compilation, in which no opinion or views have been expressed, nor is there much scope for such expression of views.

The "Report on the Samities in the Dacca division, Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1908," is one of the earliest accounts of the Samities, which were suspected to have fanned the flame of militant nationalist sentiment, if not directly involved in terrorist violence. As noted above, the discovery of a good number of firearms and explosives in the garden house at Maniktala and the bomb incident at Muzaffarpur had rudely shaken the Government to a realisation that the militant spirit had spread quite extensively in the province, and it was time that the Government should try to snuff out the anti-British feeling. The first report in this compilation is from B. C. Allen, district magistrate, Dacca, dated

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21st October, 1907, a few months before the Muzaffarpur incident (April 1908) or the search in the Maniktala Garden (May 1908). In forwarding a very comprehensive report from the local police Allen felt an uneasiness at the open inculcation of militancy among the students and youth, and considered the Anushilan Samiti as "an unwholesome one."

But still he felt, "till the society or its members do anything to bring themselves within the clutches of the law, or assume a more aggressive attitude than they do at present, there hardly seems a case for adopting special measures". The police report apart from mentioning the names of the leaders and branches of the Samiti gave a very elaborate narration of various types of exercises, like lathi, dagger and sword play, free-hand exercises and unarmed combat. Squad drill was regularly taught and practised.

By the time Salkeld as magistrate on special duty wrote this first report on the Samiti on December 10, 1908, it was known that the Anushilan Samiti had an office at 49 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, that it had many branches in Bengal, and outside Bengal and that "its members had walked about barefoot on the occasion of Khudiram's, Kanailal's and Satyendra Nath's execution" and that "had also rejoiced at the killing of Nandalal Banerjee."

Further the report contains a fairly exhaustive list of other pro-nationalist samities, all of which were not necessarily terrorist or underground societies. In fact, in respect of a few, like the Jubak Samiti, Silchar, the note itself says, "politically it is of no importance". Some of the samities had not terrorist or even militant orientation, though individual members might have joined the terrorist revolutionaries subsequently. All India Volunteers League with Bal Gangadhat Tilak as its President was widely known for its voluntary service on various occasions, but did not subsequently play very significant role in politics. On the contrary, the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti of Barisal, with its widespread

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network of branch samitis, had a plan and programme for rural reconstruction, and a distinct nationalist and Swadeshi orientation. But it was not an organisation encouraging terrorism in the country. In the aftermath of the outbreak of organised terrorism in 1908, and the unearthing of the plans of the Jugantar Party and Anushilan Samiti, the British administration started suspecting all samities, socities and organisations and generally failed to differentiate between a democratic nationalist movement and secret conspiratorial activities. They were so much overtaken by the contemporary events, that it was not possible to make such distinctions, not to speak of making an objective assessment. This aspect, I think, is required to be borne in mind, while using these materials for serious historical studies.

The other four reports and notes belong to a later period from 1929 to 1932. Shri Sangha of Dacca (1930) and Kalyan Sangha of Tripua (1932) had more or less similar objectives. These notes reveal the functioning of the small organisations with significant commonality in their organisational structure. Reminiscences of some of the former members of these organisations have corroborated the accounts given here. In this context, the observation by Prof. Sumit Sarkar that "they (official sources) tend to categorise the revolutionaries into neat groups, no doubt with an eye to future prosecution advantages," does not appear to be borne out by the fact on the ground. The groups among the revolutionaries did exist, and at times rivalry was also noticed though it was never very intense, as they pursued almost similar methods and a common objective. As a matter of fact, not much of prosecution advantage was likely to have accrued from the existence of such groups, as each group used to keep their secrets closely guarded not merely from other organisations, but from its members who were not required to know them. There were, therefore, distinct terrorist groups though they were not often inimical to each other. It is unfortunate that Prof. Sarkar was denied the opportunity to see all the materials on the subject, and that is why perhaps he thinks the difference was merely an official ploy.

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The National schools and their association with the samities have been mentioned in these reports. Some note and reports on the National schools are available. They did play a vital role in giving a nationalist orientation to a vast mass of students, although they did not encourage terrorism not did they have conscious linkages with underground organisations. The general suspecion in the official circle appear to have originated from the fact that Pulin Behari Das of the Anushilan Samiti was a teacher in the National school at Wari, Dacca. The available notes on the National schools will be incorporated in a separate volume.

Further, four short biographical sketches of the leaders of the Anushilan Samiti are incorporated here. They are not 'history sheets', as the biographical sketches are known in intelligence and police parlance, but are brief accounts of these persons' involvement in the underground organisation and Swadeshi movement, and an overall assessment of their personality and potentiality as political leaders, prepared on the basis of contemporary reports. Thus they will be of considerable importance to the scholars. Incidentally, I have refrained from reprinting the history sheets of political activitists, very few of which are now available in the Branch office. As a matter of fact, presently only seven printed history sheets of (i) Jitendra Lal Banerjee, (ii) Basanta Sarkar, (iii) K. B. Datta, (iv) Ismail Hossain Seraji, (v) Mahendralal Lahiri, (vi) Nishi Kanta Basu and (vii) Kalimohan Ghosh are available in the Branch. I presume they and many more are available in the State and National Archives, and in the State Secretariat Library.

I have taken care to print the reports as they are without any change, and as a consequence some references to pages and paras have been printed. They should have been omitted as they are redundant. For instance, in J. E. Armstrong's notes there are references to paras and pages in Salkeld's report which, when reprinted in this volume, do not conform to the page numbers in

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the original report. There are some references to the office files which are neither available nor necessary as crucial and relevant informations from these files have been incorporated in the notes. The page and para references in some of the notes may, therefore, be ignored.

Some of the notes belonging to the period from 1908 to 1917 have become very fragile, and will soon go the way of all flesh. But for the financial assistance from the Government of West Bengal to reprint them and other such notes, they would have been lost for ever.

Amiya K. Samanta
Director
Intelligence Branch
West Bengal

Calcutta

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ANUSILAN SAMITI DACCA

PART I

H. L. Salkeld, Esq., I.C.S.
Magistrate on special duty

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SECTION I

The Anushilan Organisation :—The Anushilan Organisation does not state its ultimate object in the various vows which its members are required to take. But the ultimate is clear from the authoritative records of the Samiti.

A village, as opposed to the Central Samiti, is organised as follows :—

1. Adhyaksha - "Chief, also called Pradhan Sampadak "Head Secretary".
2. Sampadak - "Secretary".
3. Dalpati - Leader of a "dal" of band of 10.
4. Sikshak "Teachers" - Instructors, attached one to each band.
5. Sabhya "Members".
6. Samitir bahiranga - outer branch of the Samiti.

This division (see Arts. 23, 24 S. K.) is to consist of boys under 12 years of age who are to have the vows read over to them and be taught the simpler physical exercises, including some lathi-play.

(*Note* : An instance of boys under 12 having taken and signed an irrevocable vow is furnished by Exh. 935 - 15th November, see page 33).

There is to be an inspecting agency, presumably for the purpose of keeping village samitis up to one uniform standard and as one of the links with the Central Samiti.

These inspecting or visiting agents are called "Paridarshaks" and a pamphlet embodying their duties has been drawn up. It is called the "Paridarshak".

Connection of Paridarshak with other documents :— That the "Paridarshak" is an essential part of the literature dealing with organisation, although only manuscript copies of it have been found, is proved by the following among other considerations :

(a) A reference to Art. 6 of the printed form, called "Sampadakganer Karttabya", of which many copies have been found, e.g., Exh. 2 "ক search of Nalini Kumar Guha's house. Nos. 1240, 1241, 1195, 945 (1 dozen) of 15th November.

(b) A reference to a village note, and in particular to a series of abbreviations to denote the different branches of study in which the teachers of each village samiti are proficient. [1]

Numerous printed forms for recording all the points mentioned in the "Paridarshak," including a map of the village, have been found.

Two forms No. 31, 5th November

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Six	No. 1240.	15th November
Five	No. 1241.	15th November
Nine hundred and twenty forms	No. 40.	15th November
Two forms one containing two lines of the song "Jay Jay Bhagabati Sharane"	No. 614.	15th November
Six forms	No. 946.	
One form filled in for the village Balurghat. Dinajpur with a map	No. 1107.	15th November
One form filled in for village Adabari. Munshiganj. Dacca. with a map	No. 1097A	
One form found inside lathi-play book Exh. 953 and numbered 953	953	
Total	944	

Examination of the Paridarshak :— The "Paridarshak" will now be considered. The following have been found :

Exhibit 2. 10th August search

Exhibit 25. 6th November. Handwriting of Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta.

Exhibit 1114. 15th November. Pulin's handwriting - also contains address of Govinda Chandra Sen Gupta. Doctor. Madhyapara.

Exhibit 47. 15th November. One passage scored out

Exhibit 494. 15th November. Complete.

Exhibit 1039. 15th November Parts of Paridarshak.

Appointment of Paridarshaks :— The place and importance of the Paridarshak is further shown by the fact those entrusted with this inspection work. receive a formal parwana under the signature of Pulin Behari Das himself.

No. 32 - 5th November. consists of a parwana made out to Sriman Rebati Mohan Biswas with one alteration and one addition and signed by Pulin Behari Das. This name is found as writer of letter Exh. 490. Reg. XXXVII. See also distribution lists. Exhs. 810 and 1106. The second leaf of this parwana is taken up with an exhortation on the supreme necessity of obeying one leader. No. 32 consists also of the same printed form. with the same correction and addition and signed by Pulin Behari Das. but without any name of a Paridarshak filled in and with the second half of

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the sheet torn off.

Other examples are found in Exh. 1245 which consists of :

(a) 4 parwanas identical with No. 32 but with the second leaf cut off. There are the same additions and corrections and all are signed by Pulin Behari Das. and one parwana is made out in the name of Suresh Chandra Sen.
(This is probably Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta of Madhyapara. See Nos. 43 and 389. Probably also the "Suresh" mentioned in draft cipher letter of Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta No. 1125). See Volume II. page 97.

(b) 19 copies of this same parwana but a different impression. all signed by Pulin Behari Das but without an names filled in.

Another example of the second impression corrected is Exh. 733 where the parwana is made out to Indra Mohan Goswami and signed by Pulin Behari Das.

(P.C. Exh. 1122 is addressed to this Indra Mohann Goswami. letter Reg. XIV).

Exh. 941 is a written form of this credential signed by Pulin and addressed to Sukhamay Das Gupta alias Satish Chandra Das Gupta (Vol. II. page 65).

Exh. 942 is a printed credential with the independence leaflet.

The following portions of the parwana are noteworthy : "None will please suspect the Inspector bearing this letter signed by me to be a detective. No detective will be able to injure our samiti by collecting the information which the Inspector will record in this note book. Detectives cannot teach play."

The last portion of the parwana is a general invitation to members of mofussil samitis to bring to Pulin's notice or to the notice of Pulin's representative any lapses from duty on the part of Inspectors.

Further. the conjuction of this essary upon unity with a parwana addressed to mofussil samitis is most significant.

What is the object of all this discipline among the samitis. and in particular of the discipline involved in sending out peripatetic Inspectors ? The object is clearly stated as the attainment of "national and social independence." In the first paragraph the meaning though less explicit. is the same. The exhortation is - " Submit yourselves body and sould to one leader and the welfare of the country and of yourselves will be achieved." An essay written in Pulin's handwriting inculcating the same lesson is to be found in Exh. 26 of 5th November 1908.

In the last paragraph but one. it is stated that unless personal

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comfort and happiness be surrendered in favour of the leader, national and social independence is impossible. Without this indepdence, there will be unrest everywhere, misery and poverty will engulf everything: the upper classes will disappear in the lower classes and crores of people will perish by starvation or famine.

Evidence to show how important this leaflet on the attainment of "national and social independence" was in the propaganda of the Anushilan.

No. 39 consists of a bundle of printed papers.

There are four different impressions of this leaflet, numbering in all 1,347. Out of this total number, 1,338 are in form of single printed sheets; seven others are joined together with a printed notice issued by Pulin Behari Das. These double leaflets are distinguished as Exh. 39D. Again, there are two cases marked as 39G, in which these double notices are joined to two others, which give (1) the events for competition during the Janmastami time, and (2) directions to competitors to register their names with Manoranjan Gupta, of Gupta Company, Malitola, before 28th Sraban (13th August 1908). The date of the "Krira Pradarshani" or assault-at-arms, is fixed for 32nd Sraban, Sunday - apparently a mistake for 31st Sraban which is Sunday, 16th August.

The following close resemblances between the wording of this leaflet and of the Paridarsak are to be noted :

Leaflet :—

Second paragraph - corresponds to passage in page 7 of Exh. 1114.

Third paragraph - corresponds to page 8 of the same exhibit.

Last lines of last paragraph - corresponds to passage on page 6 of same exhibit.

Summary :— This leaflet is a clear statement that the object of the samitis existence is indepence.

It is found in large quantities; has been four times reprinted; is found conjoined with printed credentials; with notices used on an occasion when large numbers of persons came in from mofussil to Dacca.

Lastly, the fourth leaflet of the quarto marked 39G, of which 7 specimens conjoined with the social independence leaflet are separately marked as 39D, requires some notice. It is a very large document in its scope, and invites the opinion of "dwellers in the country" upon the proposed division of the whole of Bengal (Eastern Bengal and Assam not being recognised) into divisions and subdivisions with central and

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branch samitis. and the appointment of proper heads for these samitis. The proposals have been made because of the increase in members and branches of the Anushilan. Evidently the idea was current that a single central samiti like that at Dacca could not cope with all the work of organistion. What resulted from this proposal is not known.

Exh. 61 contains 114 copies of the two notices, two copies of the four notices together. three copies of the directions to competitors, 10 copies of the Anushilan notice only. and one copy of the social independence leaflet only. [2]

Paridarshaks

(1) Exh. 2 10th August.

(2) Exh. 25. 5th November.

(3) Exh. 1114. 15th November (Pulin's handwriting)

(4) Exh. 47. 15th Nobvember

(5) Exh. 494. 15th November

(6) Exh. 1039. 15th November portions. [3]

A study of these documents fails to reveal any passages showing that the samiti organisations were started and maintained for some lawful and laudable purpose.

The purpose nnot being stated. it remains to examine various significant passengers from which the inference will be irrestitible that the object of the association was unlawful. And if the association existed for an unlawful object. what exactly was that object ?

Noteworthy passages : (The vernacular quotations are from Exh. 1114.)

1. "You should. first of all all. express great sympathy with all matters which are particularly dear to the people of the locality. and then gradually draw their attention towards our object." What is "our object" ?

2. "In this connection you must explain to them that without unity and the power of protecting one's own self we cannot achieve success in any work. and that there can be no unity unless we remain under the guidance of one leader."

This is the same lesson as the independence leaflet.

3. "It should be explained to those who object to the taking of vows. that without vows only an undisciplined body will be created: and probably those who will receive training from us will form different organisations against us. and. in future. there will be no possibility of our having (the co-operation of) men without vows when the time for work comes. Consequently the time for

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the accomplishment of our cherished end will never present itselt."

The importance of binding every member by oath is to prevent defections and the formation of rival Samitis, "when the time for work comes."

What is the "work" meant and why is it not mentioned ? What is "our cherished end" ?

4. "In no country and at no time a powerful body or a military organisation has been, or ever can be, formed without hard and fast rules. Specially learnings which might be used against the preceptor, can never be imparted without considering the fitness of the recipient."

কোন দেশেই কোন কালেই বাঁধা বাঁধা নিয়ম ব্যতিরেকে শক্তি সম্প্রদায় কিম্বা সৈন্যদল গঠিত হয় নাই এবং হইতেও পারে না। বিশেষতঃ গুরুমারা বিদ্যা কখনও যোগ্যপাত্র বিবেচনা না করিয়া কাহাকেও শিখান যায় না।

In this passage "military organisation" is grammatically given as a casual particular examkple of that general discipline which the writer is recommending. But in reality it is "military organisation" alone and no other kind which the writle has in mind. This interpretation is borne out by the next sentence in particular and generally by the whole tenor of the writing. The গুরুমারা বিদ্যা means literally "the knowledge of the preceptor's fatal stroke" - an illustration from the art of fencing or swormanship - but is here used to mean proficiency in lathi, sord and dagger play in jiu-jitsu, drill management of horses and boats, target shooting, and in all the other exercises enumerated later. "Before you train you Samitis into military bands, be sure that you are only dealing with trustworthy members who will never break their oaths, or in the hour of danger the men whom you have trained may be induced to fight against you".

4. (a) যে অপরের হইতে পারে না, সে অপরকে অধীন রাখিতে পারে না।

"He who cannot submit to others cannot make others submit to him."

We find exactly the same idea expressed on page 78, Exh. 1001, Barttaman Rana Niti.

5. যাহারা না বুঝিয়া প্রতিজ্ঞা করে তাহাদিগকেও প্রতিজ্ঞার বলে অধীন রাখিতে পারা যাইবে। বিশেষতঃ প্রতিজ্ঞার কথা সর্বদা স্মরণ থাকিলেও ঐ নিয়মে সর্বদা চালিত হইতে হইতেই মন আপনা হইতেই ঐ প্রতিজ্ঞা পালনের উপযোগী হইয়া উঠিবে।

"Even those who make vows without understanding their

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significance can be kept under control by the strength of the vows. Expecially in constantly remembering the vows. and being constantly guided by these rules. the mind becomes of itself in a fit condition for obeying the vows."

This is the policy which finds expression i placing young boys and minors under the most stringent vows. See Exh. 935. translated at page 33.

Also statement of Ananta Mohan Chatterji. aged 14-9. dated 5th November.

Of Raj Kumar Dutt. aged 15. dated 7th November.

Of Narasingh Das of Sonamoyi. aged about 14. dated 7th November.

Of Hem Chandra Sarkar. aged about 13. dated 6th November.

Of Ganga Charan Dutt. aged about 13. dated 5th November.

6. যাহারা ভ্রষ্টপ্রতিজ্ঞ হইয়া সমিতি হইতে বিচ্ছিন্ন হইবে. ছলে. বলে. কৌশলে তাহাদিগকে সমিতির অধীন রাখিতে হইবে। সর্ব্বকার শাসন করিবার জন্য সাম. দান. ভেদ, দণ্ড প্রভৃতির সর্ব্বপ্রকার বন্দোবস্তই করিতে হইবে। কিন্তু কোন অস্থতে যেন সমিতির প্রতি কোনরূপ আপদ বিপদ উপস্থিত না হয়। যাহারা প্রশ্ন করেন যে সমস্ত সভ্য প্রতিজ্ঞা করিয়া ইচ্ছাপূর্ব্বক প্রতিজ্ঞা ভঙ্গ করিবে. তাহাদের বেলা কি করা হইবে. তাহাতের উত্তরে বলিতে হইবে যে প্রতিজ্ঞার বলে কতিপয় বিশিষ্ট সভ্য সর্ব্বদা সমিতির নেতার অধীন হইয়া চলিবেই। সেই সমস্ত সভ্যগণের সাহায্যে আমরা সমিতির ভ্রষ্টপ্রতিজ্ঞ সভ্যগণকে অনায়াসে শাসন করিয়া রাখিতে পারিব।

"Those who would separate themselves from the Samiti from a failure in obeying the vows have to be brought back under the Samiti by stratagem or force or artifice. In order to excercise control of all kinds. arrangements should be made for conciliation. or gifts. for circation of division or for the cudged. etc.[4] But we must careful that in no circumstances danger of any question how to deal with those members who. having taken the vows. deliberately break the vows. it must be said in reply that by the force of the vows some influential members will undoubtedly conduct themselves in obedience to (the orders of) the leadr of the Samiti. and by the help of all those members. we shall be able to keep the backsliders under our complete control."

This passage clearly recommends the use of violence. but with such care as not to involve the Samiti in any difficulty. e.g.. legal proceedings. Further on. the necessity of avoiding entanglements is urged. Nothing was to be done which might impede the quiet secret working of the

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Samiti towards its goal. but with this proviso any compulsion or physical force may be used in the interests of the Samiti.

7. প্রত্যেক গ্রামের উৎসাহ. উদ্যম. কার্যকারিতা. সুযোগ. সুবিধা. অসুবিধা. বাধা. বিঘ্ন. সৎ ও অসৎ লোকের বিবরণ সংক্ষেপে লিখিয়া আনিতে হইবে। এবং পথ. ঘাট. মাঠ. জল. বায়ু. বাড়ী. ঘর ইত্যাদির বিবরণ সংক্ষেপে লিখিয়া আনিতে হইবে।

"Brief notes shall be recorded about the enthusiasm. enterprise. capacity for work. opportunity. convenience. inconvenience. impediments. obstacles. and men. good and bad. in every village. and also about the natural features. such as roads. ghat field. climate. houses. etc."

The printed forms for recording these village notes are referred to on page 2. and the form is dealt with in detail at page 21.

৪. যে সমস্ত সভ্য সম্পাদকের অবাধ্য কিম্বা অন্য কোনরূপে প্রতিজ্ঞা ভঙ্গ করিতেছে তাহাদিগকে প্রতিজ্ঞা স্মরণ করাইয়া দিতে হইবে এবং হিন্দু সন্তান বলিয়া পরিচিত হইতে হইলে প্রতিজ্ঞা ভঙ্গ করিতে পারিবে না।

"Those members who are disobedient to the Sampadak. or are in any other breaking their vows. must be reminded of the vows. taken by them. and told (in sweet words) that if they want to be known as Hindu Santans. they must not break these vows. but if that proves unsuccessful. then recourse must be had to other methods."

[Compare also Exh. 27 of 5-11-08 in Pulin's handwriting (Raktabij) regarding breaking of vows.

The use of the word "Santans" taken from the Anandamath is significant. It is a stock phrase in revolutionary literature. to denote those who in their view and serving the Mother.

Examples : Exh. 382. Kabya Kusum. by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta. page 11. line 11; page 53. verse 12; and page 86. verse 6 ; Exh. 1108. Sangitabali. by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta. songs Nos. 2.8. and 9.

৯. এ বিষয়ে মিষ্ট কথায় বুঝাইয়া দিতে হইবে; তাহাতে ফল না হইলে অন্যান্য চেষ্টা দেখিতে হইবে।

This sentence is translated in No. (8) above.

This is another advocacy of violence.

10. আমাদের অন্তর্গত যে কোনও মিতির কোন সভ্য বিনা প্রতিজ্ঞায় কোনও স্থলে কাহাকেও খেলা শিখাইতেছে কি না তাহার সম্যক প্রতিকারের চেষ্টা দেখিতে হইবে। এই বিষয়ে গুরুতর দৃষ্টি রাখিতে হইবে।

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"Thorough investigation must be made whether any of the members of any Samiti included in ours has been teaching play to any one who has not taken the vows, and attempt should be made to remedy this effectually. In this matter strict vigilance must maintained."

This passage is important as showing that "play" - including lathi, sword and dagger play - cannot possibly be merely for the purpose of physical training; otherwise why the grave necessity of taking oaths before it is permissible to learn the play ? The necessity of the oath shows that the play has a hidden motive. The extraordinary connection between the oath and lathi-play is shnown by the repetition of the word "pratijna" on every page of the lathi-play books.

See for example 673, book of Dinesh Chandra Sen. Exhs. 692, 699.

Note here that by article 21 of S. K. those who have taken the first vow can only be instructed up to "the lesson in big lathi called 'Ranger bari' and the lesson in small lathi called 'Shyam Ghat' and the first lesson in dagger play; no higher lessons are to be imparted to them." And by article 22 "Instruction in all branches is to be imparted to those who have bound themselves by both sets of vows."

11. "সম্পাদকের কর্ত্তব্য ৬ষ্ঠ নিয়ম অনুযায়ী।

Under article 6 of the duties of Secretaries.

This article is as follows :—

When a new person comes to enrol himself a member, he wil first be required to give his antecedents, to say whether he had previously enrolled himself as a member of any other Samiti and to bind himself by oath to observe all the rules of the Samiti, and then he may be admitted into the Samiti, the address, place of residence, etc., of the in-coming member are to be legibly put down in the admission book. The following are the points on which information by way of introduction is to be obtained :—

(1) Name.
(2) Date.
(3) Age.
(4) Religion and nationality.
(5) Father's name and occupation.
(6) Guardian's name and occupation or real and local guardian. (See page 24)
(7) Akhara.
(8) Full address of present residence.
(9) Full address of permanent home.

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(10) Education. school. class. occupation. etc.

When anyone who was a member of any of the Samitis affiliated to this Samiti wants to secure a fresh admittance for h imself. his case must be thoroughly inquired into by examining his badge. etc.. and his name then entered in the attendance register. and not in the admission book. No one is to be admitted who is a non-Hindu or who has any spite against the Hindus.

12. সেই সমস্ত দলের নেতাগণকে প্রথমে ডাকিয়া মিষ্ট কথায় বুঝাইতে হইবে যে এই সময়ে দলাদলি করা নিতান্ত অসঙ্গত ও মারাত্মক।

"In those places where there is probability. or where first signs are visible. of a creation of different factions against our Samiti. the leaders of all such factions should in the first instance. be called and have explained to them in sweet words that to create factions at this time is most improper and fatal."

The reference to "this time" can only mean at the time of the present agitation. The political purpose of the pamphlet is made clear by this phrase. Still more explicit is the phrase used later in discussing the question of admitting Muhammadans. -

স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের প্রথমে যখন হিন্দু মুসলমান মিল হওয়ার চেষ্টা করা হইয়াছিল।

At the beginning of the Swadeshi agitation when an attempt was made to bring about union of Hindus and Muhammadans.

13. বিভিন্ন শিক্ষার সাঙ্কেতিক চিহ্ন :-যথা

The following are the symbols representing the different branches of study :

Compare this passage with the table in exhibit (k) 1 of 5th November called. Duties of Gatemen and with the Kaltallika. exhibit 11 of 5th November.

বে = বেনিটি।

ব = বর্দ্ধমানী।

শ = শঙ্কাসুরী।

বা = বাঁক।

জি = জিউজিৎসু।

হা = হারুয়া।

হ = হনুমন্তি।

শু = শুরসেনী।

ঘু = ঘুসাঘুসী।

অ = অশ্ব।

চ = চলন প্রণালী।

নৌ = নৌকা।

ল = লক্ষ্য ভেদ।

For discussion of these terms see page 51.

14. যাহারা কোনও অনুরো কিম্বা উপদেশ না শুনিয়া শুধু আপন ইচ্ছাতেই সমিতির অনিষ্টের চেষ্টা দেখিবে তাহাদিগকে ভয় দেখাইতে হইবে এবং সুবিধা হইলে প্রতিকারের চেষ্টাও দেখিতে হইবে।

"Threats should be held out to those who. disrergarding reqeusts and advice of all kinds. are of their own motion only trying to harm the Samiti: and if opportunity occurs. attempt will also have to be made to retaliate."

The use of intimidation or worse is here recommended.

15. সমস্ত সমিতিতেই অনুসন্ধান করিয়া জানিতে হইবে যে কোনও ব্যক্তি কৌশলে কিম্বা কোনরূপ প্রবঞ্চনা করিয়া বিনা প্রতিজ্ঞায় খেলা শিখিতেছে কি না; এইরূপ কেহ ধরা পড়িলে. তাহার সম্যক প্রতিবিধান করিবে ও প্রতিজ্ঞা করাইয়া আসিতে হইবে। প্রতিজ্ঞা করিতে না চাহিলে. তাহার শিক্ষা সম্পূর্ণরূপে নষ্ট করিবার বন্দোবস্ত করিয়া আসিতে হইবে।

"Inquiry should be made in all Samitis to see if any one. by any trick or deception. is learning to play without taking the vows: and if any one is so detected. then proper preventive measures should be taken and he must be made to take the vows: if he refuses to take the vows. then arrangements will have to be made for the complete destruction of his knowledge."

This is a further stage in terrorism. It is impossible to destroy a person's knowledge except by destroying him or intimidating him to keep silence.

16. ডাকযোগে প্রধান সম্পাদকের নিকট বিশেষ গুরুতর বিষয় পাঠাইবে না। নিজ বিশ্বাসী আত্মীয়গণের নিকট পাঠাইয়া তাহার দ্বারা প্রধান সম্পাদকের নিকট পৌছাইবে।

"Things which are particularly important should not be sent to the Pradhan Sampadak by post. They should be to one's own trustworthy relative. who should see that it reaches the Pradhan Sampadak."

Correspondence which cannot be trusted to the post on matters

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relating to the organisation at once raises the presumption that the object of the organisation is illegal.

17. যে রূপেই হউক আপন কার্য্য সমাধা করিয়া আসিতে হইবে। কোনও প্রকার ঠেকা, স্নেহ, মায়া, মমতা ও আকর্ষণে আবন্ধ হইয়া এই কার্য্যে তাচ্ছিল্য কিম্বা অবহেলা করিতে পারিবে না।

"Anyhow, he must finish the work before he leaves. No kind of impediment or affection or illusion or love or attraction must be the cause of his showing neglect or want of zeal in performing the work."

This recalls the words of the "special vow." Exh. f. 1, November 5th.

18. লৌকিক ও বাহ্যিক স্বদেশী অর্থাৎ বিলাতী জিনিষ, কাপড়, লবণ, চিনি প্রভৃতির সঙ্গে এই সমিতির বাহ্যিক কোনরূপ সম্পর্ক নাই। ঐ সমস্ত ব্যাপার লইয়া ঝগড়া বিবাদ কিম্বা মামলা মোকদ্দমায় জড়িত হওয়া সম্পূর্ণরূপে সমিতির নিয়মবিরুদ্ধ। বিদেশী লোক ও বিদেশী রাজা তাড়িত না হইলে, বিদেশী জিনিষ সম্পূর্ণরূপে তাড়ান অসম্ভব। ব্যক্তিগত ভাবে যাহার যতদূর সম্ভব বিনা আড়ম্বরে স্বদেশী ব্যবহার করাই সঙ্গত ও সমিতির আদেশ।

"This Samiti has no open relationship of any kind with popular and outward swadeshi, that is (the boycott of) belati articles, clothes, salt, sugar, etc. To be mixed up in quarrels or disputes or implicated in litigation about such affairs is entirely against the principles of this Samiti.[5] [Unless the (foreigners and the foreign)[6] king are driven out it is impossible altogether to drive out foreign goods. It is proper, and it is the command of the Samiti for each individual members use Swadeshi goods as much as possible without any show. It is absolutely against the principles of the Samiti to exceed this (limit) even in teh slightest degree with regard to the popular swadeshi."

This passage gives perhaps the clearest statement of the object of the Samiti organisation. Its aim has obviously something to do with swadeshi; but not swadesh of the popular kind which relates merely to the avoidance of foreign articles. The aim of the Samiti is to bring about that complete state of swadeshi, which is only possible when the foreign Government has been driven out. In the meantime the business of the Samiti is an internal secret swadeshi, but at the same time the Samiti enjoys an observance of the outward swadeshi provided the inner swadeshi is not hindered in any way.

19. "মুসলমানগণকে কেন ভর্ত্তি করা যায় না ?"

"Why Muhammadans are not admitted ?"

In answer to the question "Why Musalmans are not admitted ?" it

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has to be said that, in reviewing the entire history of India, it is clearly seen that in all instances where Hindus have placed their trust in Musalmans, the Hindus have been deceived in various ways. No other nation in teh world attaches so much solemnity and sanctity to the 'taking of vows' as the Hindus: rather this idea of ours is ridiculed as blind faith. It is true that all nations of the world take vows from dire necessity, but they do not hesitate in the least to break them s soon as they gain their object. Among the ordinary Musalmans also it has bee seen in many cases that they have without scruple broken the vows which they took after touching the Koran Sharif. Generally the habits and customs of the Musalmans of this country are contrary to those of the Hindus, and indeed galling to their (religious) feelings."

The discussion of this question occupies all the remaining part of the Paridarshak except a brief final paragraph upon the organisation of low class men. That the samiti organisation has a political object, viz., the establishement of state of swadeshi from which foreign domination is of course excluded, has been made clear in the passage marked 18. This discussion not only confirms the meaning given to passage 18, but goes a step further by making it clear that the Government, which these Samitis hope to establish in due course, is to be a Hindu Government: not only are the English to be driven out but the Muhammadans - the inveterate and irreconcilable enemies of the Hindus, with whom union or compromise is impossible, - are to be subjected to the Hindu Government.

20. স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের প্রথমে যখন হিন্দু মুসলমানে মিল হওয়ার চেষ্টা করা হইয়াছিল।

"When an attempt was made to bring about union of Hindus and Musalmans at the beginning of the swadeshi agitaiton, many Musalmans then said, "Eat cow with us: give your bhagnis in marriage to us: then there will be unity between you and us." If we call them brothers, they would not hesitate to call us salas, because their Shastras even permit them to marry their bhagnis."

This passage, like that numbered 12, shows that the writer is dealing not with any abstract ideas but with the present political situation, which is here given its best known name.

21. মুসলমানগণের মধ্যেও অনেক সৎ ও স্বদেশী লোক রহিয়াছে, কিন্তু যাহারা কেবল লৌকিক স্বদেশীতে ও বিলাতী বৰ্জ্জনে বিশেষ উৎসাহ দেখাইয়াছে তাহারাই আমাদের সমিতির কার্য্যের জন্য উপযোগী হইবে কিম্বা পূর্ব্বরূপ

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উৎসাহ ও উদ্যম দেখাইবে তাহার কোন নিশ্চয়তা নাই।

For mention of beating Muhammadans, see Exh. 27 of 5-11-08 in Pulin's handwriting. Raktabij paper.

"It cannot be said that all Musalmans are individually (thus) antagoinstic: even among Musalmans there are many who are honest and swadeshi, but that those who have shown marked enthusiasm only for popular swadeshi and the boycott of bilati (goods) would prove fit for the work of our Samit or show steadfastly enthusiam or enterprise is not by any means certain. Moreover, when the entire Musalman race is against us, it will not be particularly profitable to us if one or two Musalmans join our hands: on the other hand, those Musalmans who are antagonistically disposed towards us will be all the more envious because some of their own men have joined our hand. Besides, it has to be seen that, if two or four Musalmans are admitted because they are found trustworthy after selection, then other craftily Musalmans will want to be admitted. There will then be no means of excluding them."

This passage being out the distinction, already made in passage 18, between external and internal swadeshi. Muhammadans have embraced the external swadeshi, but here it is doubted whether they can ever be fit for the internal swadeshi. Later on it is shown that it is impossible for Muhammadans to be expected to take up the internal swadeshi, and therefore comes the conclusion prefixed to the discussion, that Muhammadans cannot be admitted into the Samitis.

What is the disqualification of the Muhammadans? That antagonism in vital religious questions which has always made Hindu and Muhammadan political enemies. The Muhammadan is a natural political enemy; therefore he can no more be thought of as a member of a Hindu Samiti, than an Englishman who may be called the politcal enemy of circumstances. The latter is to be ejected from the country, the former placed in a position of subjection to the Hindu.

22. যদি এইরূপ ঘটে যে সমস্ত মুসলমানগণই হিন্দুগণের বিরুদ্ধে ক্ষেপিয়া যায় কিম্বা ইংরাজের সহিত যোগ দেয় এবং আমাদের দলভুক্ত মুসলমানগণের পিতামাতা আত্মীয় স্বজন সকলেই বিরুদ্ধে দণ্ডায়মান থাকে, তখন ঐ সমস্ত মুসলমান সভ্যগণ কি উপায় অবলম্বন করিবে তাহা উভয় পক্ষেরই ভাবিয়া দেখা উচিত। যদি সে সময়ে তাহারা আমাদের পক্ষ পরিত্যাগ করিয়া যায়, তাহা হইলে আমাদের অনিষ্টের সম্ভাবনা অনেক অধিক।

"If it so happens that all Musalmans grow violent against the Hindus, or if they join with the English, and if the parents and relatives

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of the Musalmans who have joined our band stand against us, then what course will all those Musalman members adopt is (a question) to be considered by both sides. If at that time they leave our side, then there will be a very great chance of injury to us. For this reason, those who will once join our band will have to remain in our band for ever. It will not therefore, be of any good to us if two or four Musalmans (students)[7] come and play lathi with us and then go away";

This passage can have no other meaning than that the Samiti organisation is looking forward to an armed rebellion against English rule. When the critical time arrives for the Hindus to take the decisive step against the English, it must be remembered that, so far from counting on Muhammadan help, the Muhammadans will probably join the other side.

23. কেবল আমাদিগের কতকগুলি গুপ্ত মন্ত্র জানিয়া চলিয়া যাইবে।

"They will simply go away with a knowledge of some of our secret mantras. But if those Musalmans who are in sympathy with us can make their society fall in with our views and can, above all, make arrangements for the entire prevention of cow-killing, then it is possible for all parties to secure benefit and welfare in all respects."

This obviously cannot mean literally "mantras". It means knowledge of the secret society within the general society of the Samiti. That there is such an inner circle with its closely guarded secrets will be established later.

24. যতদূর বুঝিতে পারা যায়, তাহাতে এইরূপ দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস হয় যে দুই এক বৎসরের মধ্যেই সমস্ত মুসলমান জাতি হিন্দু জাতির অনুগত হইবে।

"So far as it can be foreseen, it is (our) firm beleif that within a year or two the entire Musalman nation will become submissive to the Hindus. But if the Hindus then abandon their firmness and national glory and sink low (enough) to court friendly with the Musalmans by being hand in glove with them, the Musalmans will be puffed up and no good but only evil will be brought about. That nation which cannot preserve its national glory, national greatness and dignity, and national firmness, steadfastness and pride and shows levity, baseness and (waywardness)[8] can never be respected and worshipped by other nations. But in no circumstances would it be proper to show hostile feelings against, or to deal unjustly with, the Musalmans as a nation.".

This is as clear in what it implies as passage 22, but it places the establishment of the swadeshi government at a very near date. The Musalmans are now exactly as the Hindus, subject to the one and the

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same Government, British rule. In what way can the Muhammadans be subject to the Hindus, except by the removal of British rule ?

25. যে যে স্থানে নিম্ন শ্রেণীর লোকগণের উপরে কোনও বিশিষ্ট সভ্যের (জমিদার ইত্যাদির) আধিপত্য ও প্রভুত্ব আছে তথায় ঐ সমস্ত লোক দ্বারায় দল সংগঠন করিবার চেষ্টা দেখিবে।

"In those places where any prominent member, such as zamindar, etc., has influence and control over low class people, attempts should be made to have bands formed with the help of those people. But it should always be seen that those bands cannot work independently (and for want of restraint commit oppression upon other people).[9] We should keep them under our Samiti by setting them to take the vows before the temple of some deity by making them touch copper, tulsi and the Ganges water. They must endeavour to (make their own arrangements to) [10] play among themselves."

This is separate recommendation. The writer knows that every zamindar has a number of "his men," generally lathials, who can be counted upon to do anything for the zamindar. If, then, the zamindar is swadeshi, why not utilise for the swadeshi cause those forces which the zamindar has ready to hand ?

This is to be done, but with certain precautions.

Summary :— See page 6. There are five complete copies of this document, one of which is almost entirely in the handwriting of Pulin Behari Das, Exh. 1114, and another, Exh. 25 of 5th November, is in the handwriting of Dinesh Chandra Gupta. This Dinesh also writes pages 22-34 of Exh. 1114. In Exh. 47, the Paridarshak is complete, but part of the passage numbered 18, i.e. the sentence বিদেশী লোক ও বিদেশী রাজা তাড়িত না হইলে, বিদেশী জিনিষ সম্পূর্ণরূপে তাড়ান অসম্ভব has been scored through, but is still easily decipherable. Exh. 494 is complete but in the passage the words "বিদেশী লোক ও বিদেশী রাজা are omitted and the sentence begins with রাজা তাড়িত. The sense of course remains unaltered.

Exh. 1039 mentions the provision of tickets, for new members after proper inquiry. In the corresponding passage of the complete Paridarshaks there is no mention of "tickets" but of a "list". The passage in Exh. 1039 is identical with article 5 of the "Sampalakganer Karttabya" which is found Jyotirmay Roy's note-book, Exh. 5. Similarly, the opening passages of Exh. 1039 agree exactly with article 8 of Jyotirmay's note-book, but differ in the omission of one sentence from the corresponding passage in the complete Paridarshak.

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Similarly, other passages in Exh. 1039 agree exactly with the brief Paridarshak of Jyotirmay Roy, but differ here and there from the corresponding passage in the enlarged Paridarshaks.

The inference from this is important, viz., that the idea of the Paridarshak was in existence in September 1907 and its injunctions were then being carried out as the 19 curiously-folded tickets of members of the Lakhi Bazar Samiti (Exh. 1 of that search) prove. Subsequent to this search, and presumably in consequence of it, the ticket idea was given up and the esoteric aspect of the Samiti organisation received more attention and the Paridarshak was developed to the dimensions seen in the five complete copies, which have been examined. The place and importance of the Paridarshak in the organisation are clearly shown by the following. In the Kaltalika Exh. 1 (g) of 5th November, one hour in the moring in each day is assigned to discussing lathi-play books, the Paridarshak, and drill. In the long list of Regulations Exh. 1 (h) of 5th November, article 7 reads, "Every member must always know, by heart, the vows, Sampadakganer Karttabya, the Paridarshak, lathi-play books and the regulations."

It is to be noted in Paridarshak Exh. No. 1114 which is mainly in Pulin's handwriting, that on the fly-leaf is pencilled the following address :

P.O. Madhyapara, house of Srijukta Govinda Chandra Sen Gupta, Doctor Mahasay.

Taken by itself, the Paridarshak proves that the one great aim of the Samiti organisation is a revolution - the overthrow of British rule in India.

But there is abundant additional evidence regarding the aim of the Samiti to be found in the vows, the correspondence, the systems of training the seditious and revolutional literature (including Jugantars and Bartaman Rana Niti) and the over acts of the organisation.

These will not be taken up.

Village notes :— The total number of forms for recoring village notes is 944, as detailed on page 2. Further discussion of village notes, see page 1 (b) of which the following is an elaboration :

Note that in Exh. 40 there are out of a total of 920 copies, 730 copies which have a note on the page headed, Manchitra. This note ends with the words "very urgent:" viz., the instruction to have a really good map drawn by an amin. There are also some slight difference in the Mantabya O Bibaran, i.e., in 11 "O Shampadaker Mantabya" is added; in 20 "O nij Mantabya" is added; and 21 has been changed from "Nij Mantabya O

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Paridarshaner Tarikh" to "Paridarshaner Tarikh ebang Shampadak Paridarshak Ubhoyer Dastakhat."

The village note may be described as a printed form for recording all the detailed information concerning each village samiti, as laid down in the Paridarshak.

The following points show the close connection between the village note and the "Paridarshak" :—

1. The abbreviations as mentioned at page 1(b).[12]
2. The designations given under the column Pad are all found in the Paridarshak. See pages 12 and 18 of Exh. 1114.
3. The natural features of the village mentioned on page 13 of Exh. 1114 are to be shown in a map drawn to scale on page 2 of the village note Manchitra.
4. The following correspondences are noteworthy :

Paridarshak	Village Note
Exh. 1114	Mantabya O Bibaran
Pages 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 18, 20, 23, 24 and 25.	Items numbered 3-4-10-11-12-18 and 19.

There is a reference to S. K. in item No. 19.

It will be seen from No. 13 of the "Mantabya" that the membership of a village samiti extends even to boys and infants.

Generally speaking, this document gives a fairly accurate idea of the real nature of the organisation.

With reference to the system of preparing village maps, it is to be noted that a pantagraph, Exh. No.86 was found in the Samiti. [13]

Significance of Exhs. 1107 and 1097A.

These are forms filled in for the villages of Balurghat, Dinajpur and of Adabari Munshiganj, Dacca, with carefully drawn maps in each case.

The note of Adabari purports to be signed by Ananda Prasad Mukharji (apparently dalapati) and Ajit Kumar Ganguli (apparently Paridarshak) and bears date 26th, 27th and 28th Aswin (if year is 1315, October 12th, 13th and 14th 1908). [14]

The note on Balurghat bears date 13th July to 2nd August, apparenty 1908. This paper is part of original search list No. 71 and was found in the same place as the village note of Adabari.

These two notes show conclusively that the system laid down in the Paridarshak was not merely a theory but was a matter of fact carried out in practice.

The Balurghat note shows how widespread the organisation was. Compare in this connection part of Exh. 39 marked G, see page 5.

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On the back of Exh. 47 Boro lathi bearing the name Pratap Chandra De (alias Hem Chandra Sarkar). there are some notes evidently intended for filling up the village note for Gabtali, a village in Narayanganj police station near Sonnamovi and Baidya bazar.

Reference from "Sampadakganer Karttabv" to the "Paridarshak" —

S. K. Article 5. — The increase of members and the concerting of measures against the formation of plots against the Samiti.

These two ideas correspond closely with the passage at pages 16 and 20 of Exh. 1114.

Article 6 is mentioned in the Paridarshak "the full description under ten heads of every member in accordance with rule 6 of the Sampadakganer Karttabya." See Exh. 1114, page 15, and see ante, page 11.

Note also at the end of this article. Konao Ahindu Kimba Hindudveshi ke bharti karibe na – which is exactly in harmony with passage 19 in Exh. 1114 at page 28.

Article 8 – Transfer from one Akhara to another. See page 21 of Exh. 1114 and page 6 of printed copy.

Article 9 – The corresponding passage where Sampadak and Sampadakganer Karttabya are mentioned. see page 24 of Exh. 1114 (and page 6 of printed translation; also page 3).

Article 10 – Method of treating backsliders. First gently and then by terrorism. Compare passage 9 at page 14 of Exh. 1114 (printed translation. page 4).

Article 14 – Provision of lathis. boats. horses, etc. See pages 22-3 of Exh. 1114 (page 6 at top of printed translation).

Article 16 — Chalan Pranali. etc. See the list of abbreviations in the Paridarshak (page 5. printed translation).

Article 26 — The word "Paridarshak" is used.

The mention of the amount to be given to the Central Samiti per month is. i.e.. one rupee; corresponds with page 23 of Exh. 1114 (printed translation. page 6).

Some general remarks upon "Sampadakaganer Karttabya".

Note - There are three somewhat different copies of S.K.

(1) Is Exh. 2 "N of Nalini Kumar Guha's house. It contains 27 articles.

Note - 9 copies of this were found in Jyotirmay Roy's house. Exh. No. 2.

(2) Is printed on thinner paper and also contains 27 articles. But in

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article 8 we have "number" changed to "Sanketik Sankhya." In 26 the words "Pratyek Saptahe" are omitted. In Exh. 1240 (4 copies) there is one copy on which the differences between imprressions 3 and 2 have been marked in red ink.

(3) Article 6 (6) there is a change: "real and local guardian" is inserted.

Article 8 — The words "Sanketik Sankhya" are omitted. and instead we find "all the ten additions". meaning those of article 6.

Article 12 — Much elaborated. Food considered unclean by Hindus is prohibited - also smoking drinking or indulgence in any intoxicant.

Article 26 — "And receipts" is added. Also the important provision of a monthly subscription of Re. 1 to the Central Samiti, in addition to half the closing balance of the last month.

Article 27 — A slight change "Jinisadir dayitva."

Article 28 is entirely new. It deals with the drawing up of a village map and submission of a copy to the Paridarshak.

A-Article 22-23 Boys undr 12 form Samitir Bahirang. This is the policy of catching boys young. They are to be thoroughly familiarised with the Adya Pratijna. made to conform to it and trained to "stand up to an opponent fearlessly." But at the same time they must not be admitted to the secrets of the organisation.

Each stage in vow-taking is accompanied with progress in instruction up to a certain point. but this limit cannot be exceeded.

B-Once a member - always a member. — There is no possibility of retracing one's steps.

Article 2 -- Absent members must always be looked up.

Article 10 — If any member acts "improperly." there is a grade of expedients applicable to his case – gentle persuasion – advice – appeal to guardian or other influential person – threats – bodily punishment – other artifices – finally. in case of all these falling a report is to be sent to the Pradhan Sampadak. "But in no circumstances is his name to be cancelled or is he to be allowed to leave the Samiti." As long as he is recusant. however. he will neither learn any new lessons nor report the old. The Sampadak himself must search out disobedient or neglectful members. or put some suitable person to shadow such members and get them to obey orders by hook or crook: and when they have been brought back into the fold they

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should be warned for the future and closely watched for some time.

(**Note here.** — The "Adhyaksha" seems to be the same as the "Pradhan Sampadak." and this person who is superior to the Sampadak was probably intended to be the supreme head of the mofussil Samiti - subject only to the control of the Central Samiti. This was probably the theorectical organisation. but in practice it seemed pretty certain that the head authority was the Sampadak alone. See Adabari village note — there is no Adhyaksha and in the Balurghat note although there are names for the two head officers. there is no name for the "dalapati." There may have been a mistake in the columns in the latter case. because the "Sampadak" of Balurghat is a boy in the second class of the High School. whereas the "dalapati" at Adabari is a boy in the same class of his school).

C—Compulsory training is insisted upon. Article 9 — The members must be helped or. if necessary. compelled to carry out the rules of the Samiti. For this purpose the Sampadak must have a certain number of selected members who are trustworthy. tactful. courageous and enthusiastic. as his immediate companions. [15]

(Query. **Pradhan Sampadak** — Is he not outside the village organisation ? He is not mentioned in the village note at all. Is he not Pulin himself ? See various passages in the Paridarshak. where the reports of any change by a member of his Samiti by a Sampadak of his office. must be reported to the Pradhan Sampadak. Also important things must not be sent by post to the Pradhan Sampadak.)

D—The Head Intelligence Office. Art. 8 — Arrangement has been made so as to keep the Pradhan Sampadak informed of the total strength. efficiency and present residence of the members.

E—The essentials of military training, short of the open use of firearms Art. 14 — It is significant that not only must each member provide himself with his own lathi. but the Sampadak must see that a certain number of lathis are always kept in stock at each Akhara.

Article 16 gives a good curriculum of military training (excepting use of fire-arms). All these exercises taken in themselves are both innocent and commendable but taken in conjunction with the Paridarshak it is clear that they were not intended for any honest purpose.

F—Minute subdivision of organisation. Arts. 18, 19, 20 — Each band of ten has a separate "dalapati". who is responsible for attendance and training. These leaders in their turn are trained by the principal

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instructors. This subdivision is also in the interests of efficient discipline.

G—Mustibhiksha. Art. 25 — The system of collection of mustibhiksha or subscriptions in money by members of the Samiti was probably intended to be used for keeping in close touch with the people and getting recruits.

H—Religious aspect of the organisation — Compare Art. 6. [16]

Article 12 — The object of inserting this article was in the first place, to enlist the sympathy of the Hindu community, and, secondly, to throw the authorities off the scent by giving the organisation an appearance usually associated with strict religious and temperance principles.

SECTION II

The system of vows

The extent to which the system was followed :— The following have been found they are called Adya Pratijna and Antya Pratijna, first and final vow :—

In Jyotirmay Roy's house, on 5th September 1907. He was captain of Lakhi Bazar Samiti —

Exh. 4 — 9 copies

Exh. 5, note-book, written copies of Adya and Antya.

In the house of Nalini Kumar Guha, Bajrajugini, Munshiganj, on 3rd August 1908 —

Exh. 3 — 2 copies

In Anushilan Samiti, Dacca, on 10th August 1908 —

Exh. 8 — 1 copy

In Anushilan Samiti, Dacca, on 15th November 1908 -

Exh. 1	1 copy	
Exh. 21	1 copy	
Exh. 38	1,064 copies	
Exh. 948	5 copies	total 1,104
Exh. 1237	10 copies	
Exh. 1241	14 copies	
Exh. 39	9 copies	

In addition to the above, the following copies were found in the Anushilan Samiti on 5th November 1908 :

Exh. 16 of 5th November — Note-book of Radhika Bhusan Roy (convicted in the Wari affray case). This book contains both pratijnas signed by Radhika.

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Exh. 20 of 5th November — Belonging apparently to Jotindra Mohan Sen. This contains Adya Pratijna signed by Chandra Bhaumik: and on 15th November the following :

Exh. 591 — Lathi-play book with name of "Kumar Singh, 50, Wari;" Adya Pratijna is written at the end.

Exh. 1016 — Lathi-play book of Charu Chandra Sen Gupta. This book commences with "Bande Mataram" - First vow of the "Anushilan Samiti." This Charu was convicted in the Wari affray case on 13th January 1908.

Exh. 1073 — Lathi-play of Kshirod Chandra Guha, Entrance class, Calcutta. The printed Adya and Antya Pratijnas are posted inside this book.

Exh. 258 — Lathi-play book contains both Pratijnas written out and signed by Prafulla Chandra Sen (Gupta). This Prafulla was convicted with his brother Charu in the Wari affray case 13th January 1908. [18]

Exh. 1140 — Lathi-play, belonging to the same Prafulla, contains both the Pratijna and a special Pratijna to be noted later.

Exh. 1111 — A note-book of Dinesh Ch. Sen Gupta, contains the same three vows. [19]

Madhyapara Search of 12th December 1908.

Exh. No. 5 — Is a note-book of Paresh Chandra Sen Gupta, Kabiraj, Madhyapara. The Adya Pratijna is written in this book. [20]

Exh. 1174 — Lathi-play book without name and unidentified. This contains both Pratijnas written out.

Exh. 826 (Reg. X) — L. Chaudhuri, of Routhbhog, writes to Pulin that he is sending in Gopal Krishna Bose (=Kamakhaya Charan Ghose), after administering the final vow, September 9th.

Exh. 8 (Letter, Reg. XVIII) — Guru Doyal Das, of Sonamoyi Samiti, asks Pulin to send Hiranmoy for 4-5 days with some copies of Sampadakganer Karttabya and both vows.

Outside Dacca district :—

A copy of the Antya Pratijna was found in use at the Netrakona Samiti (see Mr. Blackwood's letter dated the 3rd January 1909).

Exh. 828 (Letter, Reg. XI) — Hem Chandra Basu of Garjyan Khola, Chak Bazar, Tippera, writes as follows to Ashutosh Das Gupta, September 10th 1908 : "Please send quickly 40-50 Pratijna papers. There are some Samitis also in this district. Please send me word quickly who are to be Secretaries and in what places. I have sent 2-3 men to the villages to inspect the

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Samitis and open new Samitis. Dinesh Babu has gone to Darara."

This Hem Chandra Basu is a prominent member of the Anushilan and was a student of Comilla National School. These are the only places outside Dacca town and district where there is direct evidence that these vows were in use. But it is abundantly clear from the Paridarshak and from the Sampadakganer Karttabya that no samiti could exist anywhere without members first taking vows.

In particular, article 18 of the Sampadakganer Karttabya says that a copy of the Adya Pratijna, written in large letters, should be exhibited in the form of a poster in every place for lathi-play for the information of the public.

Under article 19, every member of a Samiti must keep with him a copy of the vows.

Under article 21, progress in lathi-play is regulated according to the kind of vow taken.

In accordance, no doubt, with article 18 we find a poster in the Dacca Samiti.

Exh. 1 (i) of 5th November - Adya Pratijna.

There is also Exh. 10 of 5th November, the Antya Pratijna. There is also the special vow, to be noted later, Exh. 1 (f) of 5th November. The printing of this card is by Suresh Ch. Sen Gupta - see Volume II, page 97.

There is direct evidence of the use of these vows at Netrakona, in Mymensingh and in Comilla, Tippera. But apart from the rules of the Paridarshak and Sampadakganer Karttabya, it is obvious that the large number of printed copies (see page 27) found in the Samiti could not be intended merely for the Dacca town Samiti or even the Samitis of the Dacca district. Such a large supply was kept in stock for the use of a very wide organisation, extending all over the province. As the village note system had extended to Balurghat (Exh. 1107), Dinajpur, so also must the vow system have preceded it.

Significance of the Adya and the Antya Pratijnas :— Adya Pratijna – First, it should be noted that there are two editions of the Adya Pratijna, while the Antya Pratijna was left unchanged.

The copies of Adya Pratijna found in Jyotirmay Roy's house (page 27) are different from those found in large quantities at later dates in the Samiti. The exact difference is clearly shown in Exh. 8 of 10th August – a printed copy upon which corrections are made (in Pulin's handwriting, I believe) with a view to printing fresh copies. Apart from small clerical

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alterations. there is an important addition made in 1 (&). *viz*.. Ebang Keha Pratijna Karile. Formerly every member of the Samiti was bound to report to the authorities any chance of injury to the Samiti: in the correcting copies. he must also report any instance of breaking the vows. This is an important difference.

According to rule (S. K. Article 18) there was no secrecy about the Adya Pratijna. It was to be put up as a poster. no doubt to convey to the public generally the idea that the Anushilan Samiti was an excellent institution for the moral and physical reform of young men. How far is this idea borne out by the documents itself ?

There are 21 separate promises. and assuming that we have only this document before us and know nothing else about the Anushilan. it may at once be granted that 13 out of the 21 promises are quite innocuous. if not excellent. They are ১ (ক). and (ঘ). ২ (ক). (খ) and (গ). ৩ (ক). (খ). (গ) and (ঘ). ৪ (ক). (খ). (গ) and ৫ (ঘ).

These may be summed up as promises to advance the object of the Samiti. to improve the character and physical condition. to live in unity and friendship with fellow members to help a fellow member in danger or difficulty. to do one's best for each other. the country. and. lastly. mankind. not to hate but forgive. and to bring backsliders into the right path. and to obey every call of duty.

Of course. all these promises are subservient to the *object* of the Samiti and the character of the course of life which the young man binds himself to follow. must depend upon whether the object he has in view is lawful or unlawful. Here. as in all similar documents the object is not defined and we must therefore draw an unfavourable inference regarding it.

In noticing the remaining eight promises of this vow. the consideration to be borne in mind is "How far are these rules of conduct consistent with the ostensible object of the Samiti as stated by newspapers and by some members, Pulin. Sachindra Chandra Chanda and Fatik Ch. De. *viz*.. the physical and moral training of young men ?

১ (ক) "I will never sever my connection with the Samiti".

This. to begin with. goes far beyond the needs of a gymnastic club. Change of circumstances. as marriage. or change of residence or ill-health. are most reasonable grounds for leaving an athletic club. but here. as in the Paridarshak. the very first principle of the organisation is "once a member. always a member." It is remarkable that the first condition to entering the fold is an irrevocable promise.

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১ (ঘ) Each member is here set as a watch upon every fellow member, and must report to the authorities "any probability of harm to the Samiti and any instance of a member breaking his vow." This is the method of securing the inviolability of the vows.

৫ (ক), (খ), and (গ) Obedience to the rules of the Samiti, orders of the authorities, and concealment of nothing from the authorities.

This is a promise to obey rules which are not set forth and orders which are not even outlined in principle.

৬ (ক), (খ), (গ) Never to neglect or show indifference to gymnastics or drill, never to teach the gymnastics or art of self-defence taught by the Samiti to anyone who is not a member, never to break the rules or vows of the Samiti, and never to learn from any other source.

If the gymnastic training is for the physical and thereby moral improvement of young men, and if the Samiti organisation is for the improvement of its members, the country and, finally mankind (৩) ( ), it is obvious that the best way of spreading this good influence would be for every youth who learnt gymnastics and drill to teach them to as many persons as possible. But he binds himself by vow not to do so. Whence it is obvious that the physical exercises must have some peculiar character which is not stated, and which cannot be communicated except to the elect. What that character is will be shown in examining the system of lathi-play and drill. Here it is sufficient to state that the gymnastics and drill had a political object in view, an unlawful object, and hence the obvious danger of teaching this peculiar kind of gymnastics to anyone who was not bound irrevocably to the Samiti.

The extraordinary connection between vows and lathi-play is well shown by the examples already given (page 27 and 28) of the vows being found (signed in some cases by the owner) in lathi-play books, and by the fact that when the owner does not actually write out the vows at length, he endorses every page of his book with the word Pratijna.

It must be noted here that under article 21 of S. K., those who have only taken this vow can be taught up to Ranger Bari in the boro lathi, up to the Symghat in the choto lathi and up to the first lesson in dagger play.

Abbreviated form of Adya Pratijna

Exh. 935 of 15th November contains the three main promises of Adya Pratijna grouped together, and the person taking the oath swears by father and mother and signs his name. There are 15 names signed on the paper. A police enquiry showed that Jnanendra Chatterji, son of Hari

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Mohan Chatterji, of Kalmirdha, Faridpur, came from Dacca to his native village and thence went to Panthapara, a neighbouring village in police station Bhanga. This was in Ashar, June-July 1908. The people of Panthapara are simple, uneducated, low class Hindus, and they were persuaded to sign this document. A Samiti was thus founded and mustibhiksha collected weekly. The ages of members 10, 11, 13, 14 and 15, are correctly stated. We have thus an irrevocable vow imposed on minors as young as 9.

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Exhibit No. 935 of 15th November 1908
SRI KALI
1315 B.S.
Om Bande Mataram

Anushilan Samiti, Panthapara

Calling to my mother I say, on oath, that I will never separate myself from this Samiti, and that I will not receive instructions anywhere else, and that I will not teach any one. I will never be neglectful for the sake of the work of this Samiti. Calling to my mind my father and my mother, I swear and sign my name below.

	Name	Age	Father's name	Residence
	1	2	3	4
		Years		
1.	Sri Abinash Chandra Kunda	20	Sri Nabin Chandra Kunda	Panthapara.
2.	Sri Mati Lal Kunda	18	Sri Purna Chandra Kunda	Panthapara.
3.	Sri Debendra Chandra Kunda	22	Sri Uma Charan Kunda	Panthapara.
4.	Sri Hare Krishna Kunda	15	Sri Jagat Bandhu Kunda	Panthapara.
5.	Sri Nibaran Chandra Kunda	20	Sri Ananda Chandra Kunda	Panthapara.
6.	Sri Dhab (probably Deb) Kumar Kunda	14	Sri Prasanna Kumar Kunda	Panthapara.
7.	Sri Dhan Kumar Kunda	18	Sri Pratab Chandra Kunda	Panthapara.
8.	Sri Monmohan Kunda	14	Sri Bhagaban Chandra Kunda	Panthapara.
9.	Sri Golap Chandra Kunda	14	Late Kashi Chandra Kunda	Panthapara.
10.	Sri Bhuban Mohan Kunda	13	Sri Parat (probably Prabati) Charan Kunda.	Panthapara.
11.	Sri Kali Prasanna Kunda	12	Sri Bishnu Charan Kunda	Panthapara.
12.	Sri Asvini Kumar Kunda	18	Sri Profulla Kumar Kunda	Panthapara.
13.	Sri Kamini Mohan Kundu	12	Sri Jaga Bandhu Kunda	Panthapara.
14.	Sri Hara Lal Kunda	12	Sri Purna Chandra Kunda	Panthapara.
15.	Sri Mukunda Behari Kunda	9	Sri Chandra Kumar Kunda	Panthapara.

The following is endorsed on the reverse :

PRABHAT CHANDRA ROY CHAUDHURI
P.O. Kovirajpur
Vill. Panthapara
Care of Devendra Vuiha (Kunda)

Bhagaban Chandra Kunda
Panthapara Chota zamindar
Sit here 1 $^1/_2$ 1 hours
in come

The names of Bhaktiyoga and Dohabali should be entered in the list.

(*Sd.*) **Ashutosh Das Gupta**

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Antya Pratijna, the Final Vow

Apparently it was recognised by the framers of these vows that, in spite of all rules and the power of the Samiti to enforce them, that there would still be a few backsliders. Hence, no doubt, those who took the first vow were under a period of probation. If they passed it successfully and proved worthy of trust, they might go on to the final vow. If on the contrary they broke their vows in a few instances, not much harm would result, because they had not learnt much. If they also became traitors to the cause, they had not much to tell. The one important lesson to learn during the probationary period was to keep the vow - in support of this view the insertion of vow-breaking in Exh. 8 of 10th August may be noticed, and earnestness of purpose could be tested in numerous ways, e.g. punctuality at exercises, keenness in learning, obedience without actually communicating any secrets of the Samiti. Assuming then, that the period of probation was passed to the satisfaction of the authorities, the final vow was administered. It is clear that this vow marked the admission of a member to some at least of the secrets of the Samiti. Further, under article 22 of S. K. the member could now receive all kinds of instruction from the Samiti.

There are six clauses to the Antya Pratijna – see Exh. 21 of 15th November –

1. I shall not disclose any secret matter of the Samiti to any one, and shall never discuss all those matters unnecessarily.
2. I shall never act contrary to the system of work of the Samiti. I shall always remain subject to the Parichalak of the Samiti. I will instantly and thoroughly carry out whatever orders he may pass from time to time.
3. I shall never change (my) place (of residence) without informing the Parichalak about it. I shall not keep secret from the Parichalak where and how I am at a particular time. I shall instantly inform the Parichalak should the existence of any conspiracy against the Samiti come to my knowledge and under his orders shall try to remedy it.
4. I shall come back in obedience to the Parichalak's command, no matter in what state I may happen to be at the time. But if any serious physical or natural cause prevents my turning up at the proper time I shall at once apply to the Parichalak, bringing the matter to his notice and shall return as soon as the impediment is got over.

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5. I shall not consider any kind of work disgraceful. For the sake of the Samiti's work, I shall not feel hatred, shame or fear. I shall entirely rid myself of the fear of public censure. I shall not cherish even a grain of the desire of attaining celebrity. I shall not be jealous of anyone, seeing him outstep me and acquire fame. Caring neither for fame nor approbrium and thoroughly giving him wrangling and loquacity, I shall go on discharging my duties with seriousness, patience and perseverence and shall never shrink from exhibiting self-abnegation, self-sacrifice and liberty for the work of the Samiti.
6. I shall never be at liberty to teach those subjects with respect to which I shall receive instruction in this Samiti, being bound by oath, to anyone save to those persons who are bound by oath as regards those subjects.

The final vow begins by acknowledging that the Samiti has secret business. It will be remembered that only the first vow is to be displayed to the public. The subsequent clauses of the vow are consistent with the admission made in clause 1 and impose obligations, meaningless in respect of a club for physical and moral culture, but natural in respect of a political society whose object is unlawful.

Clause 2. — requires unquestioning obedience to the Samiti's system of the work and to the Parichalak.

Clause 3. — A member may not even change his residence without informing the Parichalak, and he must at once report the existence of any conspiracy against the Samiti.

It is improbable that anyone would conspire against an association the members of which were only bent on improving their own minds and bodies and eventually doing good to all mankind [First Vow (&)], but there is every danger that, when an association for carrying out an unlawful object has been formed, some member may prove a traitor to the cause and betray his friends. As in the first vow every member must keep a watch to detect vow-breakers, so in the final vow he must be on the alert for conspiracies.

Clause 4 imposes an ideal of obedience, wholly unnecessary in any condition of life, except that of a soldier, or of one engaged in secret, dangerous and unlawful work.

Clause 5 imposes certain rigid rules of conduct, excellent in themselves, but which must be judged ultimately by the object of the Samiti, for the sake of which the rules are laid down.

Clause 6 repeats in general terms the prohibition against teaching

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anything learned in the Samiti to persons who have not been bound by vows.

Bisesh Pratijna :—This is a very different and much more serious vow than the two preceding vows. There are the following copies of it :

(1) Exhibit 1(f) of 5th November. This is written in bold characters and mounted on pasteboard. The writer is Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta (See Volume II, page 97). The copy was found at the search which took place immediately after institution of a case (No. 1817 of 1908) under section 363 against Pulin Behari Das, on 4th November. On that day the following boys were found in the Samiti :

(i) Ananta Mohan Chatterji, whose age was subsequently found to be 14-9, and not 13-9 according to the sworn statement of his guardian. [21]

(ii) Narasingh Das, son of Raj Kishore Das, of Sonamoyi, Narayanganj, age 13 years.

(iii) Raj Kumar Datta, son of Durga Charan Datta of Kangshadi, Narayanganj age 18 years.

(iv) Hem Chandra Sarkar, son of Purna Chandra Sarkar, of Bhadrason, police station, Narayanganj, age 13 years.

(v) Ganga Charan Datta *alias* Benga, son of Dinabandhu Datta, of Adabari, Munshiganj, age 11-12 years.

(vi) Manikya Chandra Guha Mustafi, son of Nibaran Chandra Guha Mustafi, pleader, age 15-16 years.

We have it proved by statements of Nos. (i) to (v) inclusive [No (vi) was not examined] that this special vow was hung up near a Kali Murti. Exh. (c) 1 of 5th November. This picture shows Kali in her most repulsive form. Both picture and vow are identified by these boys, and it is well proved that, whether the Kali Murti was actually touched or not, the vow was taken before the goddess Kali in order to give it the most binding religious sanction to a Hindu.

(2) An identical copy of the above is found in Exh. 1111, a note-book of Dinesh Ch. Sen Gupta (see page 28).

(3) Exhibit 20 is called Bisesh Pratijna, and it consists of three clauses like the two mentioned above. It is somewhat abbreviated in expression, but the meaning is practically the same. It has been translated separately.

(4) After all books and papers were removed from the Samiti building on November 15th, the Samiti organisation still continued to exist. But the vows and notifications instead of

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being written one paper were painted in large red letters on the walls of the first room. On January 29th, 1909, these vows were copied in the presence of witnesses. The Bisesh Pratijna was one of them and the copy agrees with Exh. 1(f).[22]

There is still another different vow, but the Bisesh Pratijna will be dealt with first. The following is a translation of the Special Vow :

Om Bande Mataram [marked (f)1 in the list of Novr. 5, 1908].

Special Vow

In the name of God, father, mother, preceptor, leader and mother country, I make this solemn vow, that -

(1) I will not be bound by any tie for my father, mother, relatives, kinsmen, friends, hearth and home until the mission of this Samiti is fulfilled. That I will not hesitate to make any sacrifice in the discharge of the work of this Samiti; that I will on no account leave this Samiti and circle; that I will thoroughly abide by the rules of this Samiti; that I will, without putting forth any excuse, perform all the duties of this Samiti, being under the control of the authorities of this Samiti, whether temporary or permanent or appointed for the time being; that I will not change, on any occasion, places without the knowledge of the authorities, and that I will not ever be busy with my own interest.

(2) I will never in my life indulge in any kind of smoking or intoxicating drugs; that I will never use any narcotics, never have any sexual intercourse with prostitutes, or with the wife of another, or widow or maiden; that I will never practice masturbation or have any unnatural sexual intercourse with any man, and that I will try my level best and spare myself no pains to check those works in my friends and relations and kinsmen and in all whom I am acquainted with, and to remove those propensities.

(3) I will bring everything to the knowledge of the authorities if any one breaks this or any other vow for the taking of the necessary steps against it, that if I flinch from this solemn vow or in any way act contrarily, the curse of God, of mother, and the mighty sages will destroy me ere long.

Under clause (1) those who take this vow forsake all earthly ties until the mission of this Samiti is fulfilled, for which he will make every sacrifice. The words naturally include the sacrifice of one's own life, but this is explicitly stated in the vows which are still to be dealt with. Further, by taking this vow one is bound absolutely to carry out all orders

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of the Samiti authorities.

What is the mission of the Samiti? Samiti Karyya Uddhar. This vow,[23] like the others, does not define the object :—

Ananta Mohan Chatterji, in his statement – dated 5th November, says that the mission of the Samiti was explained to him as Bharat Uddhar, the deliverance of India.

Raj Kumar Datta :— In his statement, dated 7th November, says : "I did not know nor did I enquire what was meant by Samitir Karjyya Uddhar."

Narashing Das :— In his statement of the same date says : "I don't know what is meant by "Samitir Karyya uddhar na hoa parjanta." The reticence of this boy is easily understood when it is remembered that his elder brother Guru Doyal Das was captain of the Sonamoyi Samiti, and actually sent in Narasingh to the Dacca Samiti along with Narendra Nath Datta and another. This fact is proved by the boy's own statement and by the letter of Guru Doyal to Pulin, Exh. 8, letter register XVIII.

Hem Chandra Sarkar :— Who says that his real name is Pratap Chandra Sarkar, but was given the new name in the Samiti, deposes in his statement of 6th November : "I asked the meaning of Samitir Karjyo Uddhar, and was told that I should do my work and then I would learn."

Ganga Charan Datta :— In his statement, dated 5th November, says, "No one explained to me what the work of the Samiti is; I cannot say what it is."

The five boys have admittedly taken this vow, but only one will divulge some hint of what the object is for which he has forsaken home and parents and for which he is ready to sacrifice his life. Obviously if there were any honest and lawful object in view to which young men, boys and minors could devote their lives, that object could be made public.

It will be made still clearer by the next series of vows, and will be proved beyond question by the literature belonging to the Samiti and by the songs and writings of particular members that the real object of the Samiti was the subversion of British rule in India or, to sum it up from the Samiti point of view, "The mother has long been shamefully oppressed by the grinding tyranny of the English demons. Awake strengthen and discipline yourselves under a leader and devote your lives to freeing the mother ! Your greatest glory will be to lay down your life like the hero Profulla." This message we shall find repeated in various forms *ad nauseam*.

Clause 2 is a vow against fornication, adultery, masturbation and unnatural offences.

The only remark called for is that there is great significance in the prominence given to this prohibition. There is obviously great danger in removing from home-life and bringing together in one building a large number of young men and boys. The head of the institution recognised the danger and its pernicious influence upon the material which was destined to achieve the great object which he had placed before him, and therefore he did his best to combat the evil. That the evil was not merely

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feared but actually existed within the Samiti can be proved from papers found within its walls. It must be noticed here that the discipline enforced within the Samiti was extremely severe and calculated to ruin the constitution of young boys. The boy Ananta Mohan Chatterji says : "Nobody can come out of the walls of the Samiti without taking passes from either Ashu Babu or Nishi Babu or any other manager in charge for the time." Exhibit No. 23 of 5th November is a register of persons going out showing the period for which leave is allowed and the hour and minute of exit and of return.

There are always sentries on duty at the gate, and the night duty was divided into two watches of 3 hours each, from 11 to 2 and from 2 to 5. two boys being appointed for each watch. See Exhibits 8 and 22 of 15th November. The punishments were ferocious, and, if really carried out, would permanently injure a boy's constitution. Exhibit 501 of 15th November is written by Pulin himself and called "Order book." It contains the three following orders :

Exhibit No. 501 of 15th November

Om Bande Mataram

(1) Sriman Upendra shall have, for misconduct, to take boiled rice without salt for 15 days without talking to anybody, to keep watch at night from 2 A.M. to 5 A.M. for eight days, and for the whole night for 7 days.

(2) Sriman Kshiti Mohan shall have to do the same for 10 days, and to keep watch for the whole of the night for 4 days and from 1 A.M. to 2 P.M. at night.

Sriman Mahesh, too, shall have to do the same for 7 days, and to keep watch for the whole night for 3 days and from 11 P.M. to 2 A.M. at night.

We are not told what the "misconduct" was, but the severity of its punishment night watch from 2 to 5 for eight days and watch for the whole night for seven days makes it probable that there had been some violation of this vow. However that may be, it is not surprising that, in the circumstances outlined above, boys took to vice. The following is a frank confession of a breach of clause 2 of this vow :

Exh. No. 1010 of 15th November 1908

N.B. : All words found in English are underlined.

DIARY

For the month of Kartic 1315

Sarat Chandra Chakravarty,

Bajrapuri,

Dacca

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Om Bande Mataram

18th Kartic 1315 B.S. 7th November 1908

Tuesday

To get up from bed at 5-10. Then to take exercise after performing the morning duties. Then recitation of hymns at 6, and after taking a small quantity of ginger and karkaj salt I begin to play lathi (6-8). Then from 8 to 10 study. Then after bathing I take my meal then sit for study again.

I was to have seen Priyo Nath to-day at 9, but when I settled that I wont prosecute my studies any more. I did not see him. I slept at 1. I get up at 3-30. Then from 4 to 6 lathi-play, and at 7 I get out on the streets. *Meetings* are held at the house of Satis and others; many things are discussed there. I take my meal at 9 at night and slept at 10-30. I dream many bad dreams at night. From 3 to 5 I have to do night duty on many days at night. I do *H.P.* once; it makes me feel very bad physically. And I sleep at 5.

Wednesday. 19th Kartic

I was late in getting up from bed. I got up at about 7-30. I went to play lathi after performing the morning duties.

The following is a pencilled note without any names and with dashes in places of certain words, but it is clearly a report regarding an unnatural offence, Exh. 1204 of 15th November :—

Both (Ubhayerai) had their clothes tightly worn and had a very tight band at the waist. One had his clothes at the hips removed. But for the matter of that his kacha (the end of a piece of cloth worn round the waist which is tucked into the waist band at the back) did not come off or the cloth he wore did not fall off. The kacha was removed to one side and the waist band was raised upwards. He was lying on his right side. The other man, too, had his clothes at the — only removed, and his clothes did not fall off, — was in a tight fashion. He, too, was lying on his right side. The two were huddled together. There was not much space between their. It would perhaps be about the breadth of six fingers.

It is probable that this report was submitted by someone under clause 3 which imposes the obligation to bring to notice any breach of the vow on the part of others.

Clause 3 :— Those who take the vow are bound to report any violation of it by others, and in case they themselves violate it, the curse of God, of the mother and of the mighty sages, is invoked to destroy them.

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The Bisesh Pratijna and Anandamath

Lastly, an important fact must be noticed regarding the Bisesh Pratijna. It is taken bodily from the Anandamath of Bankim Chandra Chatarji. How closely the Bisesh Pratijna follows the fifth chapter of the second part is shown by placing the two side by side. In the Anandamath Satyananda administers the oath to Mahendra and another before the image of Vishnu. Their vow is therefore in the form of question and answer, but the renunciation of all earthly ties is practically the same. In two cases the words used in the two vows are identical.

Om Bande Mataram
Bisesh Pratijna

Ami parambrahma pita mata guru neta O matribhumike sakshi kariya ei sapath karitechhi je.

Ami ei Samitir karyya uddhar paryanta *pita mata atmiya* svajan bandhu bandhab bari ghar pravritir nimitta konao prakar mayate abaddha haiba na.

Samitir karyya hetu konao prakar tyag svikare kunthita haibana kichhutei ei Samiti O mandali parityag kariba na ei Samitir O mandalir Samasta niyami samyak pratipalan kariba; ei Samitir O mandalir sthayi asthayi O Samayik Karttri pakshaganer sampurna adhin haiya tahader adeshmata Samitir O mandalir Samasta karyya bina apattite sampadan kariba; karttri pakshaganke na janayia kakhanao sthan paribarthan kariba na ebang rij svarther janya kakhanao byasta haiba na.

Ami ejibanekakhanao konao prakar dhumpan kimba kanao prakar madak drabya seban kariba na, ebang konao prakar nesha drabya byababhar kariba na, konao beshya sangsarga kariba na paranari bidhaba

Anandamath
Dvitya Khanda

Satya — Tomara ei Bhagahat
Sakshat pratijna kara.
Santan — dharmmer niyamsakal
palan karibe ?
Ubhaye — kariba.
Satya — Jatadin na matar uddhar
haya tata din grih-dharmma
parityag karibe ?
Ubha — kariba.
Satya — *mata-pita* tyag karibe ?
Ubha — tyag kariba.
Satya — dara suta ?
Ubha — tyag kariba.
Satya — Atmiya svajan ? das
dasi ?
Ubha — Sakalai tyag karilam.
Satya — dhan, -sampad-bhog ?
Ubha — Sakalai parityagya haila.
Satya — Indriya jay karibe ?
striloker sange eakhan ekasane
basibe na ?
Ubha — basiba na —
Indriya jay kariba

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kimba kumari gaman kariba na o hasta - maithunadi kimba pungmaithunadi O kariba na ebang bandhu bandhab atmiya svajan O parichita byaktiganke ai samasta karyye badha dite o ai samasta karyer prabritti dur karite jatha sadhya jatna O chesta kariba.

Clause 2 of the Bisesh Pratijna is simply an amplification of the brief vow in the Anandamath to conquer one's passions and never to sit on the same seat with women.

The passage opposite does not occur in the Bisesh Pratijna. It is "swear before God that you will never earn any money for yourselves or your relatives and that what you earn you will make over to the treasury of the Baishnabs (the association of the Sunnyasis) ?

We swear.

Will you yourselves take up arms and fight for the Santans' religion ?

We will.

That you will never fly from the battle-field ?

Never.

The omission of this passage is very significant.

A Satya — Bhagabat sakshat ka pratijna kare, apanar janya ba svajaner janya arthoparjjan karibe na ? Jahauparjjan karibe taha baishnab dhanagare dibe ?

Ubha — diba.

Satya — Sanatan dharmmer janya svayang astra dhariya juddha karibe ?

Ubha — kariba.

B Satya — Rane kakhanao bhanga debe na ?

Ubha — na.

Ai pratijna kimba konao rup pratijna keha bhanga karibe tahar pratibidhaner nimitta Samyak karttripakshadigake janaiba. Jadi ami ei Sapath haite bichalita hai ba ihar birudhacharan kari tabe brahmashap matrishap O mahapurushadigershap amake achire dhvangsa karibe.

Satya — Jadi pratijna bhanga haya ?

Ubha — Jvalanta chitaya prabesh kariya athaba bishpan kariya pran tyag kariba.

Satya — Tabe tomadigake dikshita kariba. Tamara je sakal pratijna karibe taha bhanga kario na. Murari svayang ihar sakshi. Jini Raban Kangsa,

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Hiranyakashipu, Jarasandha
Shishupal prabhritir
binashahetu, jini
sarbbantaryyami, sarbhajayi,
sarbbashaktiman, O
sarbbaniyanta, jini Indrer
bajre O marjjarer nakhe
tulyarupe bas karen Tini
pratijna bhanga karrike
binashta kariya ananta
narake preran kariben.

Ubha — Tathastu.
Satya — Tomara gao
Bandemataram.

The revolutionary societies, which have already been unmasked, attempted so obviously to re-enact the schemes of the *Sanyasi* Rebellion in modern times — I mention murders, and dacoities, the killing of Brahmins the storage of arms and ammunition like Mahendra at Padachihna and the singing of Bande Mataram—that it is not surprising to find the Anusilan Samiti taking one of its important vows bodily from Anandamath. It is more than probable that what we find omitted from the words of the Anusilan vow really formed one of the "secret mantras" which it was too dangerous to put into writing.[1] Passage A, however, the doctrine of a common purse, has its exact counter-part in No. 8 of a list of rules, Exh. 1 (h) of 5th November. This reads :—

Sabhyagan kehai nij byaktigata kharacher nimitha, atmiya svajan bandhu bandhabgan haite, kanao rup taka paysa anite paribe na. Kaharo kono atmiya svajan bandhu bandhab kimba. Pita mata kanao taka paysa kimba bhog sukher Jinishadi arpan karile, taha samitir o mandalir sadharan sampattir madhye ganya haibe. Ebang Samasta Sabhyaganeri bhoger nimitta pradhan adhyaksher haste arpan karite haibe.

Sabhyaganer hate jakhani je kona paysa jamibe kimba atirikta thakibe taha tatkshanati pradhan adhyakshu nikat arpan karite hoibe.

As regards clause 3, the penalties invoked upon a breach of the vow are much the same. The passage which has been omitted from Anandamath and is marked with asterisks refers to caste. Satyananda informs those who take the vow that there is no caste in their society.

Finally, it is noticeable that in Anandamath the *Bande Mataram* is the conclusion of the vow, whereas it is the beginning of the Bisesh Pratijna as of practically every document book and letter which is found within the Samiti.

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A Peculiar written vow

The next and last vow to be noticed goes further than the Bisesh Pratijna. It had evidently to be written out by the person making it, for copies of the vow are written out in pencil : one is signed, another bears a name, and another the date.

Translation of Exhibit Nos. 72, 1099, 1100 and 1101

Where they differ the differences have been noted in the margin

Om Bande Mataram

1. In the presence of God, fire, mother, preceptor and the leader (lit., making them witnesses), I swear that I will do all the work of the circle for the development of Samiti, staking my life and everything that I possess. I will carry out all commands and will act in opposition to those who act in opposition to the aforesaid circle and to do injury to them to the utmost of my power. [2]
2. I swear that I will never discuss the inner secrets with anybody, and that I will not tell them to my relations and friends or unnecessarily ask anything about them even to those included in the circle.
3. I swear that I will always be ready to carry out commands in a steady and disinterested manner, always preserving the secrecy of *mantras* and discarding waywardness, fickleness and the propensities for loquacity and wrangling.
4. I swear that I will never conceal anything whatever from the leader, and that I will never tell him a lie.
5. I swear that I will always be engaged in the practices of religion, and that I will mete out just punishments to those who are antagonistic to it.
6. If I fall off from this vow or act in opposition to it, the curse of Brahmins, of the mother and of the great patriots of every country will destroy me ere long. [3]

In exhibit 1140 of 15th November, a note-book belonging to Profulla Chandra Sen, we find the Adya and Antya Pratijnas and finally the vow given above, but clauses 2, 3 and 4 are omitted. It has been separately translated. Of the written vows translated jointly, Exhibit 1101 is signed Bankim Chandra Roy, but below this is written the name Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta. This latter is the true name, and it was evidently not considered safe to allow a serious vow to be signed in a false name — see Volume I, page 30.

Exhibit 1099 has "Rabindra Nath" endorsed on the back of it. This

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endorsement is identical with that on exhibits 1177 and 1181, which, with other books particularly exhibit 593, containing handwriting identical with that of the vow, clearly show the writer of the vow to be Rabindra Nath Goswami — see Volume I, page 21.

Exhibit 72 is dated 9th *Asvin* 1315, corresponding to 25th September 1908, but bears no name.

Exhibit 1100 has neither date nor name.

We have here the vow of what is admittedly a secret society, the members which bind themselves to do injury to the utmost of their power to those who thwart them. Such a declaration, even if the ultimate object of the association were a good object and lawful, would be in itself unlawful. It can only mean that the taker of the vow is ready to commit crime against those whom he considers his enemies or those whom his association declares to be enemies. Enemies of the cause would be such persons as are described under head 10 of the village note — "Mischievous, rebellious, malicious, characterless and vow-breaking members" — (see exhibit 31 of 5th November), informers like Sukumar Chakravarty *alias* Manasa or Jiban Pradip, who after being a member of the Samiti was murdered on 12th November 1908 when on his way to give evidence before the District Magistrate, zamindars refusing to contribute to Samiti funds and therefore threatened with death or dacoity, Government officers and police officers who have been frequently so threatened. The system of terrorism which is clearly advocated in the Paridarshak (see page 13, Nos. 14 and 15) and hinted at in the Sampadakganer Karttabya (see page 25 article 10) reaches a climax in this vow. Clause 1 is an incitement to commit acts of violence, acts which the individual might not approve but which he would be bound by his vow of absolute obedience to carry out. When we realise the mad frenzy inspired in so many members of this Samiti by the imagined insults of "the mother" and the contempt of bodily suffering and death inculcated by the Gita teaching and by the hero worship of Khudiram and Profulla, we shall see how supremely dangerous this vow is. A similar vow was found in the diary book of Sushil Kumar Sen of Baniachung, Sylhet. It will he found at page 174 of the printed exhibits. The object of the vow is the establishing of "Dharmarajya" in India, and the meaning of "Dharmarajya" is clear from the invocation of Kali, the Gita and by the taking up of a sword.

Clause I of this vow corresponds with the opening part and clauses (b) and (c) of the Sylhet vow.

Clauses 2 and 3 proclaim that the society is a secret society.

The phrase "Secrecy of Mantras" corresponds to "Gupta Mantra"

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of the Paridarshak (see page 18, No. 23) and shows how the main principles of the Samiti are embodied in all its documents.

Clause 2 Corresponds with (d) and (e) of the Sylhet vow.

Clause 5. :— Religious practices - "The words used is "simply dharmma acharan". The idea of enthusiasm in religious practices is estimable enough, but the idea of punishing those who are antagonistic to your "religion" is a very novel doctrine among Hindus. Obviously the dharmma is not the ordinary Hindu religion, but some peculiar and militant belief. It is very clear that revolutionary societies in India have worked largely with the help of religion, particularly the religion of the Gita; in fact, the pursuit of their aim becomes a religion and is followed with that enthusiasm which is only associated with religion. The phrase here recalls and this clause supplies what was omitted (see page 45). In other words, we may say there was a "Samiti religion", and those who by being antagonistic to it were liable to punishment, were just those enemies of "the mother" of whom examples have already been given (see page 19). All this is very concisely and clearly expressed at the beginning of the Sylhet vow, "from today I take up the task of setting up Dharmarajya in India by removing and doing away with all obstacles, I do (hereby) offer my life to achieve this end". This idea came from the Gita and connects this vow with the *Jugantar*. Page 59 of K. T. * translation has "Whenever O descendant of Bharata ! piety languished, and impiety is in the ascendant, I create myself. I am born age after age, for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doars, and the establishment of piety" (dharmma sangsthapan). This is the motto of the Jugantar newspapers (see exhibit 52 and 1194). [C] Clause 6 - It is to be noted that among those who will punish the broken vow is the "mother." This corresponds with clause (g) of the Sylhet vow.

Summary of evidence furnished by vow :— The Adya, Antya, the vow signed by Panthapara young men and children headed Anusilan Samiti, the Bisesh pratijna and the peculiar written vow have all been shown similar support and references to Paridarshak and Sanpadakganer Karttabya, to be integral parts of the same system. Each must be judged in relation to the others and to other documents embodying the policy of the Anushilan Samiti. Without referring to documents not as yet described, it is clear that all the discipline, obedience, secrecy, devotion to dharmma and recourse to violence, to which the vow system binds every member irrevocably, are directed to the accomplishment of a dangerous and unlawful object — the subversion of British rule, which is so clearly brought out in the Paridarshak.

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SECTION III

Lathi-play and other systems of training

Paridarshak's list of studies :— There is a list given in the Paridarshak [see pages 12-13 (13)] of the terms used to denote the different branches of training. It is :

(1)	Beniti	Lathi-play
(2)	Barddhamani	Lathi-play
(3)	Sankasuri	
(4)	Bank	Dagger
(5)	Jiu-jitsu	
(6)	Harua	
(7)	Hanumanti	
(8)	Suraseni	Sword
(9)	Ghusaghusi	Boxing
(10)	Asba	Riding
(11)	Chalan Pranali	Drill
(12)	Nauka	Managing a boat
(13)	Lakshya Bhed	Shooting at a target

We will give a sketch of the different kinds of exercises or training which can be described under the broad but misleading term "Lathi-play." See Jyotirmay's note-book, exhibit 5 of September 1907.

Bank or Chhora :— This is a dagger and in the "Upakramanika" or introduction which is found in Jyotirmay's note-book, it is described as 10 inches long — handle 4, and blade 6 inches — one inch broad and sharp on both sides. The practice dagger was made of wood.

Dagger-play is divided into three parts called —

Syamghat
Chaumukhi
Baladasti

probably representing three different methods of attack or defence. Each of these parts is subdivided into two or three groups of strokes, each of which has a technical name. For instance, under the first group, under Syamghat, there are 11 terms, under the second group 14, and so on.

There is also dobánk or the double dagger. Twenty-one wooden specimens of this weapon are marked exhibit 91 (original list) of 15th November. Of dobánk there are two kinds — dobánk duhate and dobank dujane, meaning, respectively, perhaps holding one double dagger with both hands and holding two double daggers, one in each hand. Under each of these kinds there are two divisions — Milbat and Chaumukhi with numerous different strokes under each.

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A curious combination of Jiu-jitsu and dagger-play is found in exhibit 685 which bears no name. This has been translated.

In exhibit 20 of 5th November (Jotindra Mohan Sen) some dagger-play has been translated.

Chhoto lathi :— Next in Jyotirmay's note-book comes what is called tarbari or śuraseni (see term No. 8 above). This is sword. Now, although we find the term "suraseni" meaning sword in the Paridarshak, and its abbreviation in the village notes, we do not find it or the word "tarbari" used in the numerous lathi-play books found during August and November in the Dacca Samiti. The term which corresponds to it is "chhoto lathi." This change has great significance, and will be explained later. For the present we will speak simply of the "chhoto lathi," the length of which is to be 2 cubits and 2 fingers of the man using it, i.e., about 38 inches. A considerable number of "chhoto lathis" were found in Roy Thakur's gadi, Serajganj. It is to be noted that this is quite a harmless looking weapon, smaller than an ordinary walking-stick, and therefore not thought of as a "lathi" at all by ordinary persons.

It was this kind of stick which volunteers were allowed to carry at the Nangalband Mela.

There is a very long "Upakramanika" or introduction to the chhoto lathi, followed by daraibar that, or posture of standing. A diagram is generally given showing the different positions of the fact. Lastly, brief expositions of the necessity of intelligence, courage, promptness, tact and strength.

Chhoto lathi-play is divided into two main series of lessons, called Adya and Antya, first and final, like the printed vows. These are divided into numerous baris or strokes, and the terms Syamghat, Chaumukhi, Milbat, Baladasti are used, and the appropriate "position" for each is noted.

Boro lathi :— Lastly, there was the raibans or big lathi. This is what is generally understood as a lathi, i.e., a strong male bamboo, about 5ft 3in in length. The boro lathi-play has two main divisions, beniti and barddhamani (see Nos. 1 and 2 of terms on page 51). In beniti the lathi is grasped at the centre with either right or left hand and caused to revolve; in barddhamani the lathi is grasped one cubit from the end by the right hand and the left hand has a loose grasp about half a cubit from the right hand. Beniti appears to consist largely of tricks exhibiting the skill of the performer, while barddhamani seems something like quarter staff play.

Beniti has several divisions, Chowari, Paitara, each including numerous tricks. Barddhamani, similarly, has Haruapesh (which may refer to No. 6 on page 51), Paitara. Rangerbari, Marerbari, each including numerous "baris" or strokes.

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Place of lathi-play in the system

The following books on lathi-play have been found :

5th September 1907, Jyotirmay's house (1 copy is filed as exhibit 2, 1729 of 1907)	2
3rd August 1908, house of Nalini Kishor Guha, Bajrajugini, Munshiganj	5
10th August, Dacca Samiti	5
5th November, Dacca Samiti	10
15th November, Dacca Samiti	163
Total	185

This total will show the extraordinary importance attached to lathi exercise. A further proof of this is found in the time table, exhibit 11 of 5th November, which is here given. Jiujitsu and drill will be dealt with later. I shall now explain a fact in regard to the lathi-play system which is not at all obvious to the ordinary spectator of lathi-play, but which goes far to explain the attractiveness and necessity of lathi-play to the Samiti organisation.

Exhibit 1032 of 15th November, belonging to Jogendra Kumar Basak, has on the first page "Glory to Mother India," Mother Kali, etc., and within a time table for a week in which we find the words "dagger", "sword" and "large stick" frequently used. They correspond to bank, chhoto lathi and boro lathi.

Om Bande Mataram

marked 11 in the list of 5th November

Time Table —Distribution of lathi-play

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
1	2	3	4	5
1st Batch	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill
2nd Batch	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill
3rd Batch	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill

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	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
1	2	3	4	5
4th Batch	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill
5th Batch	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill

	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
1	2	3	4	5
1st Batch	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Big lathi Small lathi Dagger Running, jumping etc., with drill, cultivation of music.	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill
2nd Batch	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Ditto	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill
3rd Batch	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Ditto	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill
4th Batch	Big lathi Beniti Boxing Drill	Ditto	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill
5th Batch	Small lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill	Ditto	Small lathi Bak Boxing Drill	Big lathi Beniti Jiujitsu Drill

Chhoto lathi-play is sword exercise :— The Samiti organisation, we are told by newspapers and some members, aimed at the physical and thereby moral improvement of young men. Physical exercises, particularly for young Bengali youths, are excellent, and when the Samiti

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organisation started there was a fairly wide choice open. Cricket and football are games at which Indians have become most proficient, but might be placed out of court on the ground of their expense and also their western origin. Similarly with tennis. But there are numerous indigenous exercises requiring no expenditure, which might have been adopted. Wrestling was practised in the Samiti and competitions were held, and to this form of exercise no objection whatever can be raised. But the lathi has invariably been associated with low-class persons, chiefly Muhammadans of the badmash class, disreputable retainers of unscrupulous zamindars. It is on the face of it remarkable that young Hindu bhadralok should select this as their chief form of exercise and transform themselves into lathials. The Samiti authorities were perhaps prepossessed in favour of the big lathi by the praise bestowed up in it by Bankim Chandra Chatterji in Debi Chaudhurani. But at its best the big lathi could hardly be expected to drive out the English from India. For that purpose real weapons were required. These have, I believe, actually been collected and stored in secret places, but a long time must necessarily pass before they could be openly used. In the meantime, the young revolutionaries must be trained with a view to handling those weapons when the time came. Neither guns nor swords could be openly used during the course of training, without at once bringing on a crisis with Government which was obviously foolish. In these circumstances, the adoption of "chhoto lathi-play" was most wise. In September 1907, judging by Jyotirmay's note-book, this form of exercise was frankly called Tarabari. Suraseni or sword exercise and Jyotirmay's introduction begins with and uses frequently the word Asi sword. In his second note-book not only do we find "chhora khela" and "asi khela," dagger play and sword play, but we are left in no doubt regarding the weapons meant because excellent pictures of them are given. But subsequently the use of this word was considered inexpedient, hence we find in the Samiti during August and November 1908 numerous books with only the phrase "chhoto lathi," but the "Upakramanika" diagram and all the exercises are identical with those in Jyotirmay's book. The chhoto lathi exercises could not be practised for their own sake or for the purpose of protecting the Hindu against Muhammadan rowdies, because the "chhoto lathi" would be useless as a weapon of offence or defence. But as a training to make youths expert swordsmen and fences, it was invaluable and brought on no premature trouble with Government. Pulin Behari Das is a pupil of Murtaza, of Calcutta, who is chiefly known as a swordsman and fencer. The lessons learnt from Murtaza by Pulin were taught to Pulin's followers mainly through the medium of chhoto lathi

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exercises. For these reasons, it appears that there was a political significance in the Samiti's choice of lathi-play as their chief exercise.

Lathi-play with a political object :— The documentary evidence furnished by the lathi-play books themselves on this point is the following. Jyotirmay has separate "Upakramanikas" or introductions to the dagger, sword and big lathi, and in his second note-book (exhibit 2, case 1729 of 1907) he has excellent drawings of daggers and swords, and after one of the vows and before dagger play commences he has pictures of the "Baghanaka" (tiger claws) and "Bhabani," the famous sword of Sivaji. This book has been translated. But in 1908 searches we only come across what was clearly the most important of the three "Upakramanikas," that relating to the chhoto lathi which is identical with the second "Upakramanika" in Jyotirmay's book, except that "lathi" replaces "sword" throughout. This "Upakramanika" is a long exposition of the theory of swordsmanship, containing such scientific terms as "centre of oscillation" and "superposition of small effects" (written invariably in English) — "blessed words," no doubt first heard by Pulin when the fencing master turned lecturer. There are fourteen copies of this "Upakramanika" which have been translated together. Even if Jyotirmay's note-book containing the word "sword" throughout in the "Upakramanika" were non-existent, the other copies of this treatise would have no meaning if the word lathi is taken literally as such. We need only refer to such expressions as "sharp side," "wrong side," "piercing the enemy's body, " which are meaningless applied to a small lathi.

Translation of part of exhibit 6 of 3rd August.

Nalini Kishor Guha Bajrajugini, of exhibit Nos. 584, 632, 633, 634, 635, 647, 660, 665, 813, 956, 1012 and 1230 of 15th November 1908 and of part of Jyotirmay's note-book of 5th September 1907.

Introduction :— The $\frac{\text{lathi}}{\text{sword}}$ should be 2 cubits and 2 fingers in length of the man using it. For if it be longer, it will be inconvenient to weild and it will strike against the ground. If smaller, then also it will not be particularly effective. A lathi of that length will not suit a tall person.[4]

The sharp edge shall be deemed to be paralleled to the fold of the four fingers next to their junction with the palm of the hand when the $\frac{\text{lathi}}{\text{sword}}$ is held within the grasp, i.e., parallel to the middle one of the three folds. The wrong side should be deemed to be in the same line with the middle of the thumb and forefinger. While dealing the stroke particular attention should be paid as to whether the sharp side is precisely hitting the mark while the lathi/sword is held within the grip. One-half of the

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remaining portion of the lathi that is towards the grip should be used to resist the blows of the enemy in order that the blows of the enemy may fall on that portion. But this rule varies at times as regards blows levelled at the lower portions of the legs.[5]

The blow dealt by the portion adjacent to the grip is not generally particularly effective. So it will not matter much if the sharpness of that portion be blunted. But the power of offering resistance of that portion is very great, i.e., even if a very severe blow happens to fall on that portion near to the grip, and if the grasp be firm, your lathi/sword will not be shifted to any notable extent.[6]

The remaining portion of the lathi/sword next to the half mentioned already should be divided into two parts; it is with the fourth part at the middle that the enemy should be struck. The sharp side of the lathi/sword and the fourth part at the middle should be made to fall precisely on the portion of the enemy's body at which the stroke is aimed. For the stroke from that part comes with much greater force that from other parts. In cricket-play as well as in the game of tipcat it is seen as a result of the stroke dealt by the lower end of the bat the object struck rises high but falls near. The stroke dealt by the portion near the hand causes a shock in the hand and the object struck does not go any distance at all. But the object struck goes to a great distance with small exertion when the stroke is dealt with the fourth part at the middle. The fourth part at the middle ascertained above of any straight and heavy thing is called the centre of oscillation in science. The working of the centre of oscillation should be read in science.[7]

N.B.— While striking the enemy no attention should be paid to the lathi/sword with which he will baffle your strokes. The sharp side of the lathi/sword and the part of it fixed for striking the blow should be made to fall precisely on the part of the enemy's body at which the stroke is aimed, if he fails to hold his lathi/sword properly and to ward off your attack.[8]

The remaining fourth part of the lower end of the sword is sharp on both sides and it is curved lower down. It is convenient to deal stroke called chir and hul with it and also to pierce it into the enemy's body; and with the reverse side it is convenient to cut off the back side of the neck, etc.

The various movements of the lathi/sword are derived from the different movements and gestures of the hand; but as there are those sandhis (joints) in the hand, so the motion of the lathi/sword is of three kinds.

The motion of the lathi/sword that springs from the manibandha (wrist) of the hand is called gardesh. In strokes of this kind the lathi/sword should revolve like a wheel with the wrist as the centre. In these strokes

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the other two sandhis (joints) of the hand are not particularly brought into play. The motion of the lathi/sword that springs principally [9] from the manibandha of the elbow is called jarb. A sapta (*lit.*, all embracing) stroke arises from strokes of the jarb kind. The motion of the lathi/sword that springs from the manibandha of the shoulder is called tarash a tana (*lit.*, drawn) stoke is generated in strokes of the tarash kind. In lathi/sword play it very seldom happens that only one sandhi (joint) works and the other two remain totally inactive. But the stroke is named after the manibandha from which it principally springs — for example, even though the shoulder comes into play in lifting up and bringing down the hand at the time of dealing a sapta stroke on the head, the stroke, because it really springs from the manibandha or the elbow, is called a stroke of the jarb kind. [10] While learning lathi-play/fencing as each stroke is given, it should be very carefully ascertained and discussed whether it belongs to the gardesh kind, to the jarb kind or to the tarash kind. Unless a thorough knowledge of this matter be acquired at the very beginning, it will be impossible for you to defend yourself or to attack the enemy fearlessly at the time of "sut" (single play).

Just as the strokes of the sword are of three kinds, gardesh, jarb and tarash, so too is snake-bite of three kinds "sol" "tip" and "tan." Again, as life cannot generally be saved when the venom fang of the serpent comes in contact with the body, so too life cannot generally be saved when the sharp side of the sword comes in contact with the body. For this reason snake-bite is compared to the stroke of the sword. [11]

The venom fang of the serpent is generally a little bigger than the others. But instead of their being a hole for letting out poison at the sharp point of the fang, there are two such holes on the two sides in the middle part. [12] If you forcibly turn away your body the moment it comes in contact with the sharp tip of the venom fang when the snake is about to bite you, there will only be a scratch. Such a bite is called "sol." Life is not lost in consequence of such a bite, for the poison hole being at a distance from the body the poison cannot enter it. For that reason terrible hooded serpents bend a little while biting. In that case poison already reaches at the tip trickling down from the hole. Even then very little poison can enter the body in "sol" biting. [13]

When the venom fang enters into the body the biting is call "tip." Life cannot generally be saved from such bites, for the entire fang with the poison holes enters the body and the wound becomes large in consequence, and the poison also enters the body in a large quantity.

When only a portion of the venom fang of the snake enters the body and the snake is caught hold of by its head and pulled away before the poison holes get into the body a tension will be experienced in the body

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and blood will come out. Such a bite is called "tan." Life is saved in some cases and in others it is not saved from the effects of the biting.

The least dangerous form of snake-bite (i.e., sol) corresponds to the most dangerous stroke of the sword (i.e., gardesh), for the sword does not move with the same lighting speed in the two others as in gardesh. [14]

Impossible and very onerous tasks are accomplished merely by the swift motion of the sword. Strength is not much needed. The little strength that is necessary to move it in various directions will suffice. But firmness of body, fortitude, perseverance and swiftness are particularly necessary.

The strength of a powerful hurricane consists only in its swiftness. Yet it destroys houses, uproots trees and levels everything to the ground. We hear that during a violent whirlwind a bamboo stick pierced a big mango tree through and through. It is not an impossibility, for if you try to drive the bamboo stake in the mango tree forcibly, the mango tree will, by the law of action and reaction, strike the stake with the same force with which the stake struck it. The two blows are of equal intensity. But by the time the stake takes to pierce the mango tree, it itself is shattered to pieces by the strokes of the tree. But the stake moved with such lighting speed owning to the impetuous swiftness of the whirlwind that by the time it would have fallen to pieces had efforts been made to thrust it into the tree even before it bent a little it passed straight through the tree without giving it the opportunity to break it. Before the firmness of the one part of the stake was exhausted, the firmness of the other part came to its rescue owing to its swift motion. This is called "superposition of the small effects" in science. The stroke in gardesh also works similarly.

The most dangerous form of snake-bite, i.e., "tip", corresponds to the jarb stroke of the sword which is comparatively less dangerous (than the other two). For in the jarb the degree of penetration into the enemy's body will depend upon the amount of force applied with the hand. The sword will not come out of the enemy's body. Also if your enemy succeeds in warding off a jarb stroke, it will take you long in dealing a second stroke. [15]

In fighting in the midst of a large number of men, strokes of the tarash kind are particularly effective and necessary. Begin every stroke at gardesh or jarb and, shifting it to tarash immediately, be ready to deal a second stroke. [16] At this time do not begin any stroke at tarash. Pay particular attention rather to the strokes of the enemy you have succeeded in warding off thoroughly than to those you have inflicted on him, for you will be done for if inflicting a thousand strokes on the enemy you fail to resist a single stroke of his. Therefore greater attention should particularly be paid to the methods of self defence than to those of dealing strokes. In all affairs, in every undertaking, if you have not the power to

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protect yourself, you will ere long meet with destruction owing to dangerous and difficulties, dread, obstacles and hindrances.[17]

Special attention should be paid to three things for self-defence :—

Firstly, the strokes of the enemy should be resisted precisely at the middle of the part of the sword between the grip and its middle point.

Secondly, to resist the strokes of the enemy, always keep the lathi/sword about 1/2 cubit in front of the body. That is, the lathi/sword should be held parallel to the breast to its right or left, above or below it at a distance of 1/2 a cubit from the straight line or its prolongation formed by joining the middle point of the forehead with the tip of the great toe of the right foot. If the stroke of the enemy is given from above, the lathi/sword should be held precisely 1/2 cubit above the point in front mentioned above in the same line with the part of the body at which the stroke is aimed. The lathi/sword should similarly be held below the part of the body at which the stroke is aimed when the stroke is given from below. Similarly, the lathi/sword should be held by the side of the part of the body aimed at if the stroke be given from a side. For if the lathi/sword be held in this posture, the hand may at will be forcibly thrust forward and it may be contracted, if necessary. But if the lathi/sword be held with the hand fully stretched out, the entire strength of the hand is applied already and the power of applying force at will is gone. The hand can only be contracted towards the body. If the hand be so contracted, in most cases, owing to the fierceness of the enemy's stroke, your own sword will enter into your own body. If, again, the sword is held in contact with the body, the stroke of the enemy cannot be thoroughly resisted.

Thirdly, when the enemy begins to aim his stroke at a particular part of your body, it is true that you can resist the stroke by placing your lathi/sword between the body and his lathi/sword. But if the lathi/sword be held in any position whatever, the lathi/sword of the enemy may not hit the mark, but it is likely that it will glance off and strike your body at a different place, and your self-defence will not be thorough. So the lathi/sword should be held in such a way that the lathi/sword of the enemy may not in any case strike any part of your body. To do so, special attention should be paid to one point.

A rubber-ball if it strikes perpendicularly against the ground will, by the force of reaction, rise up in the same path along which it fell. But if it strikes against the ground in a slanting posture, it will fly off in the opposite direction, making the same angle with the ground. In the same way, if your hold your lathi/sword at right angles to the direction in which the stroke of the enemy is coming, his lathi/sword cannot glance off in any direction. But if you keep your hand steady and unshaken, either the

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lathi/sword of the enemy will return due to reaction along the same path in which it was coming or else it will remain static in the place of your lathi/sword on which it fell. If you hold your lathi/sword at right angles to the enemy's lathi/sword your lathi/sword will in many cases remain slanting with the end downwards. In the circumstances, the question may arise that your lathi/sword being in a slanting position the lathi/sword of the enemy may glide down the slope and strike your body at a different place. But heavy bodies when unrestrained glide down an inclined surface. At the time of play the sword is very firmly grasped, so it is impossible for it to glide down like a free body. Again, the sword strikes with such speed that in comparison with it its velocity due to its weight is nil. Hence, at the time of play it will not have the slightest tendency to glide down owing to its velocity due to its weight.

Posture of standing

While learning lathi-play/fencing both should stand, at the distance of a lathi/sword, from each other. If a lathi/sword be placed on the ground, the tips of the great-toe of the right foot of each should be at one extremity of the lathi/sword, so that the side of the right foot towards the great-toe may be in the same straight line with the lathi/sword. Then each should keep his left foot parallel to the right foot at a distance of the breath of four fingers from the latter. Then move the left foot backwards in the same line and bend the right knee in such a way that the leg (the portion between the knee and the ankle) may stand perpendicularly on the ground. Then the breast should be thrown forward horizontally, so that the right shoulder and the right knee may be in the same perpendicular line. Then the left foot should best so placed at the back that the entire body and the entire left foot be in the same straight line and make an angle of about 60 degrees with the ground. Then, throwing the weight of the body on the waist, stand firm with the breast and neck steady.

The eyes should always be steadily fixed at the eyes of the enemy. In that case, every action of the enemy will be reflected on the eyes and will put your mind and intelligence on the alert. The two straight lines drawn along the soles of the two feet towards the great-toe will cut one another at an angle of 45 degrees.[18]

It is true that you will feel a little pain at first to stand in this posture, but you should, by the force of habit, be able to stand on in this posture for a whole day without feeling any pain. The body is named "Mahasay." It endures all that it is made to endure.

N.B. —As houses and building do not last long, unless they are built on firm basis, in the same way one cannot cope successfully with one's

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enemy for a long time, unless the posture of standing be correct and firm. For that reason special attention should be paid to the posture of standing. The method that is recorded here is called "Aykang."

1. Whatever work you may take up and however great your strength may be, everything will fall through because of an ordinary foolish act. So there is the predominance of *intelligence* in every thing. Do not boast of your having taken up a work before worshipping and acquiring the intelligence suited thereto. Unless you be meek you will never be able to acquire learning, intelligence and knowledge.
2. No great act can be accomplished unless the heart is filled with *courage*, especially where the result of the action is uncertain. You wont have the intelligence as regards its accomplishment, unless you step forward courageously. So the next thing to be resorted to after intelligence is courage. By habit, i.e., by the repeated performance of bold and daring acts alone, you will grow courageous.
3. After intelligence and courage have been acquired the next thing needful is *promptness*. The best means to acquire it is to drive away idleness. As soon as you learn a trick, if you stop them and there without discussing it and think yourself versed in it at heart it will bear no fruit. You will not be able to apply it at the time of action. You will gradually acquire the power of using it when you become prompt by discussing and practising it repeatedly. Of the eyes, the mind, the hands, the feet and the body, the quickness of the one that goes before is more necessary than that of the one that follows it.[19]
4. The next thing needful after intelligence, courage and promptness have been achieved is *tact*. To acquire that you should act in accordance with the advice of the preceptor, being always attentive to his words with great patience, needness and reverence. Those who have no respect or reverence for their preceptor can never gain prosperity, wisdom and influence.
5. After intelligence, courage, promptness and tact have been acquired the next thing needful is *strength*. The best means of acquiring strength are Brahmacharya (ascetism in student life), the perusal of good books, the discussion of innocent topics, the shunning of wicked company, reverence towards superiors, the abandonment of vice, moderate eating, moderate enjoyment and moderate speech, wrestling, the power of enduring pain, the habit of enduring heat and cold, wind and hunger, etc., the

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observance of the rules for the preservation of health, mental cheerfulness and contentment, etc.

Patience and steadiness predominate equally over those five things. It is vulgarly called "dom" (breath). If you lose patience (i.e., dom) in any of the following things -e it intelligence, courage, promptness or strength - everything will go for nothing. The best means to heighten patience, steadiness and dom are firmness of mind, dutifulness and perseverance. Fickleness is always to be discarded.

The adage runs : "Three things are wanted in war — e.g., time, opportunity and patience." So do not lose time, do not let opportunities slip by, do not be impatient in any circumstances; with your heart and soul (lit, staking your life) be prepared for the future.

Though it is tact that prevails over strength in the matter of accomplishing an act, yet without a little strength no tact can be practised. For that reason there is the restriction against the practice of scientific tricks on the part of infants before their bones, flesh and muscles grew stiffened.

Their bones do not in many cases grow any more if they begin practising scientific tricks in their infancy. So even if they are considerably old the chances of their being dwarfish and lame are great. I spite of the superiority of promptness over tact, it is impossible to achieve the latter without being prompt. In the same way though the supremacy and necessity of courage is great, without tact and promptness and such other attributes and capabilities it is vain and simply dangerous to be courageous.

Again, although intelligence predominates over everything else and is of the greatest importance, when unallied with courage and other attributes, it is as effective as a head without the hands and legs, or as knowledge confined to books or as money invested in Government securities confined in the hands of Government on the approach of times of danger. Om Amen, Amen, Amen.

Namtalika

This is a glossary of curious terms which will be found in Jyotirmay's note-book and in numerous lathi-play books found in the Samiti. Exh. 1242 of 15th November belonging to Basanta Kumar Biswas (Vol. I, p. 17), Exh. 696 of 15th November, Jatindra Nath Deb Surma, Exh. 61 of 15th November, Abani Mohan Chakrabarti, Exh. 47 of 15th November, Hemanga Bhusan Roy, are given as samples. Also Exh. 258, belonging to Profulla Chandra Sen Gupta, Exh. 1234, bearing the name ":Nanda Lal Shing," Exh. 584, no name, containing bayonet exercise.

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The following are a few terms :

Kantha :— To pierce the artery of the neck.

Jigar :— To pierce the lungs beginning from a distance of two fingers to the right of the right breast.

Ultamora :— Beginning from the end of the left shoulder to pierce the right side of the breast.

Tamecha :— To cut the end of the right ear, beginning from the left ear and passing it through the nose.

Halkum (Chap Rast) :— With the wrong side of the sword, beginning from the back part of the neck to kill (a person) Katiya felite haibe. The word used here for sword is Tarabari.

Hul :— To thrust the sword straight and truly within a circle of four fingers radius from the navel as centre. Here the word used for sword is Ashi. See Exh. 61.

Chap Rast and Pesh :— These are terms which are used to qualify other terms and mean respectively left, right middle. For example :

Chasam (Rast Chap) :— To pierce the right or the left eye – two strokes.

Gurdda (Chap, Rast, Pesh) :— This means to pierce respectively the left armpit, the right armpit, and the genital organ. See in particular Exh. 258.

In this glossary not only do we find strokes and cuts, which have no meaning if applied to a lathi, but the word "sword" which is omitted from the majority of the "Upakramanikas" found in the Samiti is here openly used.

Exhibit 1173 of 15th November is a lahti-play book belonging to Hiranmay Guha Bajrapuri. He wrote upon it "Note-book for sword," and then scoring out the last word wrote "stick." His name will be mentioned in another connection presently.

Invocation to the Sword

Assuming that the extraordinary phenomena of the Bengalee bhadralok devoting all their energies to lathi-play meant only a desire for physical exercise, if we found any poems in their lathi manuals, we should expect those poems to be in praise of *mens sana in corpore sano,* or of youth in the glow of health and strength. But this is not the case.

On the contrary, in Jyotirmay's note-book we find that the "Namatalika," dagger and sword exercises, are prefaced by Sakti Puja. Here we are told at length the mythological story of how Brahma, Vishnu and Siva and the other gods joined together to create a "matchless mass of energy" — the goddess Kali — for the purpose of destroying the demons who had deprived the gods of their sovereignty.

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After this description there follows a prayer, that all may learn the lesson taught by the gods. The mythological teaching is applied to present needs, and hence its invocation in its present position as explaining the true aim of lathi-play : "O, all knowing Being, O Almighty Being, now give these awakened children the eye of knowledge remove misery and wretchedness, give good sense; endow them with the inclination to discriminate between what is beneficial and what is harmful, unite all brothers in one strength, love prosperity and adversity, so that love of the country may live in the hearts of the inhabitants of the country, so that from the bottom of the hearts of all Indians the sound may arise Bande Mataram."

There are some excellent aspirations here if they stood alone; but when they form a "prayer before lathi-play," it is clear that the "awakened children" only desire strength and unity to rid the country of some demons of oppression. So much for Jyotirmay's note-book which was found in September 1907. In his 2nd note-book Exh. 2 in case 1729 G. R. of 1907, where there are good drawings of daggers, swords and the tiger claws and the sword of Sivaji, Jyotirmay commences with an urgent invitation to suffer death and enjoy the crown of martyrdom :

Page 2

Come, come-to-day, who will die.

(1) To grind the bones, suck the blood, the devil is impatient at night in the crematorium. Possessing drugs, means and mantras, who, fie, fie, will be afraid of the devil ? Come, who die like a martyr (devotee) instead of meeting death like one (well nigh) dead ? Come, come to-day, who will die ?

(2) What fear is there in killing demons ? Are you afraid of the yells of beasts ? Not caring for desolate, dreadful forests, who will welcome dire calamities ? Destroying the cruel foes, who will die like a hero ? Come, come-to-day, who will die ?

(3) The storm rages churning the ocean. Waves roll on touching the skies. Who of you will courageously cross the ocean with a smiling face ? Let the boat break, let it sink in the ocean : yet who will row it and die ? Come, come to-day, who will die ?

(4) Treading under foot the hosts of enemy (your ancestors) attained emancipation (nirvana) and immortal life. Who of you will remember that you are born from a part of them, that you are born in the race. Soon to attain Heaven, to acquuire virtue, who will die like an Aryan ? Come, come to-day, who will die ?

(5) Hevenly damsels with garlands of victory made of flowers of Nandana (the Garden of Eden) in the hands besmeared with

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sandal paste, seeing you, are awaiting your going. Who will wear that garland of victory ? Being intoxicated with fragrance, with fame, with glory, who will attain immortality by death ? Come, come to-day, who will die ?

In none of the lathi-play books found since that date is there any Sakti Puja. It was evidently not strong enough. If Jyotirmay used a mild invocation to the deity but wrote clearly about "sword" exercises, his successors in writing about lathi-play books generally suppressed the word "sword", but they were much more frank in their invocation. They wrote invocations to the sword in their lathi-play and in their song books. The following are examples from 15th November search :

Exhibit 668, song book	belonging to Rajendra Chandra
Exhibit 1066, lathi-play	Guha *alias* Digendra Chandra Kumar Ghosh (Vol. I, page 55).

This same person writes the invocation in Exh. 1126 (original 58), song book belonging to Surendra Ch. Roy and Hiranmoy Guha, and also in Exh. 740. Exhibit 584 is a large book, without name, containing lathi-play and bayonet exercise. It has the invocation.

Exhibit 1130, lathi-play, bearing name Surjya Kanta Ray, an *alias* for Nalini Kanta Saha or Ray (Volume I, page 91).

Exhibit 1236, song book of Pratab Chandra Sarkar *alias* Hem Chandra Sarkar (Volume I, page 47).

Exhibit 1079, song book of Hiranmoy Guha, who signs the invocation.

On the last page of this book is the drawing of a banner inscribed as follows "Is the acquisition of learning, keeping up at night and cudgelling the brains for the sake of slavery, simply to worship there to the last, giving up the line of independent profession ?"

Exhibit 1077, lathi-play of Prabhat Ch. Guha.

Exhibit 1111, note-book of Dinesh Ch. Sen Gupta, containing all the pratijna the invocation and some drill.

Exhibit 1018, a song book of Narendra Ch. Datta.

Exhibit 1047, song book without name.

Exhibit 147, large book on lathi-play without name.

There can be no doubt about the meaning of this invocation. It means learn how to wield the sword and so rid yourselves of the yoke of slavery. We find a combination of Jyotirmay's Sakti Pujah and the invocation to the sword in the vow written in Sushil Kumar Sen's diary book. Exhibit 570 at page 175 of Alipur exhibits. Taking up sword -

I bow down to Thee, sword; Thou crown of all weapons, the symbol of death. With much respect I take Thee from the hands of Adya Sakti.

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In this vicious Kali Yug when Vistu (religion Dharma) has been so much attenuated, when weapons have been the order of the day, weapon incarnation, Thou art (the only) arbiter (or upholder) of truth.

Exhibit 668 Om Bande Mataram

Invocation to the Sword

Hail sword that moves about in the hands of heroes, that gives forth loud shrieks that tears the enemy to pieces, that remedies oppression and that wanders about the battlefield.

Begging is ever his sole stay, lifelong slavery is his lot, who cannot hold the sword. The weilder of the sword can remove slavery. Fortune resides in commerce and that with your help, O sword. Tinged with the blood of the enemy your sever slavery. You are the remover of fear, you are the protector of science, knowledge, work, religion, wealth, paddy, house, son, wife, bravery, heroism and glory. Leaving aside the flute, Krishna (freed) his mother Debaki in chains in prison with your help O Sword, the destroyer of sin.

Lastly, we find a very prominent member of the Anushilan clearly proclaiming what the real object of lathi-play is.

On page 47, Charu Chandra Sen Gupta, of Madhyapara, is mentioned as the owner of lathi-play book, Exhibit 1016. This Charu, with his brother Profulla, sons of Mohim Ch. Sen Gúpta, of Madyapara, were convicted in the Wari affray case in January 1908. When the address noted by Pulin Behari Das in a copy of the Paridarshak (see page 30) was searched, a big lathi was found bearing the following inscription:

"Karthor karmer dara pratihingsa nibrittir din kara." – Charu.

"By hard work hasten the day for satisfying our vengeance." – Charu.

Use of sword and shield :— The next point to be noted is the use of sword and shield in combination. In the Nam talika, Killabandi means "To stand firm holding the sword parallel to the waist and the shield in front of the body." Dohara and Dohari also refer to sword and shield.

Further, in the sword or chhoto lathi-play we have four main division.

Syamghat :— Blows are struck alternately.

Choumukhi :— To be played with a shield. Both of the players should strike the blow at one time. As the swords and shields of both the players meet in this play it is called Chaumukhi.

Báládasti :— The bari should sometimes be warded off with the shield and sometimes with the sword, and also sometimes by moving away the body.

The Samiti building of Dacca was divested of everything on November 15th. Nevertheless on December 16th, when the few remaining occupants were preparing to leave, the police learnt that some

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shields were in the Samiti building. Under the District Magistrates's orders, seven shields were seized. See search list. These are undoubtedly some of the shields used for the purpose mentioned above, and the incident snows that the Samiti had some other storehouse for its property besides Bajrapuri.

In accordance with these explanations we find terms underlined in many lathi play books either singly or doubly; the single line meant that the stroke was to be resisted with shield only; the double line meant with both sword and shield.

The article called a double dagger on page 52, exhibit 91, original list of 15th November, was also used as a shield. A collection of these articles was found Ray Thakur's gadi, Serajganj.

Exhibit 1138, lathi-play book without name, makes this very clear. It has been translated.

Exhibit 1174, lathi-play book without name (see page 28), contains the same marks in the Baladasti. It has been translated.

Other examples where these marks will be found are :

Exhibit 147, Exh. 659 of Jatindra Nath Chakrabarti, Exh. 1077 Prabhat Chandra Guha, Exh. 1140 of Profulla Ch. Sen Gupta (see page 48).

All these belong to 15th November 1908.

Exhibit 6 of 10th August belonging to Surendra Mohan Bose.

Exhibit 1136 of 15th November lathi-play book.

Exhibit 16 of 5th November belonging to Radhika Bhusan Ray (see page 27).

We also find this system in Jyotirmay Ray's note-book.

Summary regarding lathi-play :— The remarks upon dagger and lathi-play together with the "Upakramanika," "Namtalika," the "invocation to the sword and the inscription upon Charu Sen's lathi establish beyond question that the main object of lathi-play was not physical exercise but the attainment of a political object which we may here describe in the language of the invocation as "freeing the mother from chains." The remarkable connection between vows and lathi-play has been shown by the instances noted on page 27 and by our finding the word "pratijna" on almost every page of lathi-play books, as noted in connection with the Paridarshak on page 11.

Jiujitsu :— This is No. 5 in the list given at page 51 and will be found frequently mentioned in the time table, Exh. 11 of 5th November given on pages 54, 55. It is also mentioned in Exh. (k) of 5th November, rules and time table for member of outside Samitis visiting the Central Samiti.

No books on Jiujitsu have been found in the Samiti, nor anything resembling jiujitsu except the somewhat doubtful allusions in Exh. 685. (See page 52).

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Jiujitsu, however, must have been taught, and it is reported that Mukunda Lal Das Gupta, of Goila, Barisal, was the teacher in Dacca.

Chalan Pranali :— This is No. 11 in the list at page 51 and has already been explained in the Sampadakganer Karttabya as drill.

The term "drill" we shall see includes exercises which belong purely to military training.

In Jyotirmay's house-search Exh. 9 was found. It is a paper containing not only squad drill but firing exercises and bayonet exercises. This is reproduced at page 65 of the report on Samitis in the Dacca Division.

Exhibit 20 of 5th November, belonging apparently to Jyotindra Mohan Sen, contains Drill Shiksha in Bengali, in pages 78, 79, and the next page numbered 90. This has been translated. Here we find squad drill, a little bayonet exercise, and firing exercise.

In the search of 15th November we find the following:

Exhibit 584 :— A large note-book without name, but containing diplomas awarded to Ashutosh Das Gupta and Harsha Nath Sen. In this book there is a great deal of lathi-play and the invocation to the sword, and at the end there are ten pages written in English describing the bayonet exercises in detail. Spaces have been left to illustrate the various positions by sketches, but one sketch only of No. 37, "Throw point," has been drawn.

Exhibit 1005, lathi-play book with the name Hari Mohan on the cover, contains ordinary drill and firing exercises written in English and initialled G. B. C. Among the drill terms, No. 13(e) is "close to the centre – form Napolion Chair – get up. Extend the circle. Foreman forward."

This book belongs to Gopi Ballab Chakravarty (see Volume I, page 39).

Exhibit 1111 :—This is a note-book containing four pratijnas and the invocation to the sword. It bears no name, but is very easily identified by a comparision of its handwriting with that of many other books as belonging to Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta, of Madhyapara. At the end of the book we find a curious set of orders, evidently intended for the use of a Paridarshak. These orders are headed "Inspector," and are partly in English and partly in Bengali. The book has been translated in part. We find the following curious terms :

"Drill
Chhoto lathi (mob disperse)"

Then some terms of lathi and dagger play—

"Harua and coming out
(Mob disperse)
Benithi

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Sarki (= spear)
Pate basa.
What to do when some one challenges you
What to do when a mistake is commited
Drill etc.

This drill contains no firing or bayonet exercises; in fact, we seem to have here simply brief notes on which the Paridarshak used to assist his memory during tours of inspection.

Next to these pages on drill, etc., we find the story of how Surajmal, in the year 1516 A.D., died in avenging on the Pathans the carrying off of some Rajput ladies belonging to the city of Pipar. The moral is the happiness of a heroic death.

Exhibit 1234, lathi-play and dagger-play and Namtalika, bears the name "Nanda Lal Shing." This is translated and contains towards the end the ordinary squad drill, but including the firing exercises and No. 15, Forming of Napoleaon Chair". Then follow five pages of mixed Bengali and English called Notes on drill.

Exhibit 1135 is a complete copy of Infantry Training, 1905, issued by the War Office. This bears no number of the Anushilan Library, but is entered as Exh. 732 (a catalogue) as No. 294/3; before it is entered field exercise and after it Drill Shiksha by Karfarma, Exh. 792, is "amendments to Infantry Training, 1905," and bears the Anushilan Catalogue No. 900.

These books could not be possessed by the Anushilan for purposes of general reading, nor can their presence be regarded as accidental, since one at least is entered in the catalogue. Taken in conjuction with the books already enumerated we must conclude that these War Office Manuals were seriously intended for military training.

Exhs. 431 and 851 of 15th November is called Drill Shiksha and is a small printed book on drill and physical exercises, including dumble exercises published "in accordance with the new curriculum of the Director Bahadur." This book contains just that amount of drill which is necessary for the proper carrying out of physical exercises, and if all the drill of the Anushilan were confined to this book, no exception could be taken to it. But the Anushilan drill includes, as has been shown, firing and bayonet exercises, and the duties of sentries, all of which are exclusively military exercises. But there are other indications to show that the military side of physical training was the more important side and was pursued with the earnestness and with a view to real military exploits and their natural consequences, i.e., casualties.

Exh. 464 :— Sachitra Drill Shiksha, belonging to Pulin Behari Das,

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is an ordinary drill book for schools.

Treatment of injured persons

Exh. 380 :— of 15th November, a pocket-book without name. This contains lathi-play, and at the end a list of first aids for some significant injuries :

(1) Concussions by fall, blow or shock.
(2) Sprain and twisting of the trunk.
(3) Sprains, dislocations.
(4) Fracture.
(5) Stab and cut wounds — not only for the more trifling pricks with needles or awls but likewise for more severe cuts with swords, etc.
Poisoned wounds.
Hoemorrhages
Fainting debility remaining after great injuries.
Inflammation of the injured part.
Wound fever.

There are also three copies of the standard "First Aid to Injured" published by the St. John Ambulance Association. These books are catalogued in the Anushilan Library as Nos. 452, 453, and a third as a "Science Primer," No. 435. A fourth copy is catalogued as No. 454. Although this book is not forthcoming it is to be presumed from the fact that the Anushilan Library Catalogue is invariably correct as regards the numbers of other books, that the fourth copy really existed but was lent out at the time of the search. Serial No. 67 in Exh. 12 shows one copy issued to Ashutosh Das Gupta. We may say, then, that there were four copies of which the three found are marked Exhs. 49, 49, and 935. That young Hindu bhadralok should commence the study of "First Aid" is hardly less remarkable than their strange devotion to lathi-play. We can only draw the inference that when lathi-play was seriously undertaken as a preparatory training towards the accomplishment of a great political object, it was naturally expected that the work would be dangerous and hard knocks would be received. Hence the necessity to prepare for casualties. In the semi-military exploits which can be ascribed to the Anushilan Samiti, particularly the Bahra daocity, the evidence so far available shows that guns were fired at the dacoits and there were several casualties, one of which terminated fatally.

Barttaman Rana Niti

This book begins like almost every document of recent date found within the Samiti with the words "Bande Mataram." Its publisher is Abinash Chandra Bhattacharjya, and its printer Bhibuti Bhusan Ray of

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the Sumati Printing Works. The book was published in October 1907 (20th Aswin 1314) and is a complete treatise on the art of war, with special reference to the methods of guerilla or "unequal" warfare which the author thinks best adapted to the conditions of India. It was a text-book of the Calcutta anarchists and a considerable number of copies were actually seized in the town of Dacca on 20th February 1908. Early in 1908 it formed the subject of proceeding under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, against Prafulla Nath Bose Chowdhury (case No. 183 of 1908) and against Satyendra Nath Ghose (case No. 94 of 1908). Notwithstanding this, we find on November 15th, 1908, two copies in the Anushilan Samiti, both entered in their library catalogue (Exh. 12) as No. 362. It also finds entry as No. 362 in the Library Catalogue, Exh. No. 21. The two copies are Exhs. 988 and 1001, the latter bearing signs of constant use. In one catalogue of books, Exh. 17, it is significant that the Barttaman Rana Niti is the first book entered. That these books were actually being studied and used is evident (1) from their condition; (2) from the fact that one, Exh. 988, contains a pencilled note "I sent three passes. If you received them please write the names. N. B. Mittra;" and (3) because they are shown as being issued to readers in the Library Issue Book, Exh. 12. See serials numbered :—

15 to Karuna Kanta Banarji *alias* Radhika Mohan Banarji (Volume I, page 79), 24th Bhadra = 9th September 1908.

51 to Arabindo Chakravarty (Volume I, page 59), 10th Aswin = 26th September 1908.

84 Jyotirmay Ray, 24th Aswin = 10th October 1908.

This Library Issue Book only extends for about three months ending 25th Kartick = 10th November 1908. The year is 1315 Bengali and 1908 A.D., because there was no reason why the routine register of the Samiti should suddenly cease in November 1907, while there was every reason for it ceasing in November 1908. The Samiti was raided on 4th November, again on November 5th; on the 12th, Manasa Chakravarti was murdered, and on the 15th the final raid was carried out. The year of the register may be proved *inter alia* by the fact that at the beginning Nos. 14, 22 and 23 are signed by Manikya Chandra Guha Mustafi, who as his father will prove, was not in the Samiti in 1907.

This Barttaman Rana Niti was obviously the military text-book of the Samiti. It brings the Anushilan Samiti directly under the teaching of the Calcutta anarchists, and will be discussed subsequently. See page 97.

In connection with military training the following document must be noted : — Exh. 758A. — The four vernacular terms are transliterated and explained in square brackets, the rest of the document is given as a fac-simile.

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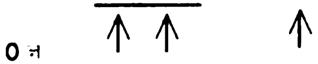
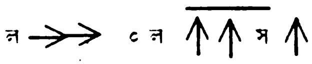
Bande Mataram
Sri Nali (scored out)

(1) Alarm=asanna bipad (imminent danger). gathering.

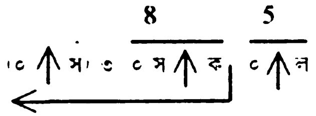
(2) Alert = Satarkata.



(3) Carefulness = Sabadhanata.

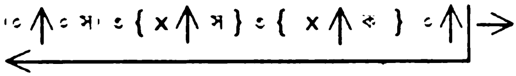


(4) Commanders. fall in :—



Fall out

(5) All fall in.



Fall out.

This leaf. from a small pocket book. was found between pages 476 and 477 of Exh. 758. K. P. Basu's Algebra. in which the owner twice writes his name as Ray Narayan Chakrabarty. 2nd class. Bajrapuri. Dacca. This name is the Samiti name of Jadab Chandra Chakrabarty – see Volume I. page 61. The commands and cautions. for which curious signs are given. can only have reference to those who either apprehend some danger or are engaged in some dangerous enterprise. The signs probably represent signals by bugle or by some other method.

Boxing (***Ghusághusí***):— Boxing is mentioned in the time table given on pages 54-55. No books are found regarding boxing. It was no doubt left to an instructor.

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1. For further discussion of village note, see page 21.
2. In all there are 1,463 copies of the independence circular.
   Exh. 3 Jyotirmay Roy's search has 9 of these circulars.
3. In Exh. 5 (search of Jyotirmay's house) there are 8 articles noted forming the details of a Paridarshak's duties. From this nucleus, the longer pamphlet was no doubt drawn up.
4. Translator's note : A reference to the four methods laid down by Manu for treating with a powerful enemy.
5. In Exh. 47 of 15th November this passage is scored through but is decipherable.
6. These four words are omitted in Exh. 494 of 15th November.
7. Exhibit 2 of 10th August, Exhibit 25 of 5th November, and exhibit 47 of 15th November 1908 read "members".
8. Exhibit 25 of 5th November 1908 reads "Mlechcha ways of living".
9. This sentence is omitted from exhibit 2 of 10th August 1908.
10. Exhibits 2 of 10th August and 25 of 5th November read "keep up the practice of play." In exhibit 47 of 15th November 1908 the passage is unintelligible.
11. The last few pages are in the handwriting of Dinesh Ch. Sen Gupta. See Exh. 25 of 5th November which is wholly in Dinesh's handwriting.
12. The "Bibarani Patra" of the Paridarshak corresponds to Mantabya O Bibaran.
13. Note also that the addition on page 2 of the village note regarding preparation of a good map by an amin, corresponds exactly with article No.28 of the S. K., which is itself an addition as compared with older impression of this paper.
14. Note this Exh. 1097A. is the same as original search list No. 71 of 15th November 1908. This paper was found in a big almirah in 2nd room of the upper storey.
15. See also Article 15 which lays down that arrangements should be made for the daily instruction of each member.
16. Compare the written and signed vows and their reference to infringements of religious rules.
17. Another note-book (Exh. 2) in case 1729 of 1907 contains a written summary of both vows with some additions, followed by copies of both vows in full.
18. Prafulla Ch. Sen Gupta, 3rd son of Mohim Ch. Sen Gupta of Madhyapara, age 19, member of both Dacca Anushilan and Madhyapara Jnan Bikashini Sabha.
19. 5th son of Gobinda Ch. Sen Gupta, Kabiraj of Madhyapara, member of both Dacca and Madhyapara Samitis. Age 19.
20. Poresh is the 3rd son, age 23, of Gobinda Ch. Sen Gupta, a Kabiraj (Exh. 518, Mustijog Ratna, with his name, was found in Dacca Samiti); a member of the Madhyapara Samiti - See Exh. 16 - and husband of Sarajubala who is daughter of Rajani Kanta Sen Sarkar of Kartickpur, police station Palong, Faridpur, the author of Matri Pujah Panchali.
21. Photographs of these six boys have been taken.
22. This writing has now (10th March) been scraped off and the walls whitewashed.
23. Evidence of boys who have actually taken this vow.

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Riding (*Asva*) :— There is nothing to show that any preparations were made for learning riding. We can only surmise that this was included for use in the future. The picture "Bengal 50 years hence" shows that the revolutionaries believed or hoped that Bengali troopers would then exist. In Exhs. 988 and 1001 Barttaman Rana Niti we find that skill in horsemanship was to be acquired by strenuous practice – see translation at page 131. This passage alone is sufficient to explain the reason why we find the term "asva" in the village note.

Management of boats (*Nauka*) :— This is obviously of great importance for any organisation working in a country where rivers are the great means of communication. The Bahra and Naria dacoities show that considerable skill had been acquired in this direction.

Target shooting (*Lakshya Bhed*) :—This means literally "piercing the mark." There is nothing to show that archery was practiced either in Dacca or at any branches of the Anushilan Samiti, except the finding of 1,343 hard clay bullets at the house of Guru Dyal Das, Captain of Sonamayi Samiti, on 11th December 1908. The letter of Hem Chandra Sen to his brother (Exh. 543, at page 158 of the Alipur exhibits) throws considerable light on this point. He writes : "By the course of next year I shall be able to show you a fine Hindu Volunteer Corps, all raised from our village, each of whom will be quite expert in lathi, sword-playing, dagger-playing, boxing and in shooting arrows,." Archery would provide a training for the eye, as the chhoto lathi would for swordsmanship. [20]

Three terms unidentified

There remain three terms given on page 51, about which nothing is known Nos. 3, 6 and 7, Sankasuri, Harua, Hanumanti.

Sentry duty

In connection with the military training and discipline of Samiti members, it can be proved by numerous persons, police officers and others who have visited the Samiti building at all hours of day and night, that sentries were invariably on duty. Sentry duty is mentioned in article 12 and in the last sentence of the notifications, Exh. 12 of 5th November. Exhibit 63 is a front elevation of No. 452 S Maisundi, Bajrapuri, or the Samiti premises, and a sentry wearing a pugri and armed either with lathi or rifle is shown at the entrance. We find also several written orders appointing sentries. Exhibit No. 8 of 15th November is :

Sri Sri Kali

Om Bande Mataram

1 Harsha Nath }
2 Suresh } 11-2

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1 Radika } —2-5
2 Raj Narayan

Please let every one know it at 5 o'clock.

Sri Radika Mohan Bandopadhya
Sri Sri Kali

1 Sirajganj } —11-2
2 Chandra Sekhar

1 Surendra } —2-5
2 Harendra

Please let every one know it at 5 o'clock.

Sri Ashutosh Das Gupta.

Exhibit No. 72 of 15th November reads

Sri Sri Kali Sahaya

1 Serajganj } —11-2
2 Kamini

1 Adabari } —2-5
2 Dinesh Babu

Please let every one know it at 5 o'clock.

Sri Ashutosh Das Gupta

On the 21st January 1909, I picked up for the place marked Gita class - a torn slip regarding sentry duty.

1 Rakhal } —11-5
2 Subodh

Exhibit 501 of 15th November, Pulin's punishment book (see page 41), shows how extra sentry duty was imposed by way of punishment. The posting of sentries is exclusively confined to a military organisation and discipline. When therefore, we find sentries posted day and night upon an ordinary house inhabited by persons who are not soldiers, we must suppose that proceedings within the building are of such a nature that the public or the police cannot be allowed ingress and that the inhabitants are for their own reasons imposing military discipline upon themselves. It will be seen from the exhibits just mentioned that Serajganj and Adabari are used to denote persons. This is a variation of the system of double names which will be dealt with later.

General remarks regarding Military training

In Chapter VI of the Barttaman Rana Niti the section on irregular warfare begins with the significant words "When a nation weak, disarmed and oppressed by the conquerors is firmly determined to break

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the bondage of slavery, then that nation adopts the mode of irregular fighting with their powerful conquerors."

Guerilla warfare, for which horsemanship and management of boats would be most necessary, is the form of attack which is obviously best suited to the present circumstances of India. This was the objective of all the military training, and in Chapter VII we are told what the results of that training will be. After some real training in guerilla warfare the rebels will reap the benefit of their former discipline and exertions and be able to offer pitched battle to the enemy. Regular war will become possible because :

(1) being inspired with patriotism, the native trained soldiers will desert the side of the foreign king and help the fighting heroes;
(2) all the ferocious military mountain tribes, being excited will desert the protuberant tongue of national tumult, will join the battle;
(3) the strength of the youths of the country being applied to the regular mode of warfare, they will gradually become fearless and expert in the use of weapons. Irregular fighting becomes, therefore, a training ground for them. By always exposing their lives to danger for the good of the country they attain heroic qualities, such as courage, labouriousness, spirit, knowledge of the use of weapons, presence of mind and power of enduring hardships.

In Chapter VI (translation, page 28) we find ... soldiers should possess the following qualities ; (1) Strength of arm; (2) Intelligence; (3) Marksmanship; (4) Endurance; (5) Courage; (6) Activity and quickness; (7) Self-confidence; (8) Love for his religion and his country. We may compare this with the Paridarshak's course of training (pages 12-13).

Again at the end of Chapter VI (page 69 of translation) we find :

"Although those, who, form a conquered state, adopt the irregular mode of fighting by rising in rebellion are not equal to the king's forces in military skill, yet they are in many respects better than them. The salaried soldiers of the wealthy king who robs others of their dominions are naturally fond of luxury and less enduring; hence the King has to incur a heavy expenditure in fitting them for war... But those who adopt the irregular mode *by vowing their lives for the deliverance of their country* are moderate in eating and are enduring; by appeasing their hunger by a few handfuls of grain they can travel long distances, whether walking in the sun or on horseback, by managing their horses with strings. In this India a tradition is current about moderate eating of the

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Indian soldiers :

> Sometimes ghi in lavish quantity;
> Sometimes handfuls of grain;
> Sometimes that is also forbidden."

And at the close of the book (page 86 of the translation) "Any mode of warfare and any political deception is excusable for the protection of one's country and one's independence; it is rather a thing to be proud of."

These passages express the ideas which were present in the minds of members of the Anushilan, when they were engaged in their labourious exercises or undergoing hardships. It seems a long step from lathi-play to revolution; but when the process is presented step by step, the initial stages assume a different aspect. Those persons who have only noticed that feature of the Samiti organisation which its members could not very well conceal, viz., lathi-play, are inclined to smile at the assertion that these youths were engaged in a conspiracy to subvert British rule. Let us examine, however, the various phases of the proposed revolution.

The mother country is enslaved and the children are mad with the desire to destroy the demons of oppression. The children are 30 crores against 30 thousand foreign soldiers.

Young men and boys, inflamed with religious fanaticism, vow to sacrifice their lives for the country.

They undergo all kinds of training and discipline, so that when the moment comes they can take up arms and commence guerilla warfare, and paralyse the British administration.

Lastly, after a training in irregular warfare, the cause for which they are fighting will attract to their side the native army and the hill tribes, and the foreign domination will be over.

This work of destruction complete, we know that in one mind at least the constructive work of forming a swadeshi Government had already begun. Abinash Chandra Chakravarty, the Narayanganj Munsiff, had sketched out a Republic of New India.

This is the edifice complete in idea. Lathi-play is a small but most important stone in this edifice. We may even go so far as to say that lathi-play, wherever we find it practised, indicated a band of conspirators.

Here is an example of how lathi-play is connected with the great rising in India, to be helped by the cannon and guns of China and Japan. This production is by a boy of 15, Behari, son of Sarat Chandra Chakrabarty, of Masimpur, Narsingdi.

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Exhibit No. 6, search list for 10th November 1908

Sri Kali Sahaya

Bande Mataram

Go ye Indians, to liberate (scored out).

Go, all being united together, to work out the deliverance of Bengal.

1. Ye Hindus and Musalmans, being of one mind, let us all go. Where meetings (are held) let us go there and join them (the words scored out mean — to join them). We all brethren shall go in a body : what will the white-skinned do unto us ? (scored out). Going to the meeting (we) shall sing Bande Mataram all together. What will anyone do to us ? (scored out).
2. Did you not attend (*lit.*, hear) the meeting that was held in the house of mother (Kali scored out) at Chinishpur ? Now, if you break that vow, you will be liable to social ostracism.
3. Look — Bepin Babu will be our general to-day. We shall go to fight with the white-skinned.
4. We shall learn lathi and sword-play. What fear will there be any more ? The inhabitants of China and Japan will help us with cannon and guns.
5. They will go with us as soldiers. When the war will break out we shall not tremble, we shall sing Bande Mataram (scored out), then we shall see, spreading out (?) the hand how much strength there is in a white body — how much strength there is. (Or) when the war will break out we shall sing "Bande Mataram," making the – tremble.

Found in the box of Behari, son of Sarat Babu. It is in the hand writing of Behari.

Witnesses— Sri Pratap Chandra Chakravarty
Sri Abhaya Charan Datta Gupta.

The Sub-Inspector who made this search is a Kayastha, and when he found this paper in the box of Behari, Behari's mother, a Brahmin, knelt before the Sub-Inspector, placed his hand upon her head and implored him to destroy the paper.

This incident and the paper itself show how deeply the seditious poison has permeated family life.

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ANUSILAN SAMITI, DACCA.
PART II

BY

H. L. SALKELD, ESQ., I. C. S.,
Magistrate on special duty.

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SECTION IV

Literature, pictures, and drawings

The Gita

Chandi

Gita and Chandi — their connection with, and development in, the Barttaman Rana Niti

The "classics" of the Anushilan Library

Clive the Forger

Pratap Singh

Maharaj Nanda Kumar

Sikher Balidan

Gita

Bankim's works and Debi Chaudhurani

Jal Pratap chan and Anandi Bai

Barttaman Rana Niti

Mukti Kon Pathe, Parts I, II, III, AND IV

Desher Katha

Chhatrapati Sivaji

Newspapers : "Jugantar"

" Jugantar" leaflet

" Sandhya"

Another copy of "Sandhya"

" Sonar Bharat"

Written "Jugantar" articles

One's own Country and one's own Religion

Where?

Ten Ways

Written "Jugantar" leaflet on bombs

The Trump of Time

First Scene - Benares

The New System

Love of Life

Letter of an Ascetic

One's own Country and one's own Religion (continued)

Thoughts of Duty

Famine Relief

Kamala Kanta's counting of Days

Trampling of Nationalism

Summary regarding written "Jugantar" articles

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Songs, printed and written

- A printed song-book dedicated to Pulin Behari Das
- Bande Mataram song-book
- Sonar Bangla song-book
- Jagaran
- Another Jagaran
- Udbodhan of the Chhatra Samiti, Comilla

Written songs - Two Instances

- The Prafulla song
- The Prafulla song and Khudiram notices
- Invocation to the Sword
- Sangitabali, by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta
- Another volume of seditious songs
- Kabya Kusuam - Poetical blossoms, by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta
- Another volume by Dinesh Chandra
- Account-book of S. C. Ray containing songs
- Book of songs belonging to Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta
- Song-book of Mohesh Chandra Chakrabarty
- Sarada Charan Chakrabarty's song - book
- Song in praise of Khudiram, Prafulla and Kanai Lal
- A modified version and another song
- Bande Mataram song
- Note-book of Bankim Chandra Ray
- Song in lathi - play book
- Charu Chandra Sen's lathi-play book
- Girija Kanta De's book
- Summary regarding written songs

Picture and drawings

- Writings on walls of Samiti

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Literature, pictures and drawings

The Gita.- The following copies of the Gita were found in the search of 15th November 1908.

Exhibit No. 43 containing on the first page a transfer picture of the "Chhinna Mastá" Kali or Kali, with attendant dakinis, drinking the streams of blood which spout from the severed neck. This is one of the ten manifestations of Durga (Adhya Sakti), all of which are shown in a picture, Exh. 12 of 15th November. The presence of this picture in the Gita has reference to the great teaching of destruction, and destruction of a peculiar enemy, *viz.*, the demons.

No. 55.

No. 848.

No. 973.

No. 1133.

No. 1141.

Exhibit 843 is a small pocket edition of the Gita. Four pages were missing, but they have been replaced by Pulin Behari Das, to whom this copy must have belonged. The hand writing may be proved by a comparison with that of a post-card written by Pulin to Bhupati Mohan Sen Gupta, Exh. 2 of the search at Madhyapara at Bhupati Sen Gupta's house on 14th November.

Exhibit 39 bears the name of A. K. Nandi and a name seal A. Nandi.

Exhibit 553. - In this the name Dhirendra Chakrabarty is found at page 63 and Rasik Lal Bose at Page 45. This book bears No. 286 of the Anushilan Library, and will be found correctly entered in the catalogue, Exh. 21.

Exhibit 1137. - This book has no name but the library number 310. It will be found correctly entered in the catalogue, Exh. 21.

Exhibits 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, - This is an edition of the Gita in seven parts bearing the name of Naba Kuma Das, father of Pulin. It will be found entered in the library catalogue, Exh. 21, as No. 335.

Exhibit 1155 is a copy of the Fita edited by Bankim Chandra Chatterji. It contains also some criticisms of the poet Iswar Chandra Gupta. This bears No. 242 of the Anushilan Library catalogue, and will be found in Exh. 21.

Exhibit 364 is a large edition of the Gita with commentary by Krishna Prasanna Paribrajak. It bears library No. 284 and will be found in Exh. 21.

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Exhibits 416, 417, 418, 419, 420. - This is a Gita in five parts with commentary. It has no names or library number. There is a number 327 upon it, but this number is blank at page 33 of the list of books given in Exh. 12 the library catalogue and issue - book.

Exhibit 467 is an old copy of the Gita without name, but bearing the number 328, which is blank at page 33 of Exh. 12.

Exhibit 91 is a pocket copy of the Gita with the name Har Kumar De written as owner.

Exhibit 70. - This is another pocket copy of the Gita, bearing No. 46 of the Sarala Library, Madhyapara, and the stamp of this library inside. This library exists in part of the house of Govinda Chandra Sen Gupta (see page 20), who is father of Profulla, Paresh, Hem and Dinesh.

Exhibit 250 is entered in library catalogue as Srimat Bhagabat Gita, No. 285, but appears to be incomplete. It bears the name Naba Kumar De.

We find 17 complete copies and one incomplete copy of the Gita, and seven of them are entered in the Anushilan Library catalogue. There are three other entries in Exh. 21, the library catalogue Nos. 311, 339, and 359 of copies of the Gita. This makes a total of ten copies in the library.

The library issue-book, Exh. 12 of 15th November, covers a period of three months only, Bhadra, Aswin and Kartik. During this period the greatest number of times that any one book was issued was thirteen - Jaliyat Clive, Clive the Forger. Next comes Rana Pratap Singh ten times, next Maharaja Nanda Kumar nine times, Sikher Balidan - Sacrifice of the Sikhs - third with eight times and the Gita similarly eight times. See Exh. 12.

Page 45 issued to Bejoy Kumar Ray *alias* Promod Kishor Raha Ray, Volume II, page 7.

Page 47 issued to Priyanath Babu.

Page 48 issued to Promod Behari Das.

Serial number in list -

31 issued to Akshay Kumar Datta.

73 issued to Prafulla Kumar Sen Gupta and signed for as Prafulla Chandra, Volume I, page 87.

76 issued to Promod Kishor Raha Ray.

95 Bankim's Gita issued to Ashutosh Das Gupta, Volume I, page 13.

114 Bankim's Gita issued to Narendra Chandra Datta, Volume II, page 39.

It is clear, then, that the Gita was much in request in the Samiti, particularly by the senior members like Ashutosh Das Gupta, Akshay Kumar Datta and Pulin's brother, Promod Behari Das.

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There is further evidence of the place of the Gita in this organisation. Exhibit 1102 is a pencil plan of No. 452, S. Maisundi, Bajrapuri, showing the rooms on the ground and first floors and the disposition of 39 persons in various rooms. The only place which is designated by a special name is the verandah on the east end of the first floor. This is marked "Gita Class." The room immediately west of this verandah in which seat No. 23 for one person is located was the private room of Pulin Behari Das, from which alone access could be gained to the "Gita Class." Ananta Mohan Chatterji, in his statement of 5th November 1908, says "Pulin Babu is the leader of the Samiti. He lives in a separate room in the upper storey, to the eastern side of it. Excepting a selected few none can go to the upper storey, without special permission of Pulin Babu. The Samiti is called Bajrapuri ( ).

The members of the Samiti are known as Bajri ( ). There is a notice just near the staircase to the following effect "that none but the selected Bajri can go up and none except the especially selected Bajri of these Bajris can go to Pulin Babu's chamber." These words imply an inner and an innermost circle, the latter alone having the *entre* to the sanctum. In these circumstances, it may safely be presumed that Pulin himself was the teacher of the Gita class and that he carefully selceted his pupils.

Why was the Gita given such an important place and its teaching so carefully arranged? The answer has already been furnished in the Alipur case (Upendra Nath Banarji used to teach the Gita in the Maniktola garden), *viz.*, because the teaching of the Gita, taken crudely and literally, is a most excellent training for those who are embarking on a desperate enterprize in which their lives may at any moment be forfeited. It will be sufficient to notice only one passage in the Gita. In the great battle of Kurukshetra, the Pandavas, with Arjuna as their commander, are arrayed in battle against their cousins the Kurus. Drona, the common preceptor of both families, had in this fight placed himself with the Kurus, while on the other side Arjuna had Krishna as his charioteer. Arjuna sees "preceptors, fathers, sons as well as grandfathers maternal uncles, fathers - in law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, as also other relatives " standing ready for battle, and declares to Krishna that for nothing in the whole world would he slay his relatives even though they wished to kill him. He explains the heinousness of killing one's own kinsmen, refuses to fight, throws aside his weapons and sits down in great dejection. But Krishna overcomes Arjuna's scruples and finally induces him to fight by a discourse, of which the following is a part : Chapter II, Bhagavad Gita Slokas, 17 - 27, "These bodies appertaining to the

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embodied (self) which is eternal, indestructible, and indefinable, are said to be perishable ; therefore do engage in battle, O decendant of Bharata! He who thinks it to be the killer and he who thinks it to be killed, both know nothing. It kills not, is not killed. It is not born, nor does it ever die, nor, having existed, does it exist no more. Unborn, everlasting, unchangeable, and primeval, it is not killed when the body is killed. O son of Pritha! How can that man who knows it thus to be indestructible, everlasting, unborn, and inexhaustible, how and whom can he kill, whom can he cause to be killed? *As a man, casting off old clothes, puts on others and new ones, so the embodied (self) casting off old bodies, goes to others and new ones.* Weapons do not divide it (into pieces); fire does not burn it ; waters do not moisten it ; the wind does not dry it up. It is not divisible ; it is not combustible ; it is not to be moistened ; it is not to be dried up. It is everlasting, all - pervading, stable firm, and eternal. It is said to be unperceived, to be unthinkble, to be unchangeable. Therefore, knowing it to be such, you ought not to grieve. But even if you think that it is constantly born, and constantly dies, still, O you of mighty arms ! you ought not to grieve thus. For to one that is born, death is certain; and to one that dies, birth is certain, therefore about (this) unavoidable thing you ought not to grieve........... Happy those Kshatriyas, o son of Pritha ! who can find such a battle (to fight) - come of itself - anopen door to heaven ! " Translation by K. T. Telang, pages 44 - 46; and on page 47," Killed, you will obtain heaven ; victorious, you will enjoy the earth."

Bankim Chandra brought out a special edition of the Gita (see Exh.1155, page 110). At page 50 of the translation mentioned, we find "He whose heart is not agitated in the midst of calamities, he who has no longing for pleasures, and from whom (the feelings of) affection, fear, and wrath have departed, is called a sage of steady mind. His mind is steady, who, being without attachments anywhere, feels no exultation and no aversion on encountering the various agreeable and disagreeable (things of the world)." A great deal of the Gita philosophy finds expression in Bankim's works, so that the connection of the Samiti vows with Anandamath (see page 45) is really an indirect connection with the Gita. [In Exh. 908 (without name) we find chapter I and II of the Gita carefully written out.]

According to primitive and orthodox Hindu custom a religious book like the Gita could only be studied by a Brahmin, and no other Hindu could approach it except through the oral teaching of a Brahmin preceptor. Now, however, - thanks to the new spirit diffused by English education - any Hindu considers himself competent to interpret the Gita, and we find in the Anushilan Samiti that the Gita

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was studied by young men and more boys, and if the conjecture that Pulin Behari Das, not a Brahmin, was the master of the Gita class be correct, then it is notewrthy that his - by far the highest educational qualifications in the Samiti - were those of a failed B. A. What lessons the youths of the samiti drew from the Gita will be apparent when we come to their writings. We may note here that the use made of the Gita even by the best educated leaders of the revolutionary movement was full of danger, Exhibit 75 of 15th November is a copy of the monthly magazine Sarathi, for Baisakh 1315, the character of which may be readily inferred from its adoption of a new era dating from the Rakhi vow and from the fact that it is printed at 28, Shampukur Street, the "Jugantar" office, this copy is dated Rakhi year 3, *i.e.,* three years since the partition. This magazine is No. 338 in the Anushilan Library catalogue, Exh. 21. It is remarkable that this is the only copy of the magazine found and that it has been placed in the library as of permanent value, no doubt because of the articles it contains, one on National life, being by Kali Prasanna Das Gupta, Headmaster of Mymensingh National School. Article No. 6 is called Gitay Svadesh - Prem ; love of one's own country in the Gita, and in the course of the article at page 25 we find an instructive extract from one of Bal Gangadhar's speeches, "The most practical teaching of the Gita, and one for which it is of abiding interest and value to the men of the world, with whom life is a series of struggles, is not to give to any morbid sentimentality when duty demands sternness and the boldness to face terrible things" ; and we are told later on that absolute swaraj, not Colonial self - Government, is the goal in view. The " terrible things" have been boldly faced "for love of their country," as they would say, by persons like Khudiram Bose, Prafulla Chaki, by Satyendra Nath Bose and Kanai Lal Dutt, by the train - wreckers and throwers of bombs at trains and, the latest instances, by Jitendra Nath Chaudhuri and Charu Chandra Bose. "Terrible" deeds calmly undertaken were the murders of Brahmins like Narendra Gossain and Nanda Lal Banarji, and of Ashutosh Biswas, and in Dacca of the Brahmin boy Manasha Chakrabarti. (See page 46).

That the Gita, as taught and interpreted in the revolutionary atmosphere of the Anushilan Samiti, fostered most successfully a spirit of frenzied fanaticism, which no consideration could check, would be proved beyond question by the writings of Samiti members and by the acts of the organisation.

Chandi— Another religious book requires notice in this connection, the Chandi.

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Exhibit 1132A is a pocket copy of the Chandi with the name Ashutosh Das Gupta pencilled on the leaves. It is numbered 287 in Exh. 21, the Anushilan Library catalogue. Another pocket copy is Exh. 974, but it bears no name or library number. Exhibit 50 is another pocket copy, bearing No. 369 of the Anushilan Library. It will be found entered in Exh. 21, the library catalogue. Another copy is Exh. 463, numbered in the library catalogue 358. Chandi is an epithet of Durga, because she destroyed the demon Chanda, and this book is a history of the reasons why the gods, driven from their kingdom by the demons, created Kali - Adya Sakti primordial energy - a manifestation of Durga, for the purpose of destroying the demons. The parallel to the present political situation from the revolutionist's point of view is apparent. The demons of oppression are, of course, the English, and naturally Kali is the favourite deity of the revolutionist who takes his vows before her image (see page 38). The best known among the demons,whom Kali destroyed, were Sambhu and his brother Nisambhu, and the general of the demons Raktabij. The Chandi thus becomes the means of investing revolutionary ideas with a religious garb. Raktabij is a demon, from every drop of whose blood, when it touched the earth, a thousand other demons sprang into existence, and who, therefore, was the most dangerous and hardest to conquer of all the demons. An excellent application of this story is to be found in the "Silchar" of 14th January 1908, where in a paragraph called "the descendants of Raktabij" it is stated that Mr. Allen, being an Englishman, has recovered from the fatal wound inflicted upon him at the Goalundo railway station (Selections from Vernacular Newspapers, No. X of 1909, paragraph 875).

At the present day one of the means adopted for the ultimate conquest of the "demons" was sword exercises. Hence we find that the Sakti Puja, which in Jyotirmay's note-book takes the place of the invocation, is taken entirely in idea and largely *verbatim* from the Chandi. (See page 73)

Exhibit 27 of 5th November. Here Pulin Behari Das has written down some notes on what is called the "Raktabij Samiti." This was probably either a very select organisation which was contemplated or an inner circle of the Anushilan Samiti. At any rate, it was to be a very formidable society and, of course, it was given a foundation in "religion." "The Almighty himself and a large number of mighty personages and rishis are the supporters of the Raktabij Samiti." The underlying idea conveyed by the name is that the more Government attacked this Samiti, the stronger it would grow.

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Another paper also in Pulin's handwriting and found at the same time, 5th November, is Exh. 29. It represents, most probably, like Exh. 27, the first rough draft of a scheme or discourse which was being matured in Pulin's mind. This exhibit expresses, like the leader leaflet, the same lesson of subordination, but introduces the religious idea of a preceptor. "In learning anything, you should first of all consider yourself totally ignorant of it and surrender yourself totally to your preceptor in a spirit of reverence," etc. We may remark here that, when it suits his purpose, Pulin is faithful to the primitive and orthodox idea of reverence for a preceptor, that is, when it is a question of imparting those peculiar Samiti principles of which he himself was the preceptor; but when the Gita was concerned, we have seen that he rejected the idea of a preceptor altogether. (See page 93)

How extensively the religious ideas of the Chandi were pressed into the service of the revolutionists will be apparent in the examination of their writings. A few examples only will be noted here.

Exhibit 382 is called Kabya Kusum (Poetical Blossoms), by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta, who appears to have been the recognised poet of the movement. The book is dated 1315, i.e., 1908. On page 82 there is an Abahan, or invocation to Kali, who is given numerous epithets in the course of the poem.

"(1) Where are you, O mother Chamunda, wearing a garland of human heads?
Come. O mother Sarada; come, O mother, of a terrible form, the destroyer of fear in this dire calamity. Your afflicted children are calling you... Devils are committing oppression on us.

(2) ....Come, O mother Bhairabi; come, O mother, adorned with your skulls to this earth, making the earth tremble with a dreadful sound to kill the hosts of wicked demons.

(3) The earth, oppressed by demons, is calling you in a pathetic toı
Later on we find the favourite simile of this poet - India is one vast crematorium, and the demons are responsible.

"(5) You, mother, like a crematorium very much. A crematorium lies spread out here extending far and wide. Come, O mother, here, to the crematorium of India. Where will you get a better place? The demons have reduced India to ashes, committing terrible oppression on her.

(6) ....(Your) thousand children are wetting their pale faces by constantly weeping. Come, O you merciful one, taking up the sword to destroy the wicked devils."

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The context and numerous other writings of this poet can leave no doubt as to the identity of the "demons."

Exhibit 1108 is called Sangitabali, by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta, Dacca, Wari,a collection of songs partly original and partly plagiarised. Song No. 40 is placed over the name of "Kabya Bisharad" and contains the following :

"Come, O Chandi, to punish Chanda and Munda in a different age. Scoundrels are mangling the body into pieces with violent fury. ....Come and yourself destroy Raktabij. This earth is dumbfounded and tears flow from the eyes of all owing to the insolence of Shambhu and Nishambhu."

The words "in a different age" leave no doubt regarding the application of these mythological terms.

The fury of ignorant fanaticism shown in these two examples could hardly go further. It requires no argument to show that these poems come within the meaning of section 124A, Indian Penal Code.

Gita and Chandi used in the Barttaman Rana Niti. - We shall notice now a much more able handling of both Chandi and Gita for the purposes of revolution. Not only do we find the teaching of the Chandi and Gita reduced to one great command "Destroy," but we are told in great detail the practical steps to be taken for accomplishing the work of destruction; in other words, the Barttaman Rana Niti. The author and publisher of this book was Abinash Chandra Bhattacharjee, the intimate friend who lived with Arabindo Ghose. Exhibit 1079 of the Alipur case at page 210 of the printed exhibits is a letter dated the 7th September 1907, from a Sylhet admirer of the paper named Debendra Chandra Bhattacharjyo and addressed to Abinash as Manager of the "Jugantar." It contains the words "only those ought to read the 'Jugantar' who wish to demolish the British Government." In an issue of the "Jugantar" dated the 21st October 1906 there were two articles* entitled "War is the order of creation" and "Weapons of war, ancient and modern." The Barttaman Rana Niti was published early in October 1907 (20th Aswin 1314), and these two "Jugantar" articles were reproduced by Abinash in his book. The opening portion of the Barttaman Rana Niti is so important for the light it throws upon the religious aspect and the practical working of the Anushilan Samiti, that it must be quoted at some length.

(Note - the sale of the Barttaman Rana Niti in Chittagong, Tippera, Mymensingh, and Dacca is noted in paragraph 358, Abstract No. XLVII of 1907, and a translation of the first chapter and an abstract of the book is given). (* See newspaper articles, pages 42-43)

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CHAPTER I

War is the rule of Creation

From that very day, when on the very conception of the eternal Prajapati (lord of the universe), this lotus of creation at once expanded, the law of rise birth or development is the same - Action and Reaction. Light appears on the extinction of darkness and shadow is seen in the absence of light; in the same way stone wears into sand by pounding, sand becomes earth, which when burnt is reduced to ashes. Consequently destruction is but creation in another form; in constructing anew, the old thing is to be destroyed. One thing destroyed reappears in the form of another thing.

Destruction is natural and war is, therefore, also natural. When any part of the body is rotten it should be cut off with the help of (surgical) instruments, otherwise the gangrenous wound would expand and cause destruction to the body. Vice, persecution, dependence are but gangrenous sores in the body of the nation. War is inevitable when oppression cannot be stopped by any means whatsoever, when the leprosy of slavery corrupts the blood of the body of the nation and robs it of its vitality. It is for this reason that Sri Krishna, god himself, acted as a charioteer holding the reins in his hands at the battle of Kurukshetra. It is for this reason that god Ram Chandra planned the destruction of Ravan. It is for this that Chandi, inspired with the prowess of 33 crores of gods, appeared to kill the Daitys, and for this reason the incarnation of Kali in this Kali age, "Kali holding two swords to destroy the Mlechhas," has passed into a saying of the Shastras.

Every one in this world, from the little insect to the mighty elephant, is a warrior in the battle of his life. In every one a great power is latent which does not awake unless he knows himself. Action causes the sparks of that power to shoot forth, and leads to the self realisation of man, and the "great soul" is born in him who acts. Hence, action is needed. Oymei, the Japanese writer on Karmajog, says : "To know is to be, virtue is real in so far only as it is manifested in deeds." Hence Okakura, the erudite statesman, says : "A reincarnation is self-realisation on a different plane." It is through the power of deeds that Japan to-day stands as an incarnation of horror and terror - a deity to bring about a change to Europe which is vicious, avaricious, and intoxicated with vanity.

This uncommon development is but the result of unflagging and disinterested work. Hence, Okakura has said : "Until the moment we shook it off, the same lethargy lay upon us which now lies on China and India. ....Religion could but soothe, not cure, the suffering of the wounded soul."

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But to-day Japan has been cured of her disease. Japan is now, therefore, not only the land of beautiful flowers pictures of fair women, but also the Pithabhumi (place of pilgrimage) to the goddess of war.

Karma (action) is the means of salvation and the wealth of man. In order to establish this Karma, the Hindus have installed the Sattvatmika Adya Sakti (primordial energy in its aspect of illumination). The mother is white, i.e., she is Sattva Sakti (principle of illumination), freed from all possible contact with manifested darkness, undisturbed by the unrest caused by Rajas (the active principle of nature) and self-concentrated. The mother has ten arms holding ten kinds of weapons because she is ever active and possessed of infinite power and is the mother of creation. On her right is the country's power of wealth - the redfooted Sri (goddess of wealth); on her left is the power of education and science - Bani. She is accompanied by the power of the people, the captain of the gods, and with the desire for war and by Ganapati, the god of success. This is not an idol of clay, but the living power of India consisting in strength, education wealth, religious meditation and unity with the supreme being - that power which has kept her alive in Arjyabarta with her thirty millions of people in the teeth of all-destroying time, is awake in that form. O Aryans, you are men, and there is the full representation of your power. Have you ever thought how much exertion is required to become the possessor of such a great power and how many lives are to be sacrificed and how many heads are to be offered to bring that mother to your house? In India the representative of Karma (action) is Durga, and in Japan, marked by the rising sun, it is the Maha Nag (mighty serpent).....

To-day new India is a Karmajogi (is filled with active men). In this jog the reward is not desired, but there is in it the force of millions of Jahnavis (rivers); there is nothing to call one's own, but there is self-sacrifice to the fullest extent; there is no danger to life, but there is pride in, and fondness for, death; there is no cessation of labour for the sake of others, but there is great satisfaction in that which is presented by the soul.

India, the worshipper of Mahasakti, cannot afford to forget this principle of action. Pious and holy India is indeed to-day dead with the dust of the bodies of divine saints and sages in the person of Brahmins and Rajas and the dust of the bodies of Kshatriyas. She is, indeed, a decomposed dead body on account of the offensive odour of desradation. But a Tantrik (Worshipper of Sakti) cannot practice his sadhana (worship) without a corpse. The worshipper of Sakti (power) when successful becomes the initiator of a righteous kingdom and his seat, the decomposed corpse, revives. History bears testimony to this.

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Action is wanted; fame is the reward of action; but the price of fame is very high; fame cannot be obtained unless you offer all your bones and ribs by counting them like Dadhichi (a celebrated sage who offered his bones to the gods with which a thunderbolt was made for killing Britrasura). In wandering about in the market of the world under the influence of opium, what did Kamalakanta see in the shop of fame? "I saw darkness in the shop-nothing could be seen. I called the shop-keeper, but nobody responded. I heard only infinite roars striking horror in the hearts of all—in faint light I read on the signboard at the door :.

SHOP OF FAME

THINGS SOLD — ETERNAL FAME

PRICE — LIFE

None will be able to enter into this place. To attain this wealth of fame the great universal religion should be introduced into the national life. This religion has five life-protecting pulses - religious faith, food, wealth, men and warlike spirit. The aggregation of these five powers will make it possible for national power to rise with the splendour of the full moon. There is no want of food in India which abounds in crops; power of men will not have to be sought in a country of thirty millions of Aryans. Arjya being the land of Rishis is the cradle of universal religion. There is only the want of wealth and that of warlike spirit; consequently these are to be attained. In hghsolden temple of expulsion[1] and the swadeshi movement a seat has been furneted for the goddess of prosperity, while time is showing the *Nalika*[2] of the English by a signal 'Look, warlike spirit is the artisan of the European palace; gain warlike spirit.'

Warlike spirit is present in the bones and marrow of every Aryan, development of that dormant power is only cecessary. The first weapon of a warrior is his sharp and practical intelligence, the second weapon is his body capable of undergoing hard work and fatigue.

If a warrior strong in religious principles stand on the field of battle after sharpening these two weapons, then Béshnu (god of war), holding the discus in his hand, will himself remove his want of military arm is. Strength of arms is needed to establish a virtuous kingdom after demolishing the vicious one.[3]

We Indians are disarmed under the orders of the King. The foreign King, being afraid of his life lest the subjects, being driven mad with oppression, should strike him on the head, has disarmed all the subjects of this country. However the English employ the Sikhs, the Mahrattas, the Rajputs and the Tailangis as soldiers and teach them a little of the

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military art, but the intelligent Bengalis and the Brahmins of Poona are not even allowed to use a long stick. For who can say that the all-destroying arm will not in a twinkling of an eye demolish the British kingdom? Because the King, being afraid of his life, has passed laws contrary to religion, will therefore eight crores of Bengalis, more than twenty crores of Mahrattas and countless other warlike nations remain as beasts? True, we may not have opportunities of openly and in a lawful way learning military exploits and drill. If, however, the Bengalis take this system of instruction into their own hands, they can, through self-exertion, become experts in horsemanship and gain courage, strength of arm, power of endurance and such other heroic qualities, and they can master all the underlying principles of the science of war in the country by study and by circulation. If Bengalis could do so much through diligence, the want of a few insignificant arms will never remain. This book is published to lay the foundation of this new system of instruction. As a result of it, if even one of the fetters drop off from the red lotus foot of the captive mother, then her wretched son will consider himself fortunate."[4]

This may be called the introduction to the Barttaman Rana Niti; it first places the revolutionary movement on a religious basis, and then the object of the book is clearly stated. The remainder of the book deals, of course, with arms, explosives (including bombs), the organisation of an army, and finally tactics. The main point to be noted here is the nice calculation which places the philosophy of the Gita and the stories of the Chandi in the forefront to appeal most effectively to the Hindu. We need hardly remark that this book is addressed exclusively to Hindus, for reasons which have been fully explained in the Paridarshak (see page 15). The revolutionaries are to be fired with religious enthusiasm, which will probably supply the lack of training in arms (see page 101), "If a warrior strong in religious principles," etc.

Secondly, we may note that the emblem of the rising sun, which in Japan conveys the same idea as Durga in India (see page 99), has been adopted by Jyotirmay Ray on the cover of his second note - book, Exh. 2 in case No. 1729 of 1907, the case in which he was convicted for stabbing Kshetra Mohan Gope.

Probably also the fact that it is Sri Krishna (see page 99), who reveals himself in the Gita, explains the choice of Sri Krishna as a crest for the Anushilan Samiti (see Exh. 783). Although Sri Krishna is playing the flute, his connection with war and fighting is shown by the crossed swords, which form part of the device.

Thirdly, the last paragraph quoted above explains in a remarkable way many features of the Samiti organisation.

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All that has been said about chhoto lathi - play (pages 56-58) in particular, and also about the other forms of exercise and drill being really training for accomplishment of a political object ultimately by force, receives confirmation from this passage, We have not "opportunities of openly and in a lawful way learning military exploits"; therefor we shall train ourselves with the lathi, which will not bring upon us the troublesome notice of the authorities, by boxing, jiujitsu, wrestling, riding, etc., so that when we have accumulated sufficient arms and the time is ripe, we shall be thoroughly trained to make the best use of them.

The recommendation to become experts in "horsemanship" **ains no doubt the inclusion of "horsemanship"- an art which the Bengali generally hates - among the subjects to be studied by the members of the Samiti. See the Paridarshak and village notes.

Fourthly, the illusion to Dadhichi (page 101) offering his bones to make a thunderbolt, may explain the device of a thunderbolt, and the name Bajrapuri given to the Anushilan building. We find the thunderbolt in Jyotirmay's note - book Exh. 5 of 5th September 1907; in Exh. 1112, 1115A, 1117, 1119 all lathi - play books belong to Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta. The name of the house "Bajrapuri" and of the members "Bajri" has been mentioned in the statement of Ananta Mohan Chatterji (page 91). We find "Bajrapuri" as the address upon nearly every book found in the Samiti, and Ashutosh Das Gupta had a name - stamp, giving that as his address. (See Exh. 53 of 15th November). On 29th January 1909, after the Samiti had dispersed, I found a notice over the door: "National Bajrapuri Mess, 452, South Maisundi, Dacca. Members Wanted."

The Classics of the Anushilan Library.- Exhibit 21 is the catalogue of the Anushilan library. The number of books given in this catalogue will be found upon the labels attached to the books themselves, and these numbers again tally with those given in the library issue - book, Exh. 12. This book is a very important document because it contains numerous signatures of those member to whom books were issued, and because although it covers only three months, Bhadra, Aswin and Kartic 1315, ending 10th November 1908 (see page 81), it reveals in a remarkable way the favourite authors, and thus furnished incontestable evidence of what occupied the minds of members of this Samiti. We will note here that the signatures in this book are most important in proving the extraordinary practice of adopting fictitious names, which will be dealt with later.

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Books taken out of the library.	Number of the book in the search list of 15th November	Anushilan Library number
1	2	3
"Jaliyat Clive," taken out 13 times within the short period of three months (Bhadra, Aswin and Kartik).	—	301
"Rana Pratap Singh," taken out 10 times	Exh. No. 979	237
"Maharaj Nandkumar," taken out 9 times	Exhs. Nos. 334, 450 M. N. Charit.	229 300
"Sikher Balidan," taken out 8 times	Exhs. Nos. 145, 315, 316, 916.	313, 316
"Gita," taken out 8 times	Exhs. Nos. 39, 91, 186, 296, 334, 416, 420, 467, 843, 973, 1133, 1141.	284, 285, 286, 310, 311, 335, 339, 359
Bankim's Works, taken out 6 times	Exhs. Nos. 85, 50 (original list)	1st Part 248, 2nd Part 242.
"Jal Pratap Chand" and "Anandi Bai," each taken out 5 times.	Ex. No. 350	I. P. C. 298, A. B. 302.
"Debi Chandhurani," taken out 4 times	—	—
The following books have been taken out thrice:		
1. The works of Romesh Chandra	(In Exh. 12. No. 216), Exh. 905.	—
2. "Barttaman Rana Niti," serials 15, 51, 84	Exhs. Nos. 988 and 1002	362
3. "Chhatrapati Sivaji"	—	346
4. "Purushakar"	Exh. No.26	365
5. "Sri Gita Gobindam"	Exhs. Nos. 31, 1155	341

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Books taken out of the library.		Number of the book in the search list of 15th November	Anushilan Library number
1		2	3
6.	"Palashir Juddha"	Exhs. Nos. 280, 374	100, 381
7.	"Sansar Natak"	Exh. No. 153	101
	The following books have been taken out twice only :		
1.	" Mukti Kon Pathe"	—	330
2.	"Daksha Jaggya"	Exh. No. 4	112
3.	"Maharaj Pratapaditya	—	299
4.	"Bishuddha Ramayana"	Exh. No. 836	281,345
5.	Raja Sita Ram Roy"	—	303
6.	"Chandi"	Exhs. Nos. 974, 1*32A, 50 and 403	287, 358, 369
7.	"Satnam"	Exh. No.921	309
8.	"Jhansir Raj Kumar"	Exhs. No. 41, 274	306
9.	" Bhakti - Jog"	Exh. No. 150	375
10.	Works of Michael (and Meghnad Bod)	Exhs. Nos, 429, 273	244
11.	Sanjib Chandra's Works	—	241
	The following are the more important of the books taken out once only :		
1.	Bilrup O Bikalpa	Exh. No. 148	54
2.	Works of Hem Chandra	—	
3.	Thakur Barir Daptar	Exh. No.367	245
4.	Bankim's Gita	Exh. No. 1155	
5.	Antapur	Exh. No. 2 (in Exh. 12, No. 164)	246
6.	Bharat Sangit	Exh. No.92	347
7.	Janokir Agni Parikshya	Exh. No.32	468
8.	Ma Na Mahasakti		457

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Books taken out of the library.	Number of the book in the search list of 15th November	Anushilan Library number
1	2	3
9. Hariraj	Exh. No.226	
10. Mahabharat, Part I	Exhs. Nos. 394, 407, 408, 461	
11. Darogar Daptar		253
12. Mantrer Sadhan		
13. Abhagar Radon	Exh. No 180	60
14. Shipahi Juddher Itihash	Exh. No.371	225
15. Sachitra Drill Siksha	Exhs. Nos. 464, 431, 851	272, 274
16. Walser Jiban Britta	Exh. No.331	340, 466
17. Atyotsarga	Exhs. Nos. 337, 526	235 321
18. Desher Katha		363, 263

In the "Jugantar" newspaper issue dated the 8th Chaitra 1314, 21st March 1903 (this copy is filed in case No. 183 of 1907-08 as Exh. II), we find the following notice with prices of books :

Sumati Press Depository,
5, Ram Dhan Mittra's Lane, Calcutta.

The following books are for sale:

(1) Chhatrapati Sivaji.
(2) Raja Sitaram Ray.
(3) Bangalar Purabritta.
(4) Desher Kotha.
(5) Jaliyat Klaib.
(6) Barttaman Rana Niti.
(7) Bajirao.
(8) New Spirit.
(9) Jhansir Rajkumar.
(10) Swadeshi case.
(11) Brahmachariya.
(12) Swadeshi Pratah Kritya.
(13) Udbodhan Sangit.
(14) Krishoker Sarbbanash.

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(15) Karagare Bipin Chandra o Poraloke Brahman Bandhab.
(16) Barttaman Samasya o Swadeshi Andolan.
(17) Sonar Banglar gan.
(18) Jatiya Samasya.
(19) Bangalakshmir Bratakatha.
(20) Islam o Ingraj.

And immediately below is an advertisement of Mukti Kon Pathe. In the Naba Sakti dated 10th Baisakh 1315, 23rd April 1908 (filed as Exh. 1 in case No. 183 of 1907 - 8) we find the following books advertised over the name of Abinash Chandra Bhattacharjyo, Jungantar Pustakalay, 4, Harrison Road, Calcutta:-

Mukti Kon Pathe
Desher Katha
Rana Niti
Bajirao
Sikher Balidan

Many other swadeshi books and songs are for sale.

Clive the Forger - the book No. 5 above, "Clive the Forger," is easily the first favourite among Anushilan readers. The book was not found in the Samiti, but we must presume it was there and in constant use. It finds proper entry in Exh. 21, the library catalogue, and of course it is impossible that the book should be issued 13 times if it was not there. Similarly with Desher Katha and Mukti Kon Pathe; they are entered in the library catalogue and were issued to readers, but we do not find copies in the Samiti. the books were so popular that they were constantly in use. The library issue - book comes to an abrupt end on November 10th, shortly after Pulin had been arrested and was in hajut, and just before the murder of Manasha Chakrabarty and the final raid on the samiti. Those books which are entered in the catalogue but not found in the Samiti must have been on the 15th November lent out to some persons outside the Samiti.

The moral of "Clive the Forger" is obviously to excite feelings of hatred and contempt against the English and English rule in India, the very foundation of which is alleged to be a forgery. One boy who takes out this book (serial No. 103 in Exh. 12) has adopted the name Prafulla Chandra Chaki, and signs himself as Prafulla Chandra Chaki.

Pratab Sing - The second favourite is Pratap Singh by Satis Chandra Mittra, B. A. published in 1906 by the Students' Library, College Street, Calcutta. It is Exh. 979. The dedication is to the student community of Bengal with a hope that they would emulate the example of Pratap Singh, in respect of his heroism in adhering to the vow he had undertaken in

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fighting for his motherland against Akbar. Several passages in this book were found marked, and the most important have been translated. They show clearly what points specially appealed to the student community.

At page 46 of Exh. 12 we find Jogondra Chandra Das Gupta taking out books entered as follows:- (1) Mantrer Sadhan, (2) Raja Sitaram, (3) Maharaj Pratapaditya."

Rana Pratap.

This appears to show that the first two entries represent one book only and that Rana Pratap Singh was popularly known as Mantrer Sadhan. This is easily understood from the fact that not only do we find this phrase in Sanscrit given as the motto of the book, but also at page 5 (one of the underlined Passages) we find the Rajputs held up as showing by their character the truth of the maxim "Mantrer Sadhan Kimba Sarir Patan."

The life of Pratap Sing is also contained under the title of "Rajput Jiban Sandhya" in the works of Ramesh Chandra Dutt, No. 239 in Exh. 21, a book which was taken out three times.

Maharaj Nanda Kumar.-The next book is Maharaj Nanda Kumar, 4th edition, Published in 1310. We fine the names Surendra Mohan - - - illegible, and on page 2 Nishi Bhushan Mittra. This book owes its popularity to the same causes as "Clive the Forger." The point of reading this ancient history now is to rouse feelings of hatred against the English administration.

A similar book is Maharaja Nanda Kumar Charit, exh. 450, but it was published in 1305.

Sikher Balidan.- Sikher Balidan is written by Miss Kumudini Mittra, B. A., daughter of Krishna Kumar Mittra (deported), editor of "Sanjibani," and cousin of Arabindo ghosh. It appears among the swadeshi books advertised by Abinash Chandra Bhattacharjyo. There are no less than four copies. The purpose of this book, which was published in 1311, is most clearly given in the review of Surendra Nath Banerji printed at the end of the book. "Sikher Balidan" is a book which ought to be in the hands of every schoolboy. In all great movements boys and young men play prominent part. The divine message first comes to them; and they are persecuted and they suffer for their faith. Suffer little children to come unto me are the words of the divinely inspired founder of Christianity........ Our boys and young men have been persecuted for their swadeshism; and their sufferings have made swadeshism strong and vigourous...... Mark the heroic words of these boy - martyrs : 'He who has forsaken his God fears death. To the devoted death is real birth. We rejoice in the presence of death . In death shall we find our everlasting joy.' .... The little book reveals the process of nation - building

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through the ordeal of fire and persecution. It should be in the hands of everybody who has his eye open to the significance of the events that are passing around us."

This review was published in the "Bengalee" in August 1906.

The pernicious effects of incitement of this kind applied just at the psychological moment, for its enthusiastic reception by immature boys are well - known. There have already been several "boy-martyrs," and numerous other misguided youths are, according to their own writings, burning "to sacrifice their lives."

Gita.-The Gita has already been noticed in detail (see pate 89). We will simply add here the serial numbers in Exh. 12 and the names of those to whom the book was issued:-

Page 45, to Bijoy Kumar Ray.

Page 47, to Priya Nath Babu.

Page 48, to Promod Behari Das.

Serial	No.	31, to	Akshay Kumar Datta.
"	"	73 "	Profulla Kumar Sen Gupta.
"	"	76 "	Promod Kishor Raha Ray.
"	"	95 "	Ashutosh Das Gupta (Bankim's Gita).
"	"	114 "	Narendra Chandra Datta (")

We may note that on the occasion of the mock - fight at Dacca on 23rd August 1908, among the prizes awarded were Sikher Balidan, Desher Katha, Sivaji, Gita, Chandi, Maharaja Nanda Kumar, Jhansir Rani, a drill - book, and First Aid to the Injured.(See Abstract XXXVIII, Vol. III, paragraph 426.)

Bankin's Works and Debi Chandhurani. - Bankim's Works and Debi Chandhurani were, of course, much in demand. We have noted at pages 43-44 one important instance of a Samiti vow being taken from the Anandamath, and how the revolutionary societies have tried to re-enact the scenes of the sanyasi rebellion. A particular instance may be given here of the extraordinary lengths to which the sanyasi idea was carried. When Ananta Mohon Chatterji, a boy of $14^1/2$ years, was admitted into the Samiti, he was wearing ordinary clothing; but he was immediately provided with the gerua cloth of a sanyasi. It was while wearing this cloth that he was photographed. We shall find, too, that besides Bande Mataram the song mentioned in Part III, Chapter 7, of Anandamath, the invocation to Bishnu to slay all the Mlecchas, was very popular song in the Samiti.

Debi Chaudhurani. - Debi Chaudhurani, after being turned out of the house by her father - in - law, fled to the jungle to avoid the attentions of a zamindar. In the jungle she met Bhabani Pathak, leader of the

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dacoits; and after undergoing a hard course of training became the queen of the dacoits. She remained so for some time, but when her husband is captured by the dacoits she pays off his large debt with the proceeds of dacoity and returns to him. Debi Chaudhurani is held up as an ideal woman (see Chapter 10, Part I), who goes through life doing acts of piety without hankering after results or the merit arising from those acts. As queen of the dacoits she was attacked by the English forces, but outwitted them by a trick. After returning to her husband she distributed all the proceeds of dacoity in charity, saying the moncy did not belong to her but to Sri Krishna.

In this book Bankim Chandra writes an entertaining passage upon the apotheosis of the lathi, which no doubt helped in a large measure to bring about lathi-play among bhadralok Bengalis. A translation is given. The idea of "political dacoities," or raising funds by dacoity and spending the money upon what is considered a good cause, is found well expressed in this book. (see Part I, Chapter 12, last lines, and Chapter 16) Bhabani Pathak, the leader of the dacoits, declares that he is the only raja or ruling power who punishes oppression and vice and rewards virtue. The Muhammadan power is gone, and the English do not understand administration or how to govern. He gives a long account of the terrible froms of oppression and outrage practised, and declared that he is the benevolent raja who really administers justice. (see also Part II, Chapter 10, where dacoity is justified for exactly these reasons, and called the profession of gentlemen.)

DEBI CHAUDHURANI

Part III, Chapter I

Paragraph 5. - Such pompous preparations were made to seize the ascetic lady. But the authorities did not think such preparations to be unnecessary; whatever Debi might be, be she an ascetic or anything else, the sahibs know that she had a thousand warriors under her command. These warriors were called Barakandajes. It is said that on many occasions the Company's seapoys had to take to flight before the lathis of these Barakandajes. Alas! Lathi, you have had your day. True it is that you are a piece of vile bamboo, but there is nothing which you cannot accomplish if you be in trained hands. How many swords you have broken into twain; how many shields and swords you have shattered to pieces! Alas, owing to your blows guns and bayonets have dropped from the hands of soldiers. They fled with broken hands. Lathi, you used to protect the modesty of women in Bengal; you used to protect honour, paddy, wealth, men; you used to please all. The Musalmans were afraid

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of you; dacoits were put to serious trouble by you; the indigo planters desisted (from committing oppression) through fear of you; you were the Penal Code of that day. Like the Penal Code, you suppressed the wicked; like the Penal Code you suppressed the good as well; and like the Penal Code you used to break Shyam's head for Ram's guilt. But you had this superiority over the Penal Code that no appeal lay against you. Alas! that glory of yours is now gone. The Penal Code has ousted you and taken your place; the charge of governing society has shifted into its hand from yours. You, lathi, you are no longer lathi now - only a piece of bamboo. Being metamorphosed into a dandy stick you adorn the hands of the Babu Class afraid of dogs and jackals, and drop from those hands of butter even when a dog barks. That glory of yours is no more. We hear in those days you were a very good specific. We hear from the mouth of good doctors of mental diseases - lathi is the medicine for fools. The medicine for fools nowadays is "father," "darling" (and other terms of endearment), and yet the disease is not cured. The virtues of many from amongst your Sagotras and Sapindas shine with effulgence in this world. From a beam, a lathi, a post, etc., to the bewitching flute of Krishna, I realise the virtues of all, but lathi, no one is like you. You are no more - you are gone. I hope that you have attained eternal heaven that going to the religion of India you have become a prop keeping up the branches bent under the weight of the Parijat tree in the garden of Nandana (Eden), that the daughters of the gods are plucking fruits, such as religion, riches, desire and emancipation, from the Kalpa tree (the tree of plenty, yielding whatever is desired of it) striking them with you. May a fruit or half of it roll down to this earth.

Debi Chaudhurani is entered as No. 363, serial 340, in Exh. 21, library catalogue, but scored out. In Exh. 12, issue book, setting aside the number of times that Bankim's Works (presumably containing Debi Chaudhurani) were issued, we find the following issues of Debi Chaudhurani which bears the No. 374, which in Exh. 21 denotes Dohabali :

Sl.	Name of Book.	Name of person taking it out.	Number of book.
14	Debi Chaudhurani	Jadab Ch. Chakrabarty	374
34	Ditto	Bankim Ch. Ray	374
75	Ditto	Haripada Chattopadhyaya	374
96	Ditto	Kumud Behari Das	374

In Exh. 806, a list of select books, we fine the following books which show how the subject of dacoity occupied the attention of the Samiti :-

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No. 12, Tantia Bhil.

No. 19, Bhabani Pathak.

Jail Pratab Chand and Anandi Bai. - Pratab Chand was a fakir and a man of wonderful attainments, whose suit to establish his claim to the Burdwan Raj has earned for him the title of the Indian Tichbourne. The 3rd edition (Exh. 350), dated 1307, is published by Guru Das Chatterji, of the Bengal Medical Library. It will be sufficient to note part of the preface which begins "We have no history. What we read as history of the Bengalis, that is history of Englishmen. We are now accepting as deeds of valour of Bengalis what are really deeds of valour of the English. The time for removing this mistake has not yet arrived. When that time comes there will be no want of materials fit for history. It is in this hope an attempt is being made to leave on record one or two matters of social interest during particular epochs. For this reason for the present the Jal Raja has been selected as our subject."

The book is a full account of the long proceedings in this case, and is of no particular political interest.

Anandi Bai. -This book and Desher Katha were written by Pandit Sakha Ram Ganesh Daosker, a Mahratta gentleman who writes in Bengali. These two works are among the list of "a few necessary books" recommended by the Chatra Bhandar, Calcutta (see Exh. 1129 at page 298 of the Alipur book of exhibits). It was published in Chaitro 1309 and is an account of Anandi Bai Joshi, daughter of Ganapat Rao Amriteswar Joshi, who was married to Gopal Rao at the age of 9. She went to America without her husband at the age of 17, lived as a strict Hindu, obtained the degree of M. D. of Pennsylvania after three years. She returned to India and died at the age of 21. In her early age she was very strong and used to wrestle with her boy - cousin whom she easily defeated. For this feat she was called "malla" or wrestler (page 6). She educated herself in spite of enormous difficulties; she would never use articles of foreign manufacture (pages 40 and 69). Before going to America she wrote to Miss Carpenter a letter in which she wishes to fulfil her object by living the life of a strict Hindu lady, and quoted the phrase from the Gita "Mantrer Sadhan Kimba sarir patan." At the age of 17 she addressed a crowded meeting in English, stating her reasons for going to America and why she was going alone (pages 35 and 36).

The Chhatra Bhandar recommends this book as a stirring appeal to women exactly as Pratap Sing's sons, the "boy-martyrs," are to be emulated by the boys and young men. The appeal to women cannot, of course, be so dangerous as that to young men, but it may have far reaching consequences and may act indirectly upon the men. The

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appearance of women at seditious meetings taking part in the proceedings by singing or by contributing their ornaments to some swadeshi funds is now by no means rare. Bengali ladies regularly attended the political meetings held during 1906-07-08 in Dacca, and at the Swadeshi Boycott meeting in 1908 they sang songs. Two examples of political women will be given from these records; one is Surabala, wife of Bankim Chandra Ray of Serajganj, and Sarajubala, wife of Paresh Chandra Sen Gupta of Madhyapara. The latter in Exh. 22 sings the praises of Khudiram, proposes to raise a memorial to him, and hopes that this tyranny of the Whites will bring on a mutiny and cause their extermination (Sarajubala mentioned on Page 137).

Barttaman Rana Niti, Mukti Kon Pathe, Desher Katha. - These books may conveniently be noticed together. They are all advertised as "Jugantar" publications (see page 106), and Desher Katha is particularly recommended by the Chhatra Bhandar as "the only resort for the worshippers of the motherland."

The Barttaman Rana Niti has already been discussed. The only point to be noticed here is that at page 86 we are told that the Mahratta war cry "Hara, Hara, Mahadeo" was terrible and awe-inspiring. This was the cry adopted at the Samiti mock-fights, and seems also to have been part of the daily routine in the Samiti. Ananta Mohan Chatterji says : "After performing the ablutions, the members stand in a line. One of them reads the hymns named Bhagabati Stotra and other hymns, and all the members then repeat the hymns. Then they bow down. Then they chant aloud the following portion of the Bande Mataram (quoted). Then they shout aloud Hara, Hara; Bom, Bom. One of them first shouts this; others then follow him. Then they play lathi till 8 A. M. "Bom, Bom," is a representation of the sound made in worshipping Mahadeo.

Mukti Kon Pathe. - This book is not among the records but in Exh. 21 we find it entered as No. 330, Mukti Kon Pathe - Jugantar - author's name Abinash Ch. Chakrabatti. In Exh. 12 the library issue book, serial No. 22, shows the issue of Mukti Kon Pathe to Lalit Chandra Guha Mustafi on 26th Bhadra. The person taking the book signs as Lalit Mohan Ray, and the number is given as 330. Again at serial No. 105 we find Mukti Kon Pathe issued to, and signed for by Chandra Sekhar De, and its number again given as 330. In Exh. 806, a list of books, we find as serial No. 23 "Mukti Kon Pathe - (Jugantar)." This is conclusive proof that the book was in the Samiti between the dates mentioned, and is sufficient proof that the Samiti possessed the book and its members generally read it. This conclusion is reasonable enough when we find

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copies of the "Jugantar" newspaper, and a book of "Jugantar" articles, carefully written out by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta (Exh. 24 of 5th November). The Barttaman Rana Niti is a more dangerous book for an association to keep and to disseminate, and it was a book regarding which proceedings under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, had been taken in the town of Dacca. Nevertheless, we find the Samiti subsequently in possession of it and disseminating it. This is not surprising, as Satyendra Nath Ghosh, of Uttar Maisundi, who was bound down in case 94 of 1908, and with whom the "Jugantar" Agent, Munindra Mohan Sen Gupta, left many copies of the Rana Niti for sale on commission, was himself a member of the Wari Samiti. Hence, if the samiti had no objection to keeping the Rana Niti, they would feel no objection also to keeping the other "Jugantar" publications.

In the house search on 11th December 1908 of Aswini Kumar Ghosh, of Naraingtanj, a member of the Anushilan Samiti, Parts 3 and 4 of Mukti Kon Pathe were found, and are marked No. 2 in the search list.

As the book when found in the possession of member of the Anushilan forms an excellent means of indicating the aims of that organisation, a short summary of the book is given, quoted from Mr. Norton's address in the Alipur case : "The object of this book was to produce in the minds of those persons, into whose hands it might fall, a spirit of opposition to British rule." "Rise we must, and rise we shall by all means and methods, whatever the cost may be," is the language.

A lengthy passage was, then read in which use was made of the words "exciting" and "maddening the whole of India." I lay special emphasis on the use of the words "maddening the whole of India."

"This book lays special stress on the prevalence of poverty, and deals with the question of a remedy for this state of matters. It admits that it exists, but attributes its cause to the British rule, and then gives as their object the complete removal of poverty. The article does not confine itself to the mere preaching of the doctrine of boycott, but accompanying it there has been a system of terrorism and physical attacks upon persons in the attempt to induce them to abandon the use of goods manufactured elsewhere and to induce them to use swadeshi goods. This, I say, is illegal."

Then regarding self-sacrifice. "The bad thing there is that the doctrine of so - called self - sacrifice for the needs of one's country, such as going to jail, should be published and disseminated throughout the country to reach the plastic minds of young men and schoolboys, whose hearts are to be so touched by doctrines like this, in order that their energies may be enlisted for the furtherance of the objects of this conspiracy.

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Therein lies the danger and therein lies the wrong. Then they refer to the officials who are in charge of the administration in this country as the 'enemy.'

"Independence of British rule is throughout the goal in this book."

Regarding the need of religious feeling and enthusiasm. "Taking that as the keynote of their own attempts, they adopt that very inculcation of religious feeling and enthusiasm to which they attribute in no small measure the historical greatness of the Bengali nation........... There is a distinct invitation to every person to accept doctrines which may lead them to embrace doctrines of practically wading through slaughter to a crown. They are told that death is a certain passport to glory. Death itself is nothing but they will be glorified after. They may die, but the death of each person in the community is a step towards the realisation of a dream held by every person in that community."

The article called "What is wanted in Bengal" teaches practically the same lessons as those given in the Barttaman Rana Niti page 102.

"Then we come to the next heading, "The means," and the main means are said to be six. they lay it down in connection with their bands there must be no kind of show, and unnceessary self - revelation must be avoided, for their lies the danger. I would ask you to bear that in mind." "They have adopted secret names, secret cognomens of their own." This is Part I.

Second Part. - In the second part, " Musings of a Lunatic," we find an admission that the Bengalis are at a disadvantage in the way of muscular development. That is to be made good by training, so far as training can do so. There must be geater muscular development, but if the time at their disposal is not sufficient to secure such development, there is consolation in the thought that not much muscle is required to kill a European with revolver or rifle, or rifle, or to kill many Europeans with a Maxim gun. It does not take much strength to pull a trigger; even a Bengali can do that.

In the article called "Enchantment" the British administration in India is compared with that of Spain in America and that of Rome in her subject provinces. In the parable of the "Eater and the Eatable" there is a direct invitation to violence, which was to be delayed only until the organisation was ready to strike. In a letter supposed to be written by the "Motherland," all sympathy for the nation, which is to be exterminated, must be suppressed. It is dangerous to allow English capital to come into the country and dangerous for Bengalis to take situations in mills.

In "The New and the Old" is the passage "We shall do the governing ourselves; we shall establish 'swaraj.'

Third part. - In the third part the title "The Mendicant Policy in

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Politics" explains itself; but the next heading "The Strength of the Youth is the Power of the Nation" is of such importance as regards the Anushilan Samiti that I again quote Mr. Norton's remarks *verbatim* : "It is very important because a certain number of the accused in the dock are young men, and an attempt may be made to enlist your sympathies in the view that some exceptions must be made for them on the grounds of their inexperience and the greenness of youth. My reply to that is, that, as the policy laid down was to obtain and train the youth for the purposes of these offences, it is no answer to say 'many of these accused persons are young or even mere boys'. My charge is that they are here because the persons directing this conspiracy have ordered that the appeal should be made to them, because they are young, because they are enthusiastic. because they are more callow and previous to the appeals made to them under the cover of so - called patriotism. That is the reason they are here. that is not an excuse; it is the very reason of the existence of this organisation. Therefore, no appeal for them on the grounds of their youth ought to have any effect on you at all."

.... Then we have the words 'God is the cause, and the young men are the means.'

Then comes article on revolution with the sub - heading "Building up public opinion." The means are

(1) *Newspapers* and the "Sandhya" and "Bande Mataram" are quoted as having started this work before the "Jugantar" came into the field. The next means is :

(2) *Music*, of which numerous instances will be forthcoming from the great mass of songs found in the Anushilan Samiti.

(3) *Literature.* - Of this we have abundance, printed and written.

(4) *Secret meetings and associations.* - In the vows and in Paridarshak we have a mass of evidence regarding the secrets of the Anushilan organization.

On page 45 of the third part we find "Secret societies are necessary because it is impossible to talk of freedom openly because of bayonets and guns. If one wants to talk of freedom publicly he must necessarily do so in a roundabout way. It is precisely for this reason that a secret place is necessary where people may discuss 'What is truth?" without having recourse to hypocrisy. But it must be a place which the tyrant cannot see. The Russian revolutionists used to meet at dead of might in secret places to discuss what they ought to do, and they still do so. It is precisely this state of things which has been described by Bankim Babu in his Anandanath. In the dead of night the sanyasis used to collect weapons for freedom in the dense forest." ...."When revolution

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is absolutely necessary for the sake of freedom it must be preached by all possible means. All means, great or small, important or unimportant, should be adopted, but firmness and tact are important."

On the last page of this book 58, after giving statistics dating from 1793, we find "He who is born a man should not die as a worm. What people consider peace is nearly inertness? By the blessings of this 'peace' the number of deaths is constantly increasing. Warfare and revolution are preferable to this sort of peace Is it not better that five crores of people should be wiped out in the attempt to deliver India than that they should die amid this 'peace,' the deaths of the impotent? If you cannot be a man in life, be a man in death. This is the teaching of the present age."

We shall show later that even if there had been no such book as "Mukti Kon Pathe" or similar inflammatory literature ever published, there were several occasion in the town of Dacca when agitators like Mr. P. Mittra and Bipin Chandra Pal in particular appealed in exactly similar strains but with the stronger force of direct oratory to the boys and young men of the Anushilan Samiti who flocked to hear them.

Fourth Part. - This part is the climax. Its closing articles are of great importance.

"Don't be waiting in manliness" is an incitement to violence. Of the goad applied is "You stand still by and see outrage committed on the modesty of women and the untimely death of your brothers dearer than life."

The useless of repression is thus stated : "Can the insolent Airabatta (Indra's White Elephant), puffed up with brute force, stem the current of the Ganges born of a great mass of energy fraught with religious frenzy laid in the heart of this eternal Aryan race?"

"Dharmmarajya and Maharaja Sivaji" is an article showing that without a revolution "dharmmarajya" cannot be established. If the Emperors like Akbar had ruled according to old Hindu traditions, the "dharmmarajya" might have existed; but their increased oppressions soon led to the rise of the Hindu champion Sivaji. But English rule is infinitely worse than Muhammadan rule. The reason is astonishing. "The oppression committed by the King at the present time, though it is fatal to the entire country, is done so cleverly that *the Subjects remain unaware of it.*"

The next article, "Letter of Yoga the lunatic," is a coarsely expressed satire on the Benares Congress.

"Social differences and freedom." After discrediting English education "our University career is spent in chewing the rejected learning of Europe" - which does not make Indians men but only children of

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increased stature. The writer, after scurrilous abuse of the English, hints that social differences will be sunk and unity attained "on the dark night of the new moon" when the great rising takes place. "You European thief, stealing the property of others, when you, yearning for food, issued out to commit dacoity under the pretext of spreading civilization, then too India did not hesitate to receive dreadful serpents like you in her bosom."

The next article, "The Thread of Union," is a continuation of the preceding article. The present is a time of national calamity, so just as men, snakes and tigers seek shelter from floods in the same tree, so the discordant sects of India will be thrown together by oppressive rule.

The next article, "The Principle of Revolution," is a continuation of an article in the third part which dealt with the various ways of "building up public opinion."

Now we reached the second stage in revolution, the collection of arms. "In the political world, too, it may be said in the same way, if a firm determination be there, arms come of themselves. Weapons are not the possession of any particular nation or individual." We find here a clear justification of what are now known as political dacoities. "A nation yearning for freedom does not shrink even, if it be necessary, to collect money by committing theft and dacoity. So in the matters of collecting arms, the power of descriminating between right and wrong is gone. Everything is sacrificed at the feet of the goddess of liberty." Three means are then given —

(i) "To prepare weapons silently in some secret place" : In this way bombs are being prepared by the Russian Nihilists. Indians will be sent to foreign countries to learn the art of making weapons. On their return to India they will manufacture cannon, guns, etc., with the help of enthusiatic youths.

(ii) "Importation of weapons of all kinds from foreign countries" : There are few businesses so lucrative as supplying arms to rebels, and the instances are given of Afridis of India and Mullahs of Africa fighting the English with guns obtained from England.

(iii) "Assistance of Native soldiers" : The native Army only serves under the tyrannical King to Carn a livelihood. But they are human beings, and "when the revolutionists explain to them the misery and wretchedness of the country, they swell the bands of revolutionists at the proper time, taking with them the arms given to them by the King." "It is because soldiers may thus be made to understand the situation that the present English King of India does not allow the clever Bengals to enter the army."

Besides these three main means, others are suggested, such as

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obtaining the assistance of some foreign kings who will provide weapons secretly. The conclusion is reached that the collection of arms is not at all a difficult matter.

The next article, "Religion and Liberty," is the old theme of establishing "Dharmmarajya." "Dharma," it is argued, has been given the restricted meaning of religion, but it really means the particular duty of each person in his station of life. "Dharmmarajya" is impossible without freedom, therefore every person, Brahmin, Kshattriya, Vaisya and Sudra, must work together and acquire freedom as the necessary condition for the performance by each of his "dharma." In a word, revolution is preached as necessary to salvation. "Everyone will have now to realize that the religion of this age should be practised not in fields, forests or corners but in the battlefield overflooded with blood."............ "Stir up this yearning in every town, in every village, in every hamlet."

The next article on "Passive Resistance," a letter from Yoga the lunatic, shows how Bipin Pal's policy of passive residence, or the principle of "striking" all round, is no use except in a country where the popular will has already asserted itself as superior to the King. For this reason we reach the same conclusion as always that a revolution is necessary.

The next article, "The Principle of Revolution - Collecting of Money," Claborates what has been mentioned in a preceding article in this book. To "political dacoity" is added looting of Government treasuries, and finally the forcible collection of taxes when guerilla warfare has been started. The article is of great importance because the organisation with which we are dealing can be shown to have followed exactly the stages mapped out. The building up of public opinion and the *acquisition* of brute force, i. e., arms, have been dealt with; the third stage is real war. Each state has an appropriate system for collecting funds, with which we now deal.

First of all let us see what means are resorted to at the time of shaping the public opinion. If attempts are made to shape the public opinion with a view to bring about a revolution, certainly the kingly power with its heart and soul will act in opposition to them. So at first we should work silently. At first the work of preaching should be managed with the money obtained by begging or as willing donations. Secret preachers begins secretly to form bands in all directions at home and abroad. Much money is needed for this purpose. If the work has not passed its infancy, the expenses can be met with subscriptions, etc. But if the work advances so far that we cannot help collecting much money, it is impossible then

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to depend on the money that is given willingly. Then money should be exacted from society by the application of force........... If the revolution be brought about for the welfare of society, then it is perfectly just to collect money from society for the purpose........... When the body is sick the medicine may taste sour.

Revolutionists are, as it were, the doctors of a diseased society. It is their object to "save society from the jaws of death." But it may be objected that "political dacoity" is unlawful; accordingly this objection is soon swept away : "The principal object of laws is the doing of good to society."................. "A tyrannical king may wilfully enact lakhs of laws but simply for this reason, society is not bound to carry them out. On the contrary, it is its duty to destroy such kingly power." Again, there is another objection, that theft and dacoity - the forcible appropriation of what another has earned by the sweat of his brow - are crimes. Yes; this is admitted; they are crimes because they violate the principle of the good of society. But the "political dacoit" is aiming at the good of society : "so no sin but rather virtue attaches to the destruction of this small good for the sake of some higher good. Therefore if revolutionists extort money from the miserly or luxurious wealthy members of society by the application of force, their conduct is perfectly just."

That the Anushilan had advanced up to this point at least in the path of revolution is abundantly proved.

Secondly, when the time for collecting arms comes, Government treasuries are to be plundered. This is perfectly just, because form the moment the kingly power tramples upon the welfare of the subjects, the king may be regarded as a robber, from whom it is perfectly right to snatch away his stolen money, in order "to defray the expenses of establishing the future kingly power."

Lastly, when revolution turns into actual warfare "taxes should be exacted openly from the subjects. Much wealth is collected by irregular warfare also."

The last article "The age of the Gita again in India" opens with the well - known passage which the "Jugantar" adopted as its motto. It is shown that impiety is now in the ascendant, and it is high time to destroy the evil-doers. The great command to "fight" with certain prospect of glory - "killed, you will obtain heaven; victorious, you will enjoy the earth" (see page 93) - is accompanied by a glowing picture of the second alternative. In other words, persons are lured to meet the dangers of revolution by a glorious picture of the results to be attained. "Behold the figure of mother adorned with freedom and resplendent with the lustre

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of piety the free-flag of religion of India is flying. There is being no loss of population to India owing to famine, plague, and other epidemics. India has become full of the beauty of Lukshmi by industries, commerce, machines and manufactories of a superior order designed by Indians, by wealth and paddy. Behold the mercantile ships of India are rushing from one part of the world to another carrying in their bosoms the commodities of India which are the best in the world. Carriages propelled by steam invented by Indians are proudly rushing day and night by the side of fields green with harvest on the bosom of the mother carrying Indian passengers. Steamers of Indians have overcast the rivers full of water on the bosom of the mother. The ever - new scientific truths discovered by Indians are simultaneously exciting the admiration and envy of the world. The Navy and the Army of India have been proved to be the very best on earth." "The immeasurable strength, knowledge and piety of India is being employed for the progress of the whole world. [This recalls article 3 (d) of the Adya Pratijna, see page 30.] Indians have made a vow that in every country where oppression will be committed on the weak and piety will languish, they will stand up, their sword in hand, against the oppression as the principal servant of God for the establishment of dharmmarajya. The special duty of Indians is to illumine this world with the light of knowledge and piety." "The whole world being purged of sin has become a dharmmarajya established by India. The whole world is paying taxes to India - that tax is not plundered wealth but the reverence of the heart of hearts." "O ye Indians, it is for you this heavenly happiness is stored up in the near future."

But if Indians do not fight, if they run away from their duty, the prospect is correspondingly lurid. See "what a terrible end is in store for India. India has become destitute of Indians. The inevitable result of subjection, destruction, has removed the inhabitants of India from the world. A Colonial system of Government Subject to England, which is the best thing obtained by begging, has been set up in India. But it is the colony of those who, extirpating the Indians root and branch, have overcast coming from the other side of the ocean in bodies like swarms of locusts. There are two or four Indians here and there, for the colonists require some hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Desher Katha. - This book, by Pandit Sakharam Ganesh Daoskar, is advertised in both the lists given on page 106. In the Chhatra Bhandar Prospectus it is specially praised in the following words : "In order to understand the actual state of the country every educated man ought to read once this unique book. There is much in it to understand, think, and learn. This book is the only resort for the worshippers of the motherland." It is published in a "Cheap," a "Family" and a "Royal" edition.

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No copy was found in the search of 15th November, as the book was in use outside the Samiti.

In the catalogue, Exh. 21, we find two copies separately entered serial 240, No. 263; and serial 340, No. 363. It is the latter copy which finds entry in the issue - book, Exh. 12, as serial 17, when Hemanga Bhusan Roy Gupta signed for the book. We must also note as showing that this book was really in the Samiti, that it is entered as No. 205 in the list given in Exh. 12.

ChhatrapatiSivaji. - In Exh. 12, library issue - book, page 54, serial 38, we find this book was issued by the librarian to Kameksha Charan Ghosh, but the recipient signs himself as Kamakhya Charan Ghosh. At serial 36 on the preceding page we find a slight variation in this person's signature which is given as Kamakhya Chandra Ghosh. We have the thumb - impression and signature of this person as "Kamakhya Charan Ghosh" taken shortly after his arrest on 4th November. But, as in numerous other cases, the name given was false. After four months he was traced as Gopal Chandra Ghosh of Dhipur, Munshiganj. (See Volume II, page 85.)

The catalogue number of this book is given in the above entry as 346, which id found correct in Exh. 21, the library catalogue. The number is also correctly given at serial 46 of Exh. 12 when the book was issued to Hemendra Kumar Chanda. Similarly at seria the book is issued to Promode Behari Das, but no number is given. The book was not found on 15th November, but a copy was found at house search of Aswini Kumar Ghosh, Deobhog, Narayanganj, on 11th December 1908, and is marked No. 1. It is a new edition published in 1313. The Sivaji cult is a prominent feature of the agitation in Bengal, prior to which the Mahrattas were only remembered for their marauding expedition to Calcutta and their names used to frighten children. The appearance of a new edition in 1313 bears strong testimony to the sudden popularity of Sivaji.

The reasons why this book was read are obvious. The war cry of the Mahrattas was in daily use in the Samiti (see page 114) and at mock - fights, and Sivaji, who recovered the Mahrattas country from the Mlechhas, was obviously the exact type of hero to be imitated by those who, in their view, were engaged in freeing their country from a similar curse. The following passages only need be noted :- Page 71, lines 8, 9, and 10 : "There is absolutely no sin in killing with great cruelty that base born man, who, being a native of the soil, thrown obstacles in the way of the establishment of the freedom of his native land"; and page 81, lines 8, 9, 10 : "To expect one's own country to prosper without a revolution (*lit.*, uprising) is as unreal as the flowers of the sky. It is for this reason

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that prominent politicians say that there is nothing so sacred as a revolution"; and on page 116, lines 13 - 17 : "Sivaji is firmly convinced that it is the primary duty of every man to protect his faith and his country from the oppressions of foreigners. He who fails to perform this duty goes to hell and becomes infamous."

The life of Sivaja is also contained in the works of Romesh Chandra Dutt, under the title of "Mahratta Jiban Prabhat." This book was not found on the 15th of November, but it is entered as No. 239 in Exh. 21, and again as No. 216 in the list given in Exh. 12, and it was issued three times - see serial 6 to Jagadish Chandra Ghosh (*alias* Manindra Nath Ghosh - see Volume II, page 31), serial 62 to Sashi Kumar Bhattacharjyo and serial 101 to Jogesh Chandra Bhattacharjyo.

Bharat Sangit. - This book, which is bound up with Santan Sangit or Desher Gan and Udbodhan Sangit, is Exh. 92, and it bears the number 347 of the Anushilan Library catalogue, Exh. 21, in which it will be found properly entered. We also find at serial 106 of Exh. 12, the issue - book, that Bharat Sangit was taken out by Narendra Chandra Datta (see Volume II, page 39). A few passages will be quoted. At page 16 of Bharat Sangit we find "If no justice is to be had at the door of the King, then, O brothers, stand on your own legs." In this part (page 51) and in Desher Gan also (page 11) we find the Bharat Sangit of Hem Chandra Banerji noticed later. (See page 142.)

In Udbodhan Sangit (page 14) we find "Turn back and look at your country. The foreigner is looting the country. They take away our money and give us whip, blows, slaps and fisticuffs " The song is marked Anonymous, but it belongs to the collection of Mukunda Lal Das Gupta of Barisal.

In the same part (page 13) and in Desher Gan (page 7) we find a song by Bipin Chandra Pal calling upon the deity to rid the people of all softer feelings, cowardice and weakness, to substitute the sword for the flute and to beat the war-drum and to make the blood dance.

NEWSPAPERS

Jugantar. - We have seen (page 117) that newspapers are the first means given in Mukti Kon Pathe for "building up public opinion," which means, as used by the "Jugantar," exciting people's minds up to the revolution point. The thoroughness with which this means was adopted is shown particularly by the existence of "Mukti Kon Pathe" in four parts. It is difficult and troublesome to preserve newspaper files, hence the "Jugantar" reprinted in the form of handy pamphlets those articles from its columns which were regarded as of permanent value. A certain

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member of the Anushilan Samiti followed the same plan by writing out select "Jugantar" articles.

Exhibit No. 1194 of 15th November is a copy of the "Jugantar" dated 16th Bhadro 1314, 2nd September 1907.

Jugantar leaflet. - Exhibit No. 52 of 15th November is a printed "Jugantar" leaflet dated 12th Sraban 1315 (= 28th July 1908). This contains an article showing the wonderful progress Bengalis have made in using bombs, and recommending that the machinery of Government should be broken down by the continued use of bombs. This forms one of the series of articles written out at length by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta, Exh. No. 24 of 5th November, and will be noticed in dealing with that exhibit. (See page 130.)

Sandhya. - Exhibit No 79 of 15th November is a issue of the "Sandhya" dated 28th Kartik 1315, or 13th November 1908. It contains, headed by its largest type, a notice that as Satyendra Nath Bose's various "appeals for mercy" have been rejected, he will be hanged on 21st November, and on the opposite page, occupying four and a half columns, an article called "Kanai Lal on the funeral pyre-Letter of an eye - witness." This is the article which, under the provisions of the new Press Act, was found to be an incitement to murder. The Press was thereupon confiscated. The fact that this particular copy of the "Sandhya" and the copy dated 12th November were found in the Samiti furnishes strong evidence regarding the aims of the organisation.

Another copy of "Sandhya." - After the Samiti had dispersed, a search was made of the building and grounds on 29th January 1909. Another copy of the "Sandhya" was found (marked 7 chha). It is dated 27th Kartik, 12th November 1908, and is therefore the issue preceding the copy just noticed. It contains an article called "Kanai Lal's last day," and a notice in large type regarding the date on which Satyendra was likely to be hanged.

Sonar Bharat. - At the same search a copy of "Sonar Bharat" dated 6th Agrahayan, or 21st November 1908, was found. It is marked No. 32 (Sha) and has been sent by post from Howrah to Indu Bhusan Goswami, 452, Dakshin Maisdundi, Dacca. The addressee is the same as Indra Mohan Goswami (see page 4 and Volume II, Page 141). This issue contains an article regarding the hanging of Satyendra Nath, and, after referring to the refusal of the authorities to give the body to relatives for cremation, ends with the words "The clemency of the rulers increases daily : hatred even towards a dead body!" Another article is called "A golden opportunity of cutting off tender heads." This refers to the proposed Crimes Act and how by selecting certain judges (unlike

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Justices Mittra and Fletcher) to try political cases without any appeal. the authorities will obtain a golden opportunity, etc. This paper, like the "Sandhya," has been suppressed and the printing press at Howrah confiscated.

Written "Jugantar" articles. - Exhibit No. 24 of 5th November 1908 is an exercise book belonging to Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta, of Madhyapara (see Volume I, page 15). The name is written on the book in English, and the vernacular hand-writing covering 58 pages corresponds unmistakable with the numerous other specimens of Dinesh Chandra sen Gupta's handwriting. The writer has carefully given the date and year of the issues of the "Jugantar" from which he has copied. Dinesh is said to be between 18 and 19 years of age, and furnishes a lamentable example of the effects of the poison diffused by the "Jugantar." He wrote out the "Jugantar" in order to disseminate its teaching himself. He was a most prolific writer and had the reputation of being a poet (see Kabya Kusum, Exh. No. 382, and Sangitabali, Exh. No. 1108, of 15th November). In these "poetical" effusions, which will be noticed later, we find a frenzy of sedition., to which it would be difficult to find a parallel even in the "Jugantar." We will now notice this collection of articles which has been translated in full.

One's own country and one's own religion. - The book opens with the "Jugantar's" motto quoted from the Gita : "Whensoever, O descendant of Bharata! piety languishes, and impiety is in the ascendant, I create my self. I am born age after age for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evildoers, and the establishment of piety." (K. P. Telang's translation, page 59.) The issue from which the first article "one's own country and one's own religion" is taken is dated 7th December 1907.

Exactly in accordance with the passage from the Gita the writer, after declaring that one's own country and one's own religion are one and the same thing, makes a stirring appeal to his countrymen to throw off the chains of slavery and re-establish their religion once more — in other words, expel the English. "When will thy country and religion, assuming the form of the god of destruction, stand in front and cry havoc and extermination of the demons and the heathens?"

"Where, alas! are thy wealth, people, honour vanished, which thou with deep confidence didst place in the hands of the heathens — those robbers in disguise whom thou didst invite to thy house?"

"The door of the temple of the mother has been opened. Come and I shall teach thee the secret of entrance. Religion ought to be thy sole aim if thou art bent on establishing a mighty empire which shall work out thy salvation."

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Religion is the pretext put forward, but "religion" means nothing but the destruction of British rule, as the following extracts will show. Indians are asked to give up service under Europeans. "Thy lord (*lit.*, ereadgiver) never hesitates to kick thee out. Whenever thou dost make any mistake ever so trifling, he moves heaven and earth (*lit.*, there is an earthquake) and he goes unimpeached even if he commits the most serious crime." (*lit*, not a single tuft of grass is shaken even if he kills a Brahmin)..... "The country loses its vitality owing to the administration and extortion of the ravenous tyrant carrying away the wealth of the country. Eternal poverty has now overtaken thee."..... "Thou, being his father , hast made him take up the occupation of a scribe, who should have rushed out of doors with the sword in hand for the establishment of religion and would have returned home singing songs of victory, washing his sword besmeared with blood in the holy water of the Ganges"........"Then, O ye children of India, desirous of freedom now while there is yet time, arise, awake;.... go on with thy work for the emancipation of thy country with religion as the sole end of all thy strivings..... gird up your loins to work out her liberation.

This article has been formally declared to be seditious in abstract No. XXVI of 1908, paragraph 264.

Where? - the next article appears to come from the same issue. The writer anticipates that a great leader is just about to appear. He will preside over the sacrifice of Europeans to mother Kali.

"Where is the Bhagiratha of this new movement who will overflow the beach of life of the Bengalis with mighty prowess? Let the offering of oblation for the mighty sacrifice commence. Brother Bengali youth, dost thou not behold thy mother with a gory skull in her hand... with her dry eager tongue coming out of her mouth cast longing pathetic glances at thee?".... "Countless feeble comets appeared in the political heavens to die out in silence one by one"........... "Mother, the giver of all strength, is shining,.... holding in her hands a terrible dart, a maze and a shield, decked with the splendour of complete freedom and trampling under her feet the barbarous merchant. So I say again, the proper time is come. We are tired of waiting having made all the necessary preparations for worship and set apart the victim to be sacrificed before the warlike goddess."

Ten Ways. - This brief article has been declared seditious. (Abstract XXVI, 1908, Paragraph 264.) The ten ways are for the liberation of India "from the tyrannical sway of occidental nations," and may be summed up as the complete boycott of English Administration and an armed rebellion. Four of the means are quoted:

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(1) Devotion to the country and self - abnegation.
(4) Military training of the people of India, so that every Indian may be skilful in war.
(6) Stoppage of the sale of stamps, etc., and amicable compromise of suits by arbiters.
(7) Stoppage of the propagation of foreign religion and foreign education.

Written "Jugantar" leaflet. - The next article is a written copy (omitting the motto, which is given at the beginning of the book) of the printed "Jugantar" leaflet, Exh. 52 of 15th November, mentioned on page 126. The date on this leaflet is carefully given. It is 28th July 1908, about two months after the Muzafferpur outrages and the arrest at Muraripukur Road, to which events reference is made. The writer, after showing that the handful of Europeans can easily be driven out of the country by the Indians, draws from recent events the conclusion that perhaps all this trouble will hardly be necessary, as bombs alone properly used will suffice to drive them out.

"Bombs are not the only invincible weapons for the liberation of the country. In the fullness of time we shall sever off the heads of the enemy with improved weapons. A few day ago you could not dream of Bengali youths using bombs. Just in the same way, the fact that Indian youths are collecting arms in the secret recesses of the place of sacrifice for the destruction of victims offered before the mother is beyond the range of your knowledge and comprehension. We do not like to say anything to-day about the new knowledge that will flash across your stupefied and benumbed mind at the roar of the bursting of cannon balls and the din of battle blended with the piteous cries of the fallen foe. once upon a time, King Surath secured the freedom of this holy land by offering a lakh of victims. We, too, have made a solemn vow touching copper, fire and the sacred thread to offer to the godess skulls full of the warm blood of lakhs of white beasts for her propitiation, to establish our own kingdom and our own religion."... "Seventy thousand British soldiers and seventy thousand English civilians live in India. Should there break out any war in India against the English, more than five lakhs of soldiers can by no means come here........ because England would be left defenceless and the Irish, 'like' hungry wolves, would "jump upon the English precisely at the same moment as the fire of rebellion will blaze out in India."...... "However our seven lakhs of the mother's disciples are sufficient to kill out those Englishmen, not more than two lakhs in number. But form the number of patriotic youths who are joining us every day, we hope that at the time of the revolution we shall be able

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to engage five times their number of heroic faithful sons of India in the extermination of the English."…. "We are convinced that our preparations for the huge war will be useless when we see Englishmen struck with terror at the bursting of a bomb or two."... "The entire mechanism of British administration can be ground down simply with the help of bombs. All on a sudden, one day make the Englishmen of Tinnevelly take their eternal rest in the coffin by means of bombs; exhibit a living picture of the scene at Cawnpur in 1857; at Dibrugarh on a second; make arrangements for the erection of Mausoleums adorned with gems and exquisite carvings for Denzil Ibbetson at Kaldavar on a third; for Norton, Birley, Fraser, Halliday and Co. on a fourth; for Clarke, Emerson, Kemp, etc., on a fifth. Mad Englishmen,no better than dogs, will vanish with their heaps of Maxim, Krupp and Martini guns. Failing to catch hold of the real murderer. Englishmen, losing all common sense, like infuriated beasts driven to bay, pollute the earth with the blood of the innocent. The curse of God will fall upon them. They will then be totally defenceless. Whether they will it or no, all the subjects will join the rebels. Pleaders, mukhtears and officers who are, in spite of our warnings, every day helping them by attending their Courts and Revenue offices, will leave the town and seek shelter in the privacy of their village homes, being struck with terror at the sight of these preparations for a mighty revolution. The towns of the English will then be reduced to a crematorium. Courts, Revenue offices, Post offices, Railways and Telegraph will all collapse. When the British administration will be thrown off its gear, it will not at all be impossible to kick off to the other side of the ocean their inert globular frame like a body with shattered ribs. Grind down the machinery of their Government into powder by bombs. Look what bombs have done in Russia and Persia."

The language of this article is too clear to require comment. A printed copy of this leaflet was sent by post to the Secretary, Bar Library, Dacca. It was handed over to me on 11th August and has been translated in Abstract XXXV of 1908, paragraph 397.

The Trump of Time. - This is a short article from the issue dated 1st Chaitra 1314, or 14th March 1908. After showing exactly, like the Barttaman Rana Niti, that war is a law of nature, the writer calls upon Indians to take up arms. "At the sound of the trumpet of time thousands of heroic souls with shining spears are rushing out actuated by a burning desire to die on the battlefield. The trump of time is proclaiming 'death or gaining of heaven' and hundreds and thousands of souls are rushing headlong into the fire of war."... "India hitherto, in a fainting fit, is roaring like a lion '*Bande Mataram.*"

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This article was published before the Muraripukur garden was discovered.

First scene - Benares.

It is no fable, it is no dream.

This article has the same purpose as "Clive the Forger" (see page 103), *viz.*, to excite feelings of hatred towards British rule. The writer tells in his own way of the dealings of Warren Hastings with Chait Sing, King of Benares, after the inclusion in 1776 of Benares within the Subah of Bengal. A passage is quoted from Mill's History of India regarding the treatment of the princesses when they left the besieged fort Bijhygarh, and we are told that Warren Hastings is the sole actor of these barbarous scenes........

These horrible atrocities need no comment, no remarks. History bears testimony to the character of those who are "the founders of the British Empire in India."

This is for the benefit of the Hindus. The writer promises to present "another foul picture."... "How the Begum of Oudh became a beggar, owing to the inhuman conduct of the barbarian Hastings" for the Benefit of Mussalmans.

The New System. - This article shows that nothing whatever can be done until the nation severs the bonds of slavery. "A nation which is not free has nothing. It has no religion, no mission, no wealth, no *summum bonum*, no society, no reformation, nothing to call its own." The conclusion is "We shall establish self-Government." This article is numbered (2), but the first part has not been copied out.

Love of life. - This article is an exhortation to the Bengalis to rely on a passage of the Gita. "As a man casting off old clothes".... (see page 92), and instead of dying of old age in their beds, to die like heroes on the battlefield. "O Bengali, will that life last for ever through love of which thou dost fear to face the enemy and to kill him?"... "Seeing that death is sure to overtake thee thou should try to die like a hero on the battlefield with the martial cloak around thee. 'Shall die or gain heaven.' One dying in a battle gains heaven. thou will attain to eternal heaven if thou dost fall on the battlefield fighting for thy country and for thy religion. So it is said in the Bhagabat."

The Bengali who believes absolutely in the words of God about "casting off old clothes" can have no fear of death, "no fear in facing the enemy however powerful he may be."

Letter of an Ascetic. - This purports to be the letter of an ascetic who announces that, happening to see some Bengali lads reading the

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"Jugantar," he learnt that a prosecution had been started against the paper. On this incident the ascetic bases a discourse upon the conflict between divine and human law. The letter is very well written and demonstrates admirably by purely abstract reasoning the impossibility of a Hindu committing treason. The argument used to reach this conclusion is open treason, and this is one of several paradoxes in the letter.

Though an ascetic, the condition of the motherland has at last induced him to take up again politics which he had once cast aside. "How can there be politics," he asks, "in a country which has nothing? I come under section 124A if I say that there is no king; but what shall I do? I cannot tell a lie at this age wearing the garb of a religious mendicant. In India the land of this eternal Hindu religion none acknowledges as king who is not annointed.".. "You" (the "Jugantar") "are arrested on a charge of treason."..... "Can you boldly say 'What I am guilty of treason! What right have you to question time? I don't recognise you.' What more heavy punishment will be meted out to you if you say so?... We know the King to be a god, the King is the representative of God. How can a Hindu be guilty of treason? A Hindu does not recognise the petty law of any narrow-minded human legislator. He delights in vastness. His God is infinite. How can he regard laws framed by mortals?

"Foreigners claim to be the king of Hindus." ..... "If we do not call them king, they will commit us to prison, and if the judge be just and upright like Elijah Impey, he may be kind enough to sentence us to be hanged. There is a separate law for deportation. You may go to Mandalay, the Andamans, Thibet or anywhere they may send you by hiring a carriage. This is the law." ... "You can only obey it by throwing overboard your Hinduism. But if you wish to remain a Hindu, if you have any faith in god, if you know there is something like religion, equity, truth then trample under foot the law and adore the law of God."

One's own Country and one's own Religion (continued) : This article is a continuation of the first article dealt with (see page 128), and is even more seditious. After describing in a most eloquent language the image of universal mother, the writer abruptly states : "And this mother of thine is now confined in the prison of Kansha, oppressed with the heavy weight of a stone and bound with iron chains."......."Thou hast cast thy mother country before juckals and dogs - vultures, jackals and dogs are scrambling for her heart."

Then comes the usual appeal : "Be skilful in the use of arms, be mad after war, then, and then alone, wilt thou live.".... "If thou dost desire to be in this world, prepare thyself for the holy war - a war that will establish thy religion and thy nation." Lastly, we find the command from the Gita,

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"Fight." enforced by that ideal doctrine of fanaticism. "If thou dost meet with death in carrying out the virtue I have taught thee, thou wilt enter heaven; and if thou art victorious, thou shalt enjoy the universe."

Thougluts of Duty. - Duty is, of course, towards seven crores of Bengalis who are represented as dying of plague, hunger and thirst amidst a most fertile country. Has the time for action not come? Who can say that the prophecy of Bankim will not prove true to the letter? This no doubt means a passage at the close of Anandamath, where the mysterious physician says to Satyananda : "Till that is so, till the Hindus are great again in Knowledge, virtue and power, till then the English rule will remain undisturbed." There is an appeal for energy and unity to destroy the enemy. "Then, ye brethren come and let us acquit ourselves as brethren; help us, so that our insignificant strength may be converted into a gigantic force. Ere long you will find the hosts of the enemy swept away before this gigantic force like plantain trees before a powerful hurricane."…. "The quarters of the world will again be lit up by the effulgence of the glory of Bengal."

Famine Relief - Here we are told that in India perpetual famine reigns, carrying off more victims than have died in warfare since the world began. Amidst this there is the luxury of the zamindar and the Firinghi, supported by "thy blood, flesh, marrow and bones." Famine becomes worse by "the imposition of new taxes every day." "The money thou didst gather with the heart's blood is being stored in the far off impassable abode of Jaksha." Bengalis must realize that none but heroes can possess themselves of that wealth which will relieve all famine. They must, therefore, seize it by their own strength of arms.

Kamala Kanta's counting of days. - Kamala Kanta is a Brabmin opium - eater. He is mentioned in the introduction to the Barttaman Rana Niti (see page 101). He spends his time counting the days from that day on which the name of the Hindus disappeared from Bengal, from that day in 1203 A. D., when 17 horsemen conquered Bengal. "O Bengali, the history of thy slavery,….. the story of thy disgrace, is ever assuming a greater bulk for the knowledge of your future generations. Kamala Kanta wishes to see a new edition of the History of Bengal this time."….. "Let us raise up and bring home the image of our mother earth who maintains this universe, by charming the eternal ocean with our twice - seven crores of hands. Let Kamala Kanta's counting of days come to an end."

Trampling of Nationalism. - The last article is from the issue dated 26th Jaistha 1315 (a clerical error for 1314), or 9th June 1907. The writer ridicules the idea of the Firinghis trying to make Indians loyal and

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thinking that he can suppress enemies of his empire, particularly newspaper editors, by force. He is a fool, trying to resist the waves of the sea with a dam of sand. "In thy prison so capacious as to hold within it the whole nation?" As the Moghul Empire and the Peacock throne are mere words now, so "the fact that India was once subject to the English will be an unbelievable story to the youths of independent India."

Indians are going to obtain freedom by paying the full price for it. "We have seen your Gurkhas, Highlanders, Maxims and Martini guns. We know that you have got a thousand traps to kill men. You can kill a few, but there you will end. What arrangements have you made for the punishment of those who can embrace death with a smiling countenance?" Then come on, O ye Englishman! Come on with hundreds of instruments of oppressions. Quench your thirst for blood. See whether the children of India can make you afraid of your lives or no. Let us test whether India belongs to you or to us.

Summary regarding written "Jugantar" articles. - The character of all these articles is revolutionary, like the paper from which they are taken. The fact that all these articles have been written out by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta has an importance in proving the aims of the Anushilan organisation, which can hardly be exaggerated.

1. There is abundant evidence of the extraordinary earnestness of Dinesh himself in Samiti work. He, with his cousins Prafulla and Charu (see page 28), were members not only of the Dacca Anushilan but of the branch of the Anushilan in their native village Madhyapara. This society bore the euphemistic name of Jnan Bikashini Sabha (Knowledge - spreading Association), but it is easily proved that, whatever the name, the society was identical in its aims with the Dacca Anushilan, and its literature will be found equally revolutionary. The character of this family may be judged from the following extracts from a letter which Rajani Kanta Sen Sarkar (author of Matri Puja Panchali), of Kartikpur, Faridpur, writes to the wife of Gobinda Chandra Sen Gupta, doctor, Madhyapara. Rajani Kanta's daughter, Sarajubala, is married to Paresh, the third son of Gobinda, and the fourth and fifth sons of Gobinda are Hem and Dinesh. "Khudiram knows how exquisite the beauty of heaven is, for he has died for his country. You, too, know, in a small measure, what effulgence bursts forth in heaven, for you are the mother of excellent children."............... "The day is come for wielding the arms."

   "Srimati Saraju has been made over to your house with my flesh, bones, blood and mind. Bless her that God himself may be born in

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her womb for the protection of the country. May that deity to whom I offer up my prayers fulfil my desire."............ "Where are Dinesh and Hem? Whenever you write to me say clearly that the servers of the country of Madhyapara are all right, and then say that you are doing well." (Exhibit 34 Madhyapara search). Sarajubala, the wife of Paresh, is the writer of Exh. 22 mentioned on page 113, in which she proposes to establish a memorial for Khudiram and hopes to exterminate the whites. This brief reference to Dinesh's family Charu, owner of the inscribed lathi mentioned on page 75, is his cousin.

(2) Dinesh was in the closest touch with Pulin, the head of this organisation. Prafulla and Charu, the cousins of Dinesh, were convicted with Pulin in the Wari affray case, and Dinesh was at this time a member of the samiti when the premises were No. 50, Wari. Exhibit 1114, a copy of the Paridarshak, is written partly by Pulin and partly by Dinesh, and Exh. 25 of 5th November is a Paridarshak wholly in the writing of Dinesh. On the flyleaf of Exh. 1114 we find that Pulin has written the address of Dinesh's father, Gobinda Chandra Sen Gupta. Exhibits 2 and 3, house search of Bhupati Mohan Sen, Madhyapara, on 14th December 1908, are post - cards from Pulin dated October 1907 and February 1908, respectively, which show on what intimate terms Pulin was with this family at Madhyapara.

(3) Dinesh and his cousin Prafulla were extremely intimate with the family of Bankim Chandra Ray, of Roy Thakur's Gadi, Serajganj, a place which formed the headquarters of the Anushilan Samiti for the Pabna district at least.

The letter Exh. 22 just mentioned is addressed by Sarajubala to Dinesh at the address Roy Thakur's Gadi, Serajganj. From an endorsement on the letter it is clear that Prafulla opened and read the letter and then sent it on to Dinesh.

Post - card Exh. 1115 (Reg. VI) brings Pulin and Charu into connection with those already mentioned. Pulin addresses the card to Charu Chandra Sen, care of Bankim Chandra Ray, Roy Thakur's Gadi, Serajganj, and asks Charu to keep Dinesh for work in Pabna district, and sends his love to Dinesh and Prafulla. Bankim's wife is called Surabala. Which is also the name of Dinesh's elder brother's (Hem) wife. Owing partly to this fact, but mainly to the frequent visits of Dinesh and Prafulla to Bankim's house, Bankim's wife writes to Dinesh as "husband's younger brother " and signs herself as "your bowdidi," elder brother's wife, although there is no relationship between Bankim's family and

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Dinesh's family, the former being Brahmins and the latter Baidyas. The two letters of Surabals from Bethair, Baratarap, Mymensingh, are addressed respectively to Dinesh and Prafulla, Exhs. 45 and 46. Again in Letter 671A Bankim Ray writes to Dinesh and Prafulla at Dacca, and Surabala, Bankim's wife, inserts a sentence in the letter. This letter is written from Haturia, Pabna, on 15th October 1908, and mentions Jitu Babu (Jitendra Nath Ray, of Bharenga, adjacent to Haturia, a relative of Bankim Ray, who is now under trial in and Arms Act case, and whose address is found written in cipher in Exh. 1125, belonging to Dinesh), Gopi Ballab, another Pabna man (Volume I page 39) and asks to be remembered to Charu Babu and Ashu Babu. This letter was found by me within the uncut pages of Exh. 671, a song - book belonging to Dinesh.

On these three grounds, among others, rests the proof of intimate connection between Ray Thakur's Gadi, Serajganj, and Pulin's samiti in Dacca mainly through Dinesh. Bankim Babu deals in jute at Serajganj, has also a swadeshi cloth shop and used to sell the "Jugantar." In January 1908 Kartik Ch. Datta, now convicted in the Bighati dacoity case, and accused also in the Bahra and Bajitpur cases stayed with Bankim Ray at Roy Thakur's Gadi. Kartik had been making a tour through various places in Pabna, and when Kartik's house was searched letters addressed from Ullapara and Ray Thakur's Gadi respectively were found. (See report of Babu Sarat Sashi Datta, Criminal Investigation Department Inspector, dated 3rd April 1909.) Setting aside, then, any direct connection between the Dacca Anushilan and Kartik Datta which may be proved in the Bahra dacoity case now pending trial, we have this direct connection between Kartik and a most important branch of the Anushilan at Serajganj, the leader of which himself sold the "Jugantar" and was on terms of closest intimacy with Dinesh and other prominent members of both Dacca and Madhyapara Samitis.

Songs printed and written. - The next main division under the head of Literature is songs, printed and written. It is to be noted that, after newspapers, music is the second means for "building up public opinion towards revolution." (See the article from Mukti Kon Pathe, pages 117 118.)

A printed song - book dedicated to Pulin Behari Das. - The first item is as large in bulk as it is seditious in nature. Exhibit 18 of the original search list and Exh. 443 of the detailed list consists of 3,674 printed copies of Gan, or songs, first part, first edition. The date printed on this book is 1315, 16th Kartik, equivalent to November 1st, 1908, and it is a matter for congratulation that the search of 15th November prevented effectually the dissemination of this powerful mass of sedition. It is to

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be noticed, in the first place, that the printer has not considered it wise to attach his name to this book. Secondly, the book must be regarded as peculiarly a manifesto of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. It bears "Om Bande Mataram" and "Anushilan Samiti" on the cover, and is dedicated to Pulin by one of his Dacca members.The lines on the cover, excepting the first, are quoted from Bharat Sangit of Hem Chandra Bandyopadhaya, and will be found at page 104 of the Bande Mataram song - book, a copy of which is Exh. 53 of 15th November. These lines strike at once the note of the whole book : "Awake, take a vow, and you will soon be ruling India from Kanchanjanga to Cape Comorin." The dedication also is noteworthy : "This little book to the lotus hands of Srijukta Pulin Behari Das Mahasay, to whom swadesh and life are one, self-sacrificing, an image of steadfastness, a hero in work, the only object of our hope, strong and of mighty prowess."............... "A certain member, Dacca." Excluding the last two songs, of which the authors names are given as D. L. Roy and Kamini Bhattacharjyo, respectively, there are eighteen songs in this book, and the fact that we find sixteen of these written in manuscript by Sarada Charan Chakrabarty (Volume II, page 55) in his book, Exh. 1133, of 15th November, where he appears from the "notice" on the beginning as the author, is fairly convincing evidence that Sarada Charan Chakrabarty is the author also of this printed book. At the bottom of the cover of the manuscript book there is written price 2 annas, an indication that the writer intended to print and sell the book. The printed Gan, however is only priced at one anna, perhaps because it only contained about half of the manuscript book. A translation has been prepared on Exh. 18 original and 443 detailed search list, and references have been given to the songs already translated in Exh. 1143. The book is so consistently and monotonously seditious, that a few extracts only need be given.

The song on pages 4 and 5, which is the same as song No. 6 of Exh. 1143, has no less than nine times the refrain "We shall all sacrifice our lives in the worship of the mother." This is indeed the burden of the whole book, but it is not a mere figure of speech, it is quite literally the teaching drawn from the Gita to fight, destroy the enemy and death or victory will be equally glorious. The next song makes this quite clear. It is the same as song 21 in Exh. 1143, except for one word : "The land of India is being reduced to ashes. Foreign robbers are plundering everything away." In the printed book we have "Behold robbers" instead of "foreign robbers." The poem goes on "Mother India who gave birth to heroes is now become heroless."............. "Always bear this in mind, O brother, that the country where you are born is the birth place of Sivaji and Pratap."

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................"We shall have to sacrifice victims before the mother this time." The next song is still clearer (pages 7-8) : "O you Hindu Santans be of one mind, draw out the sword from the scabbard, and advance forward riotous in the sports of war to extirpate the enemies root and branch. With the blood of the enemy fertilize the earth. Tinge your flag of victory with the crimson blood of the fomidable foe."............

"Sacrifice your short frail lives to maintain the freedom of your country . Then, and then alone, will you get rid of the shackles (of slavery) which you have been wearing so long. Instead of "Hindu Santans" the written version in Exh. 1143, song 1, has "Hindus and Musalmans," but obviously this was not in accordance with the doctrines of the Paridarshak and must therefore be eliminated from a book dedicated to Pulin Behari Das. In the song at page 10 we find "You were full of wealth and paddy, but robbers have plundered away everything." the next four songs to page 13 repeat the old strain. In the song at page 13, which is the first not found in Exh.1143, there is an invocation to Tara to "come to this Bengal in the same way as you fought with the demons." The next song is very clear in its meaning : "Learning the art of warfare, being mad in the sport of war, you shall have to learn to die. If you have to sacrifice your lives, why then should you die like cowards, learn how to die after exterminating the enemies." "we shall establish swaraj. The next song in both the printed book and Exh. 1143 contains "Unknown people coming from an unknown place plunder away the resources of the country, and the children of the mother are dying of starvation."............... "If you like to keep us under you with the help of guns and cannons, we shall take one life for another given, and yet we shall not give up our vows; you may hang us, deport us, imprison us or transport us or else you may whip us; but we are not afraid of these." The song at page 16 is the only other original song which is not Sound in Exh. 1143.

Bande Mataram song - book. - This is a printed book of 200 pages, upon which the name - seal of "Ashutosh Das Gupta, Bajrapuri, Dacca," has been frequently stamped. This is the sixth edition published in 1908.

Many songs are marked as favourites and two passages in the preface. These will be quoted, as they show not only the purpose of the book but what particularly in it appealed to the owner. Preface, page 6 : "whatever other progress we may have made during the time of the English we are losing gradually the birth right we had in India," and Page 7 : "Although the Indians at the time of the Musalmans were under a foreign system of Government, they were not under this sort of subjection." This book is clearly one of those "means for building up

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public opinion" towards revolution (see page 139). It contains many well - known, stirring and seditious songs, of which it will suffice to give one example. (Bharat Sangit of Hem Chadra Banerji on page 100). It deals with the ancient glory of the Indians and deplores their present fallen condition, suggests worship of the sword, and states that swords must be unsheathed since the demons to be dealt with cannot be got rid of by mere paying. The worship of the sword has been carried out in the invocation already dealt with (see page 89.) At page 175 we find the song "Come today, come who will die?" which is written in Jyotirmay Ray's note - book and translated on pages 72 - 73.

Sonar Bangla song - book. - This is Exh. No. 785 and bears No. 312 of the Anuśhilan Library catalogue, Exh. 21. it is stamped in several places with the Anushilan device. The introduction clearly shown that this book was intended to exercise a powerful influence in "building up public opinion." A passage in the second page runs "The Power of songs is unlimited. Where is the work that cannot be achieved through song? Songs infuse spirit into the spiritless, give comfort to the sorrow - stricken, and, intoxicating the feeble heart with enthusiasm, goad to sacrifice life ungrudgingly." The illusion to sacrificing life cannot in the crcumstances be taken as mere metaphor. The book consists of 44 songs, and 26 of them will be found in the Bande Mataram song - book first noticed. For example, Bharat Sangit will be found on page 39. The remarks made regarding the Bande Mataram song - book apply equally to this volume.

Jagaran. - There are four copies of this long poem, Exhs. Nos. 396, 786, 787, and 1029. This book is dedicated to the severs fo their country, the one and only hope of Bharat Mata, the student community, by whose indomitable enthusiasm and untiring efforts, etc., a holy strain has been set swiftly flowing in this country for the improvement of indigenous industries. The song Bande Mataram opens the book, and it is clear that the appeal to promote native industries is not the main or ultimate object of the poem. Industries cannot be built up by poetry, but poetry can promote excellently the boycott movement. The real object of the appeal to promote native industries is that the English may be expelled; in stanza 25 at page 9 we are told that "all the enchanters will vanish." Exhibit 17 of 5th November is another copy of this book.

Another Jagaran. - This is Exh. No. 172. It bears No. 261 of the Anushilan Library catalogue, Exh. No. 21. The name written frequently in the book is Radhika Jiban Mukherji, also Radhika Bhusan Roy (Volume I, page 115), and Kamada Charan Banerji. This Jagaran was published in 1311 at Barisal and dedicated by Ram Chandra Das Gupta

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to Aswini Kumar Datta. The owner of this book has cancelled the price, two annas, and written instead "a priceless jewel." Verses 1 to 8 have been torn out. This poem, like the poem just noticed, is a spirited appeal to the student community to revive the dying industries, but this is only a pretext, or at best a means; the real object is revolution, as the following verses show:-

Verse 15. - You are not decrepit, you have not lost your manliness, you have not fallen prostrate, not executed any indentures; it you like you can keep your vows intact.

Verse 17 is an appeal to make good the vow "Mantrer Sadhan Kimba sarir patan."

Verse 21 states that unity can procure a "priceless gem," which is obviously intended to mean freedom - not industrial improvement.

Verses 23 - 25 read thus :"Just as a spark of fire advancing from one extremity sets on fire whole houses and there is no one able to extinguish the flames; if once this fire breaks out it burns with ten - fold fury when stirred (a reference to Government measures); each one of you is a spark of fire; overcoming all obstacles burn to ashes all the dust in your way.

Verse 2; is an exhortation to take the "oath of fire."

After enumerating the heroes Bhim, Dhrona, etc., in verse 43 we are asked in verse 51 whether we are all dead now, and the answer given is the negative, verses 53 - 54.

Verse 56. - Prosperity and decline is the order of nature; no nation can remain in the same state for all time.

Verse 58 alludes to the prowess of Japan, and in verses 76 - 77 we find the following : "Just as one wave springing up on the bosom of the ocean is followed by a whole succession of waves, putting the whole ocean into commotion, so when one life is sacrificed, a thousand lives follow with the impetuosity of infuriated lions."

These words are meaningless as applied to the promotion of indigenous industries; but the commonplaces of revolutionary songs.

Udbodhan. - This is another "awakening," Exh. 468, ostensibly a call to use only country - made articles. but the ultimate and real object is the expulsion of European rulers. A lawful encouragement of indigenous industries would not contain the allegation that India is tightly bound in the "chains of slavery." Young men are called upon to give up the luxury of foreign articles, because their countrymen are dying of starvation, for which the "foreign merchant" is held responsible. This printed poem belongs to Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta of Madhyapara and is dated 31st December 1905, and purports to be issued by the Chhatra Samiti, Comilla, in 1312. The policy of the Samiti towards boycott had changed considerably since this time (see the Paridarshak), but it is

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noteworthy that this poem was given a place in the Anushilan Library. It is No. 265 and will be found entered in Exh. 21, the library catalogue. A translation is given.

Exhibit No. 468 of 15th November 1908.
Name - Sures Chandra Gupta. The 31st December 1905.
Udbodhan (Awakening.)

Ye youth of Bengal! Stand up for once in the fight with the sword of work in hand, save mother India from disgrace with great prowess.

Behold with what slow motion the sun of good fortune is rising in yonder eastern sky with a smiling face with the mass of fog in the rear.

At the first streaks of this light Japan got up with terrible enthusiasm; China is rising with quick steps. Alas, why does India remain in the rear?

Page 2. - The king of petty Kabul attained the dignity of being called His Majesty. She consolidated her own power. Our mother India alone wore tightly the chains of slavery.

Ye youth of Bengal, ye inhabitant of India! What is the use of Congress? With the mass of tears for your sole stay, you have attempted to work out the deliverance of mother India!

Had any good resulted from weeping, the mother would have been free long ago. By this time she would have risen up smiling; this is a vain fancy - give it up.

Don't go any more with the alms bowl in hand to the door of the King infatuated with pride. Why do you all go there where you are insulted for nothing?

Stand, O you all, on your own legs. Show in this world by fighting the battle of work what freedom is - how people become free on the face of the earth.

Do not even any one of you accept assistance from others in earning your own livelihood (or in passing your days); is India so powerless that she cannot stand on her own legs?

Alas! India which by its industry used to supply clothes to the whole world, that India to - day goes to Manchester to buy wearing apparel.

Alas! it is known to all that the artizans of India ranked highest in the whole world, a fact to which the Tajmahal, the most splendid building in the world, bears testimony.

That India to - day is buying, with a shameless heart, glass (wares) in return for harvest. They are dying of hunger all the time - what foppery have they learnt?

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Why does that country want to wear muslin which cannot weave it! Ye foppish youth, do not put on anything which does not exist in poor India.

Why do you, O mother, make your own country weep by buying with precious money as blood articles of luxury from far - off countries in these days of calamity?

Behold! In India which is a world (in miniature) five crores of people are spending their days half - fasting, uttering pathetic cries. Have you no eye to that?

The body of artisans are ruined by the tyranny of duties. The strength of the peasantry is ruined by the burden of Government revenue. Even the harvest that grows (in the country) the foreign merchant carries away to foreign countries.

In order to revive the industries of India, to preserve the life of Indian subjects, make a vow all together to buy (only) what can be had in the country.

Country - made clothes may be coarse - they may not satisfy your luxury. Give up luxury - the children of India, alas, are dying of starvation every day.

In the country which does not enjoy freedom where the race of artisans has become exterminated, where no one hears anything about commerce, that country wants articles of luxury.

Wearing the chains of slavery on the neck, dressing like sahibs with hats and coats on, the Indian youth is alas wandering about shamelessly swollen with pride.

O brother countryman, why don't you reflect for a moment how you will remain stark naked if some day or other the foreigner does not give us clothes?

Ye luxurious youth, how long more will you be roaming (groping about) in the dark? - do not be so groping about.

Remove the misery of mother India. There is no time to remain mute.

Give up idleness, give up luxury. Reposing faith on your own strength, dis-playing your own power, improve industry and commerce.

The industry of India is (like) fire hidden under ashes. It will blaze with double fury at the wind of enthusiasm. It will again show how skilful Indian artisans there were in India.

Give it encouragement, it will again rise up. The industries of India will spread over the world. Greedy Europe will behold it with fright. The artizans of India are not wanting in spirit.

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As the first streaks of dawn appeared in the East, Japan got up with terrible enthusiasm. China is rising with quick steps. India You may hang us or deport us, but we are not at all afraid of these. The more tightly you are binding us down, the more easily are we getting loose. The messenger of the mother is coming with arrows and thunderbolt in hand.

The second may be called the Prafulla song :

Then adieu, O mother India. You being the chief queen there is no fear, no anxiety, no pain.

O my mother, mother, mother, I know the door of thy salvation.

Life is insignificant, death is contemptible, yet the meeting in heaven is sweet. Birth and death will succeed one another by turn. Please accept the offering of death to - day.

O mother, why are my eyes wet? Why is thy dress bitter? Take heart to - day, O mother, endowed with might and prowess. O mother, O sister, O brothers, dear as life, I am taking leave of you all. O brother, let us embrace one another for the last time.

Just listen, O brother, to the voice proclaiming absence of fear : Wait, wait my cheerful friend, my Prafulla. I am your companion. Why should you go alone? I, too, shall go with you as you are my fellow - sufferer. We, too, shall again return and trample vile death under foot. Then we shall rush to battle with terrible fury and paralyse the earth.

Another song written in Exh. 15 is the well - known Amar Desh by D. L. Roy :

Bengal is my mother, my nurse and my country. O mother, why is thy face wan and why are thy hairs shaggy? Why art thou sitting on the dust, and why is thy dress dirty. O mother, whose seven crores of sons cry aloud "My country." What should we care for sorrow, poverty, shame and pain, seeing that seven crores of voices cry out in unison "My country"? Art thou not their mother, their country where the spirit of Budha soared aloft to open the gate of salvation at whose feet half the world to - day bow down with reverence, and whose glory Asoka spread from Gandhar (name of an ancient province, probably Kandahar) to the end of the ocean? She is now sitting on the dust clad in rags whose victorious generals at one time easily conquered Lanka (Ceylon), whose fleet at one time floated triumphantly on the Indian ocean, and whose children founded colonies in Thibet, China, and Japan. Art thou not, O mother, that holy land where Nimai poured forth a flood of harmony to the accompaniment of a tabor, where the sage Raghu prescribed the rules of justice, where Chandi Das sang and Pratapaditya fought? We fell honoured if a single drop of their blood runs in our veins. Even though, O mother, a darkness obscures thy heavenly brightness, but the cloud

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will vanish and new glory will shine on thy forehead. We will dispel thy gloom, O mother - we are men not sheep. O my goddess, my object of adoration, my elysium and my country.

These songs form a notable trio; "Amar Desh," the last, is revolutionary, or it would not be found in this company. The first song is a bold defiance of the governing power; the Prafulla song is a glorification of a boy because he murdered Europeans and shot himself to avoid arrest, and is therefore said to have died for his country. The exhortation to follow Prafulla is nothing more or less than incitement to murder and assassination. This song was most popular in the Samiti, and there is only one inference which can be drawn from this fact. Two instances have already been given.

The main search of the samiti premises was made on 15th November immediately after the murder of Manasha Chakrabarty. The police, finding that many clothes from the Samiti had gone to the dhobi, proceeded at once to his house and searched the clothes there. In the pocket of one coat, marked A, were found a comb, a false moustache, a piece of red silk and a coloured woollen badge. In the pocket of a coat, marked B, were found two pieces of paper, Nos. 5 and 6, the former containing three manuscript songs, and the latter a list of villages and certain houses in them (no doubt supporters of the samiti) : some contributions collected from various persons and a musical notation. It is No. 5 which requires special notice. It contains three songs, all written by the same hand. The first is the Prafulla song identical with the two versions already mentioned, except that an additional term of endearment (praner, my life) is applied to Prafulla. But the song is in much more violent company this time, being followed by a glorification of the martyrs of the Mutiny, Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Tantia Bhil of Malwa, Nana Sahib sing of Bithor and Kunwar Sing of Behar whose counterparts to - day are Bipin, Surendra Nath, Tilak and Ajit Sing who are "making arrangements," i. e., tampering with the native army "in the Punjab." The glories of the Greek conflicts with the Persians at Marathon and Thermopylae are to be dwarfed by the coming conflicts in India. The scenes of Herat, Merut and Haldighat are to be re - enacted, but the venue changed to Bengal.

The third is a battle song, inciting to rise and massacre the demons.

This trio of songs is given here :

(1) Prafulla song - See page 148.

(2) Half a century ago all the children of India once made a firm determination (solemn vow). Alas, such arrangements went for

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nothing. Evil was brought about and the welfare of the country was not anhieved. Lakshmi Bai from Jhansi, Tantia from Malwa, Nana Sahib Sing from Bithor arose roaring, and Kumar Sing from Behar, to remove the bondage of the mother. This time Bipin, Surendra Nath and Tilak Sing of the Mahrattas have proclaimed that Ajit Singh is making arrangements in the Punjab and that the brata (a religious rite) of the mother has to be brought to its close this time. Get up with prowess once. Let Asia, Russia, Prussia tremble. Let Marathon and Thermopylae quake with fear at the din of arms. Rouse up Herat and Merut this time and let Haldighat come back to life again. Why do you not redden Kalighat with blood performing the worship of the mother?

(3) The kettledrum of war is beaten. March on, O you all, in military attire. The vast earth is trembling beneath the feet: Raise all together the standard of victory, making it touch the pure new sky. The familiar (attendant) Joginees are dancing with terrible gesticulations with Kali a violent dance. She is trampling under foot the wicked demons. A terrible fire blazes in her forehead. the giver of strength will come with shouts giving assurance of safety. Take up the dreadful sword with shouts of "Bam, Bam; Hara, Hara" to tinge the mountains with the Blood of demons. Come along. O do come along. come forward; O you all. The mother is giving assurance of safety. Victory to Maharani (the chief queen, referring to Kali).

Exhibit No. 4 of 15th November is another well - used copy of the Prafulla song. The handwriting appears to be the same as that of the Paridarshak, Exh. 47, but hastily written.

Exhibit 1166 of 15th November is another copy of the Prafulla song. A comparison with Exhs. 14 and 15 of 5th November, particularly the former, shows that the handwriting is that of Manindra Nath Ghosh *alias* Jagadish Chandra Ghosh (Volume II, page 31). This is also a well - used copy which appears to have been carried about in the pocket.

Exhibit 1033 is a lathi - play song - book and note - book combined. It appears to be largely in the handwriting of Pulin Behari Das and Jadab Chandra Chakrabarty. In this book at pages 5 and 6 we find the Prafulla song and a stronger version of the song given on page 148. Then Amar Desh follows on pages 8 to 10. Just after the songs finish at the centre of this book we find some important notes. The Prafulla song and the next song are translated : Amar desh is omitted (for translation see page 148) and the important notes are reproduced; next follows a seditious song which is translated.

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Part of Exh. No. 1033 *of 15th November* 1908.

Then adieu to thee, o mother India. What dread is there, what anxiety, what pains when thou art the queen of queens. My mother, my mother, my mother. I know, O mother, that thy lap is the door of salvation. Life is insignificant. Death is contemptible. Yet the meeting in heaven is sweet. Life and death follow each other in succession. Accept to - day, O mother, the offering of death. Why, O mother, is thy dress wet? Why, O mother, are thy words bitter? Have strength at heart, O mother, possessed of valour and heroism. Adieu to thee, O mother adieu to thee, O sister. Adieu, adieu to ye my brethren dear as life. Hail - adieu - give me, O brother, the last embrace of affection. Let me hear, O brother, for once the voice proclaiming absence of fear : Wait my friend, do wait my Prafulla, I being your companion. Why should you go alone? I, too, shall go (with you), you being a fellow - sufferer. We too, shall come again - tread contemptible death under foot. That time we shall enter with prowess into a terrible fight and dumbfound the world.

Beat the drum proclaiming the name (of mother). You will surely conquer Lanka (Ceylon). Raise the standard of victory, through the potency of the name of mother fruits come untimely, proper and improper seasons are all the same (to her). A voice from the heaven has sung (this) song.

The list of names noted in Exh. 1033 is important because it agrees so far as it goes with the long list of real and Samiti names, written out by Ashutos Das Gupta (Exh. 805) and adds one pair of names Mahesh - Sris. Mahesh Chandra Chakrabarty is the Samiti name of Suresh or Srish Chakrabarty (Volume I, page 71).

The long list of various numbers of persons allotted under various numbers represents the allotment of persons to each sleeping place in the Samiti building. This is explained clearly in the plan of the Samiti building, Exh. 1102. The last song is clearly a call to revolt.

Prafulla song and Khudiram notices. - The next example of this song is found in Exh. 33 (detailed search list), a bound volume, in which a number of songs by Kamini Kumar Bhattacharjyo are written out, and the Prafulla song on pages 23 next to D. L. Roy's Amar Desh. At the end of this book will be found five pages of exercises in Algebra. These are of great importance from the fact that they furnish good ground for believing that the threatening Khudiram notices emanated from the Samiti, directly or indirectly.

These placards require some notice in detail. They cannot be regarded as jokes, they are the clearest incitement to murder, and, from

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the manner in which they were posted up, the work must have been that of some secret organisation. It was believed at the time to be the Anushilan, see report of Inspector Sarat Chandra Sen dated 16th June 1908. On this date many notices were found to have been pasted up in the town of Dacca, of which six were brought to me and are preserved. They all read "Bharat Basigan jago - Khudiramer phans," expect one which add "maro boma." Three of the notices which have been preserved are neatly stencilled on thin paper. This was before the execution of Khudiram Bose.

On August 11th Khudiram was hanged. The Samiti and been searched the previous day, and some papers had been burned before the police had obtained an entrance. On the 11th there was no organised demonstration, but some students were seen walking barefooted, and the same night stencilled notices were posted up throughout the town, three being in the railway station. They read : "Even now arise; for one head take a hundred Firinghi heads." Eight complete notices and fragments of several others were brought to me by various police officers on the morning of the 12th August. These notices all come from the same stencil and all are on the same thin paper. But on the reverse of one notice I found and initialled an equation "7.y all = z-x = 6, z = x-y = 10, x = y-z = 14". This was subsequently found to be exercise No. 7 at Volume I, page 252, of K. P. Basu's Algebra. The x of this handwriting is peculiar, the y is noticeable as not having any loop and the figures 7, 6, 10 and 14 are plain. There are few Algebra exercise books in the Samiti, but Exh. 498, belonging to Dinesh Ch. Sen, and afterwards used as an account - book, may be taken as an example. It will be found that the x used here is similar, but nothing else. On the other hand, the exercises in Exh. 33 we find the letters and numbers corresponding exactly. this similarity, if accepted, is far from proof, but confirms the belief held at the time that these Khudiram notices emanated from the Samiti. The only name found in this book is Rash Behari Puria."

In Exh. 683, belonging to Mohesh Chandra Chakravarty, whose Samiti and real name has been noticed on page 152, there is another copy of the Prafulla song. It is called "Khudiram's song" in this case, i.e., Khudiram is addressing Prafulla and longing to follow him. There are thus eight copies of the Prafulla song.

Invocation to the sword. - This is an important written song, of which thirteen copies have been found in various exhibits, mostly lathi - play books. They have been noted in dealing with sword exercises (pages 74 - 75).

Sangitabali by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta. - This is a closely written book in which the poems cover 59 pages. It has been translated

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in full (Exh. 1108.) With the exception of Bankim's Bande Mataram and D. L. Roy's "Amar Desh" and poems 34 to 37 and 46, to which the authors' names are attached, this book purports to be original verse. If it be compared with the "Jugantar" articles which Dinesh wrote out, Exh. 24 of 5th November (pages 127 - 8) and with Mukti Kon Pathe, particularly part IV (pages 119 to 124), there is not a single idea in the Sangitabali which cannot be found in one or other of the "Jugantar" publications. The Sangitabali is a notable example of how deeply the "Jugantar" poison sank into certain minds. India is a crematorium, the mother is bound in chains by the demons, China and Japan are awake, it is time for India to rise, boycott of Government, rejection of English education, invocations to Kali, sacrificing one's life, taking up arms and marching to battle - these ideas sum up the crude verse of the Sangitabali, and they will all be found in either Mukti Kon Pathe or the written articles mentioned. One quotation will be sufficient from No. 23 : "Your mother country is lying down fettered in chains of iron with a block of stone on her breast, like Debaki in the prison of Kangsa, and you her child are the testimony. Know you that man is the true child who will remove the misery of mother by sacrificing his own body and soul." We now turn to a much more violent production.

Another volume of seditious songs. - Exhibit 82 is a manuscript containing 55 pages of songs, neatly indexed. There is no name given, but the handwriting appears to be the same as that of Exh. 511 (see page 163) belonging to Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta. The general characteristics are the same, and so is the peculiar letter. At any rate, there is this reason for believing the book to have been written by a member of the Sen Gupta family of Madhyapara, that no less than 14 of the songs are, excepting minor differences, identical with songs in the Sangitabali, Exh. 1108 noted, and original compositions of Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta. This volume has been translated in full, and all the poems that are common with Exh. 1108. A few poems in the book are purely religious, two other 40 and 45, are by Bipin Chandra Pal and Sarala Debi, respectively, some others urge the boycott of foreign articles, and the remainder are as seditious as those of the Sangitabali, and harp generally on the same ideas, the mother's slavery, a burning desire to sacrifice life, calling to arms. Extracts from a few new songs will be given : No. 1 :" Listen to me, O foreigner, we have understood to - day that you take away pure gold in return for toys." No.14 : "This India was golden - everything is totally reduced to ashes." No. 15 is a defiance of Sir Bampfylde : "Fuller, Fuller, what do we care for the threats you hold out?" .... "You may bind us hand and foot, or else

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you may arrest us and commit us into jail, but you are not powerful enough to control our mind." No. 18 : "We shall make an offering of this life in fire. See, ye jabanas, see how we avoid the strangling noose of disgrace, we would rather be reduced to ashes in blazing fire; yet we won't be your slaves." No. 23 : "O mother, may my life pass away in this world in your work alone with the words Bande Mataram on the lips." ...."I shall be honoured if I endure incarceration for the sake of mother - if I be flogged by then committed into their prison and hanged on their gallows. May my life pass away." No. 24 : "The goddess, treading the demons under foot, has gone mad. Will demons remain in Bengal any more? Advance forward taking up the sword - you may take Mukunda with you if need be." No. 25 : "Taking away our wealth they simply whip us, give us slaps and blows with the fist in return. Mohan exhorts you all to look up at the mother, all being united together. Otherwise you will be exterminated with your family and foreigners will dwell here." No. 34 : "If you make this vow (i.e., Boycott) this wealth of the mother will not fly off to foreign countries any more" No. 38 : "You have surrendered everything by giving an indenture of thraldom to others.".............. "Digging mines they have plundered away in a body your resources, minutely ransacking them. Making over your food to others you have paid duties on your commodities, and in lieu thereof you have accepted famine." No. 42 : "Mother alone is the king of the country; mother alone is the queen of the country. We do not know who else the king is." "We shall offer our blood in the worship of mother."........... "We will arise, we will arise. This is the command of the Almighty Providence."

There is a loose sheet of paper in this book with song No. 21 written on it and the signature Nagendra Chandra Bhaumik.

Kabya Kusum (Poctical Blossoms) by Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta. - Exhibit 42 is a manuscript book belonging to Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta, bearing on the cover the names Tara Prasanna Ray and Surendra Ray written apparently by Dinesh in English. This book is a rough draft of most of the poem in Kabya Kusum, including the two worst Pratikar (Retribution) and Mrityu Bhay (Fear of death). The exact correspondences and differences have been pointed out in the translation.

Exhibit 382 is the finished product of this Anushilan poet. The book is dated 1315 and is neatly paged and indexed. The 24 poems cover 144 pages, and have been translated in full. Taken by themselves nine poems may be set aside as innocuous - "Foolish mind." "The unsubstantial world," and the seven brief poems beginning with "The Glory of God" and ending with "Question and Answer." The remaining poems are

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extremely violent, and among them "Partition of Bengal," "Retribution" and "Fear of death" are the worst. the extraordinary character of this writer may be seen in the first poem : "A Night Song." where a nightingale song even is seditious. "Rogues came and stole away everything; and it is cause of the present wretchedness." "The noose of slavery is on the neck." "Chaste women are distracted by thoughts of preserving their chastity at the sight of the race of demons." "How long more will India bear on her head the burden of slavery?" The next poem, "A Lamentation" is on the old theme of the crematorium : "India has become like unto a crematorium" "by fraud you have become king; by fraud you have brought about the wretchedness of the subjects, and, greatly fascinating them by magic spells, you have sucked away the blood of the subjects" "Draw out the sword to sever the odious fetters of slavery. The day is come. Why do you fear. Exterminate the race of the enemy staking your lives" "Deluge India with blood destroying the hosts of the Jabanas." "What is the use of living this life of slavery?" "Make this vow, though it may cost you your lives, that you will surely gain the treasure of liberty or else sacrifice your lives." "Wonderful Man" has a sub - title written with reference to a certain "Brahmin who is an enemy of his own country." The following are a few passages: "Now you long for receiving the dust of the feet of the Mlecchas on your head you ought be to counted among beasts." "You say the youths of new Bengal have got wings, otherwise why have they gone astray and advanced forward to burn themselves in wild - fire. Alas, fool, you have become well nigh mad." "The spring has come in the year of nationalism." "India has been enraptured by the cuckoo notes of sweet national songs. The Firinghis, like separated lovers, are feeling a burning pain at heart at those notes."

Even a purely contemplative subject like "On the bosom of a river" must yield a moral. "In a similar ocean, innumerable hurricanes will arise with great furyere long in India."

"Jasalmir's loss of freedom :" This long story is only told to incite Hindus to destroy the English, as the Rajputs destroyed the hosts of Jabanas.

"The Partition of Bengal" is dated 30th Aswin 1312, is short but extremely violent. "We are worms of hell; alas, what shall we say? We have no power to protect our mother. To - day the body of the mother will be struck by weapons; and we have no strength to save her" "Why alas, do we, her so many sons, exist? We have become terror - stricken like jackals. We have no missiles, no weapons, nothing in our power." "The English are a very dreadful race of cannibals (demons). They seek

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their own interest outraging the honour of equity. When Ram Chandra returned form the forest killing the Lord of Ceylon with the help of monkeys, all the wives of the cannibals (demons) became all together the companions of the monkeys when the war was over. From an intercourse between the two the English were born. It is why they have all become dreadful and ferocious." "Such being the oppressions you commit on the goddess, O you wretches, you will surely reap the consequences."

"Duti Praner Katha" is a meditation which leads to the usual moral "The lord of the universe has given in my heart the desire to go to the path leading to heaven from the life of slavery."

The next poem "To a certain youth" is addressed to some member of the Samiti who has apparently broken his vows. Dinesh, the writer of one entire copy of the Paridarshak and part of another (see page 21) here reproduces the language of the Paridarshak. "Why, then, alas, forgetting the words of those few vows are you now seeking your own interests like a contemptible devil of a cur?" "O Ungrateful wretch, O traitor, you have committed unfathomable sin." "Do you not ever feel ashamed at heart to be known as the child of a Hindu? Remember that on account of the sin you have committed you will ever have no place even in hell."

In "A friend of childhood" Dinesh describes his schooldays and experiences with a friend, and also how both became fanatics amid the ideas of the Anushilan. "We both became beside ourselves with a new idea. We forgot our parents, forgot the world." "Discrading all love and affection for life we both as it were rushed on holding each other by the neck." "Will these two insignificant lives be accepted as a very trivial offering in the sacrifice before the mother?"

"Ababan" is an invocation to Kali under various names given in the Chandi (see page 95) to come to the "crematorium" and destroy the demons who have made India such a place.

In "A Sigh" Dinesh laments that there are not more people ready to sacrifice their lives. He longs to be in some secret Anandamath, where revolutionists are really working in earnest. "Is there anywhere any such place where a hundred souls are praying secretly (or are secretly striving) for the sake of India ? Who are always practising religious austerities to sever the bondage of India; who are living in exile abandoning all desires ? "If there does exist such a place, O mother, take me over to that sequestered place. There shall I weep all my life. The heart cannot endure burning pain any more." We shall see shortly that Dinesh, even in his poems, had no intention of confining his activity to the shedding of tears the shedding of European blood is his real object.

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In "The Wonderful Man" Dinesh is amazed that with such oppression in India, men are to be found who do not share his view. "That human being is filling his belly with a hundred delicacies, crores upon crores of whose brethren are dying ultimately of total starvation. The holy land has now become a crematorium."

The next two articles, "Pratikar" and "Mrityu Bhay," are as blood - thirsty and coarse in their language as the worst specimens of "Jugantar" literature. In the former Dinesh goads on his countrymen to slay the accursed English; in the latter those who have obeyed this command. i.e., Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose, are held up as glorious examples for their countrymen to follow. In Pratikar we find these passages : "O inhabitant of Bengal, how long more will you cause your lofty head to wallow at the loathsome feet of Jabanas ? Hearing the yelling shouts of devils you have hidden yourself in the folds of a woman's dress! Alas, your highly venerable, celestial mother country, giving birth to gold, is being daily plundered; they are burning the ten quarters like wild fire by severe oppression. Alas, the women of India are constantly losing the God - gifted treasure of chastity at the hands of devils. India is filled with cries of distress for want of food, the people of which used to send food to the different countries. Alas, your mother country is reduced to a skeleton owing to the sucking by blood - thirsty devils. Alas, the Garden of Eden, the mine of eternal bliss, is truned into a desolate crematorium." "O sluggard, O coward, you have become a sheep, being the cab of a lion. With what face do you want to be known as a descendant of the Aryans of mighty prowess ? " "Who has stolen away your God - gifted treasure ? Who has hurled the dreadful thunderbolt at the head of India ? Who is that great enemy ? Who, alas, has ere long reduced that ever - blissful Garden of Eden to a desolate crematorium by administering dreadful poison ? Do you not feel any desire for retaliation ? Do you not feel any desire to gain that lost Kohinoor ? Behold, dreadful famine is showing its destructive form every year. Your countrymen, with pale face and worn - out shattered frames, are disappearing with their wives, etc., into the jaws of death owing to starvation with a sorrowful heart. Many heart - rending scenes are being enacted in every house. At one place, a little babe has for want of food and drink, alas, drooped down in the lap of its mother. At some other place, a father, being mad at the dart - like cries of his children, is giving up his life either by hanging or by taking poison and is going to the abode of peace, leaving this stage of devils. Somewhere else a mother is plunging the sharpened knife onto her breast, placing her treasure - like son, unconscious and about to die, on the bosom of the earth.

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"O you worm, blinded by self - interest, does not your heart throb at the sight of this horrible scene ? Don't you feel any desire to wipe out the torrents of tears ? If you ever desire to remove this condition, then come alone - inquire where that vast mass of wealth has gone to , where that eternal peace and happiness have gone to , who has stolen them away, who has occasioned this heart - rending condition. If you only live, you will find that these gangs of thieves, living in a far - off country, have stolen away your wealth and jewellery, stealing away imperceptibly your eternal peace and happiness, also they are giving harrowing misery in return. Owing to the devilish and dire oppression of the devils, the Garden of Eden has now become a crematorium."

"Why, then, are you lying on the bed of delusion any more ? Awake, arise, and take up the sword to destroy those hosts of the devils. Drive away like jackals the swarms of white locusts - the arch enemies of India. Those worms of hell are, also, always sending weak and poor people, with nobody to stand by them, to the residence of Death by committing terrible oppression on them to compass their own end." "Go, go soon. There is no more time. Save your oppressed and bruised countrymen by destroying the host of the enemy. Let fire blaze throughout India. Burn the enemies of the country in the wild fire. Tearing the breasts of the enemy, drink merrily the blood of the demons, filling the hollow of the joined palms with it. Quench the thirst for revenge of the undauntable heart. You will enjoy undying heavenly bliss ere long."

"If you do not retaliate in such days of calamity, if you do not take up the sword to protect your own country, your own religion, and your own race, then know for certain, you devil, that you will never have any place even in hell."

In "Mrityu Bhay" Dinesh reproduces what he has learnt from the Gita. Those who are the truly worthy children of the mother are sacrificing their frail lives. They are going with an unshaken heart to the abode of the immortals for the sake of their country. Have you forgotten - don't you remember the immortal, worthy children of the mother ? Don't you remember "Khudiram" and "Prafulla Kumar" ?

"Prafulla Kumar presented the feet of the mother with his life with a cheerful face. Tearing his breast with a face indicating no signs of hesitation, he drooped down on the lap of the mother. The wicked Jaban could not touch his pure immortal life. Astounding the heart of devils he went away to the abode of immortals."

"The hero, Khudiram, went to the celestial region with a fearless heart for his own country. Have you forgotten, don't you remember that lion of a hero - a son of the mother ? He sacrificed his own life without

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a murmur at the hands of the Jabanas, *destroying the enemy.* Have you, O son of India, forgotten that smiling, lotus - like face ? Don't you remember now how that hero, devoted to the mother, gave up his priceless life, taking the name of the mother, ascending the scaffold of the Mlecchas ? He untimely gave to death his invaluable life to arouse you."

"Advance forward, O you all, like heroes, looking down upon the fear of death. Go to eternal heaven sacrificing your lives for the sake of your own country."

The only remark called for is regarding the underlined words "destroying the enemy." They show that the murder of two ladies is regarded as a glorious deed because two enemies have been removed, and fully bear out if after the cannibalistic utterances of Pratikar any confirmation is required, the remark on page 160, that Dinesh thirsted for European blood.

In the last poem "Agaman" Dinesh returns to the crematorium obsession, and looks forward to the triumphant coming of the mother, when "that day" arrives. Dinesh places these two words within inverted commas, and obviously refers to the day of vengeance.

Exhibit 1038 is a folded sheet containing 13 stanzas by Dinesh, obviously an unfinished version of "A Sigh" noticed on page 159. It has been translated.

Another volume by Dinesh Chandra. - Exhibit 1109 is another manuscript book containing 52 pages of Dinesh's poems. The book has not been translated, as most of the poems are unobjectionable, and several of them are found in Exh. 382, and have already been mentioned. The book is interesting as showing the estimation in which Dinesh was held. Some critic has noted in the poem "The World," at page 30," Realy poet posseses pure high thought"; on page 15 "Good"; these are in English; then in vernacular, at page 17, "The poet is full of thought and a true minstrel. The poetry by its elegance has won a high place in the field of poetry." Then on page 22, in English, "Excellent after all"; on page 24, in vernacular, "Beyond criticism"; and on page 50, in vernacular, "The very best - S. N. S."

Account - book of Suresh Chandra Ray, containing songs. - Exhibit 1168 of 15th November is a khata containing accounts of swadeshi ink, etc., sold by S. C. Ray, Ink - maker of Gendaria, Dacca, numerous names and some songs. It has been translated. At pages 26 and 31 there are songs in which swarms of locusts coming from England are said to have plundered India's wealth; and on page 68 there are two songs which are the same as Nos. 19 and 2, respectively, in Dinesh Chandra Sen's Sangitabali (see page 154).

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Book of songs belonging to Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta. - Exhibit 511 is a manuscript book bearing the name "Suresh" and Suresh Chandra Sen and easily indentified by its bold handwriting as belonging to Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta (Volume II, page 97), the cousin of Charu (see page 75) and a Paridarshak (see page 3) and the owner of Udbodhan (see page 144). It contains at page 11 the White Rat song of Mukunda Lal Das Gupta, and the last five pages consist of stirring appeals to awake like China and Japan. These have been translated.

Song - book of Mohesh Chandra Chakrabarty. - Exhibit 683 is a book of songs bearing this name, the owner's real name being Suresh or Srish Ch. Chakrabarty (see page 153). The more important songs covering the first 18 pages have been translated. They are of the same seditious nature as those in Kabya Kusum, but not so violent. In the first song we find "Here we come, on this auspicious day, we hundreds of brothers, uniting our hearts, to make an offering of blood at thy feet."

The second song is an invocation to Kali in the usual strain "Come to Hindustan." "Dyeing the world in the blood of enemies. Come, O destroyer of the bondage of India, with a terrible sword."

The next song, "It does not matter if we die." "You may hang us or deport us," etc., has already been given on page 152, and the last song, translated, is the Prafulla song, also given on page 152. It is here called Khudiram's songs."

Sarada Charan Chakrabarty's song - book. - Exhibit 1143 is a book of songs in manuscript on which the name Sarada Charan Chakrabarty and his address Routhbhog or Adabari frequently appears, also a name and address - stamp. The handwriting also agrees with that of another book (Exh. 1147) bearing the same name and address. Sarada Charan Chakrabarty is the person addressed by Pulin Behari Das on 20th July 1908 in the following terms; "For such as are willing to sacrifice their lives for the Samiti, food and clothing are provided. Suitable education is also provided for them by the Samiti; but if they have also to study at school, there is no provision of food and clothing for them. If you give up the idea of reading at school and sever yourself from all worldly affairs, and are ready to do the work of the Samiti, then you can come to the Samiti. Give my love to all our members." The presence of the books mentioned above in the Samiti and their contents indicate not only that Sarada accepted the invitation but also, if the presumption that Sarada is the author of the printed Gan be correct, became an ardent admirer of Pulin. The contents of Exh. 1143 have been sufficiently noticed in dealing with the printed Gan (see page 139). We may add here, however, further indications that Sarada is the author of this book; on the second

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page is a "Notice" which runs as follows; "I do not make an unjust statement when I say that I do not in a sense at all know what is meant by setting the pen in motion. My stock of ideas is very small owing to my limited powers of thinking. To add to my difficulties, I cannot adequately express my ideas, for my vocabulary of words and power of rhyming lines are, it will be no exaggeration to say, practically *nil*. My object is to give expression to the present current of thought in the country, and also to see 'if any one awakes hearing a single strain of my lyre,' etc, etc."

This is clearly a statement, partly borrowed, of the author's modesty. On the following page we have another indication of the author; there is a "Dedication" which runs as follows: "In this land of the Aryans, women, braiding their locks o hair and taking up the sword, used to rush to battle with a cheerful, free, pure and fearless heart. Beside themselves with the fever of war, they cheerfully cut off their locks to make bow - strings. Where are now those Mahratta and Rajput ladies armed with swords and arrows who used to sacrifice their lives on the funeral pyre with their fathers, husbands and sons when defeated by the enemy ? "

The author has succeeded well in giving the keynote of his book. The songs which have been noticed are clearly a call to arms. We may notice that song No. 26 is modelled on "Mukunda's White Rat" song, "Coming to the country, White Rats are carrying away heaps of grain."

Exhibit 1147 is an exercise book belonging to the same Sarada, and evidently intended for further original compositions. It is paged throughout up to 118, the author has commenced with Bande Mataram and his own name in several languages and then written a preface, but got no further. The preface is this :

THE WORDS OF INDIA

Hindus, you know that "mother and the mother country are superior to heaven."

Well, you are not maintaining the honour either of your mother or your mother country. How can your mother, who gave you being, remain in happiness when your mother country is being insulted, disgraced and looked down upon as odious ?

This Sarada Charan Chakrabarty (Volume II, page 55) was arrested in connection with the Naria dacoity case. He was photographed while in jail.

Song in praise of Khudiram, Prafulla and Kanai Lal. - Exhibit 1165 is a folded sheet foolscap size containing the following song, in bold handwriting, which has not yet been identified. The song calls upon

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Aryans to emulate their dead heroes in fighting, and implies that Khudiram, Prafulla and Kanai Lal have worthily maintained Aryan traditions of valour.

OM BANDE MATARAM

Do not, O do not forget, the history of this country which is the land of prowess, and in the house of which were ever present (lit., bound) Batris Singasan (the legendary throne of King Vikramaditya supported by 32 genii), the precious gem Kohinoor, the Peacock Throne, Tal and Betal (two genii attending upon Vikramaditya). Chanda, Badal, Putta, Joymalla, Pratap (Singh), Adil, Mirmadan, Raj Singh, Sive (Sivaji) and Durgadas - they are the sons of this country. Khana, Lilabati, Padmini, Bhabani, Karmabati and Durgadevi - they are the daughters of this country. Chand Bibi, the heroic lady who defeated Akbar, was a daughter of this country. We, too, are the children of those Aryans, who figured in the battlefields of Panipat, Meerut, Chillianwala, Scind and Haldighat, who rushed from Herat to the Carnatic, who always played on the banks of the Drishadbati. That blood (the blood of those Aryans) still flows in every vein. O raise once again in India the victorious standard of the Aryans (now rolling) in the dust. Khudiram by dying and Prafulla by sacrificing his own life have become immortal. Who is there, save Kanai firm in death, like the Himalayas ?

A modified version and another song. - Exhibit 1249 and 1254 may be noticed together. The former contains the same song as that in 1165 but omitting the last two sentences. The next song, which is also found in Exh. 1254, is the following :-

Exhibit No. 1249, 2nd song, and Exh. 1254. - Rise, O ye children of India, with a resolute heart crying our "Victory to Mother." Let the Firinghis open their eyes to see that Bengalis can secrifice their lives. O ye Hindus and Muhammadans, holding one another by the neck and disregarding honour and disgrace, take up the sword in your hands. What, you are sitting idly yet! Your honour and nobility of descent are about to vanish. If you intend to keep your country to you, O ye thirty crores of souls, be of one mind, forgetting mutual envy and hatred. Beat the drum Proclaiming your name. You will succeed in conquering Lanka (Ceylon) - (there may be a sly illusion to England) - and the flag of victory will flutter in the wind. Through the power of the name of mother fruits come out untimely. The proper season and the improper season are all the same to her. Don't fear. Victory is sure to be yours. This song is being sung in a heavenly voice. (This is a prophetic song.)

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Bande Mataram Song. - Exhibit 1216 bears this name. It is not Bankim's song, but consists mainly in repetitions of the word evidently intended to produce a kind of frenzy.

Note - book of Bankim Chandra Ray. - "Bankim Chandra Ray" is the Samiti name of Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta of Chhoto Kalia, Jessore, the person who signs a written vow (see page 48). The following is a translation of some portions of this book :

Exhibit No. 395 of 15th November 1908.

Page 1. - "Even a wild boar lives in happiness. It maintains its freedom. It does not allow any being to be the lord of its life even at the cost of life.

Look at the uncivilized tribes of Nepal. Who says they are uncivilized ? They are highly civilized. There is the diamond of liberty in their hearts. They do never worship the feet of others."

Page 21. - O child of India, do look at the dry eager tongue, the dry pot (*lit.*, receptacle) of blood of mother. Behold (she) is begging again and again fresh hot blood, spreading out her left hand. Is there no such hero in India who, tearing his own breast, prays for power in the crematorium of India quenching the thirst of mother ?

Page 55. - Is the acquisition of learning keeping night and cudgelling the brains for the sake of slavery, simply to worship others to the last, forsaking the line of independent profession ?

Page 94. - If you wish your welfare go and carry on trade. Display power like an Aryan. Make flags fly on ships of the country. Drive away foreign trade to foreign countries. Increase strength in weak hearts. Teach the bird of the mind Unity. Then alone will you see, you will surely see, that you will be honoured in this world.

Page 125. - Does the name of the Indo - Aryans (still) live on earth ? Does the blood of the Aryans flow (*lit.*, exist) in the veins even to - day ? If that had existed, why, then, have (we) to float on torrents of tears.

Song in lahi - play book. - In Exh. 1235 a lathi - play book without name, we find the following :

OM BANDE MATARAM.

We thirty crores of souls have come to present wave offerings to thee, O Mother India. (Thrice.) What have we, O mother, that we can offer in worship ? We have all brought with us our tears to wash thy feet. (Twice.) All the brethren being of one mind on this auspicious day, we have come here to offer our blood to thy feet. The lyre that has awakened, O mother, in our hearts will forever give forth songs. The souls of the

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foolish, the mean and the vilest among men, will all awake, (The lyre) will arouse their souls.

Charu Chandra Sen's lathi - play book. - This is the Charu of the inscribed lathi (see page 75), and in his lathi - play book, Exh. 1016, he writes as follows:

Name - Charu Chandra Sen Gupta - Vikrampur - Madhyapara.

Pages 1-3. - 'Bande Mataram' - "Adya Pratijna" of the Anushilan Samiti.

Page 4. - On lathi - play.

Page 14. - Some lines on Shanti.

At the end of book, in pencil : Before the present awakening, those - political.

Since the Congress was first organised, a few Bengalis, well versed in politics, have been protesting wherever they saw our eaters in the garb of our protectors grape their mouths to swallow India. As a result of it, the cannibals may or may tondesist from eating up the sleeping Indians, but that some of them waked up was understood.

(The sentence is incomplete and faulty.)

Girija Kanta De's book. - This is the Samiti name of Kamini Kumar De of Daspara, Habiganj, Sylhet, and in a note - book entitled Ramayan he writes : "There is nothing which give us so much happiness as death". From the handwriting he would appear to be a very young boy."

Summary regarding written songs. - A certain number of written books and papers have been mentioned above. At the search of 15th November 56 manuscript books in all were found containing "stotras," or Sanskrit hymns, in praise of various deities. These "stotras" are such as every Hindu knows and would naturally have written out. In so far as these books contain "stotras" above no objection can be raised to them, but it must be noted that, of the 13 copies of the "Invocation to the sword," six are found in stotra books, Exhs. 668, 1017, 1126, 1136, 1079, and 1018A. Referring then, solely to mass of written songs (see pages 147 -168), it is very clear that the three main ideas embodied in those songs are seditious, armed rebellion and incitement to murder. The writers of these songs were constantly travelling about, and part of their business was to "build up public opinion." In these songs we find the ideas which they desseminated. In the words of the Sonar Bangla song - book (see page 142) "The power of songs is unlimited"; hence we may presume that the dissemination was most effectively performed. We may also observe that the songs adopted by any organised body are the surest index of its character. The aims of the Anushilan, we may therefore conclude from the evidence furnished by its written songs alone, were seditious, armed rebellion, and murder.

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Pictures and Drawings. - The pictures with which the Anushilan Samiti adorned its walls are of the highest importance as indicating the character of the organisation. They are like the banners and devices carried through the streets in England in procession, when a large number of persons have organised a demonstration in favour or against some particular measure.

On November 5th the following picture were found in the Samiti building and removed by the police, who had instructions particularly to obtain that Kalimurti upon which boys were required to take the vow (see page 38). From Ananta Mohan Chatterji's statement it was clear that this picture was with the various vows in the east room of the lower storey, and this is the room on the walls of which all the vows were subsequently found painted in red (see page 38). From this room the police removed the following pictures, which are all properly framed and glazed :

(a) 1 Bharat Mata - the map of India represented by a woman in flowing garments.
(b) 1 Vivekananda.
(c) 1 Kali. This is the picture upon which vows were taken.
(d) 1 Prafulla Chaki (after death).
(e) 1 Khudiram in dock and in police custody.

These are the pictures placed at the entrance of the Samiti together with its irrevocable vows. After reading the literature on Prafulla and Khudiram, it is a matter of no surprise to find that the pictures of these "martyrs" adorned the chamber of initiation, and were probably as much a part of the ceremony as the deity Kali. It is noteworthy that in this picture of Kali, Siva, upon whom she is dancing, the severed heads which form her garland and the various limbs and heads lying above and receiving the attention of crows and jackals are *white.* I am told this is a recent change in the setting of pictures of Kali.

In the east room on the second storey, i.e., in Pulin's private room, 24A, another somewhat less repulsive picture of Kali was found.

In the verandah of the upper storey were found -

Exhibit 34, Khudiram's photo (unmounted).

Exhibit 35, photo of Pulin Behary Das, dressed as a sanyasi and carrying a bugle.

Exhibit 36, a mounted photo of Nishi Bhusan Mitra, wearing a large pagri and holding a sword in one hand and a bugle in the other. He is flanked by two youthful satellites, on his right hand Bidhu Chakrabarty, son of Dinabandhu Chakrabarty Mukhtear, and on his left Pratap Chandra Sarkar *alias* Hem Chandra Sarkar. See the latter's statement of

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6th November. In a statement made before the District Magistrate, Faridpur, in the jail, on 6th February 1909, Nishi Bhusan said that the sword was a wooden one given to him by Harendra Lal Chakrabarty and elder son of the mukhtear.

In the verandah of the upper storey, Exh. 37, a mounted and framed picture of Arabindo Ghosh was found.

On November 15th the police found and removed from the east room of the lower storey eight pictures, Exhs. 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17, among which Exh. 12 is a Dashamaha Bidia, or the ten forms assumed by Durga in destroying the demons. They are Kali, Tara, Suroshi, Bhubaneswari, Bhairabi, Chhinnamasta, Dhumabati, Bangala, Matungi and Kamala. These are the names to be found in the Chandi (see page 89).

Exhibit 14 is another picture of Kali showing that the picture removed ten days before had soon been replaced. Exhibit 16 is a picture of Sivaji Maharaj.

In the second room on the upper storey twelve pictures were found on the four walls, all marked No. 78. They include a second picture of Sivaji Maharaj, Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Sardar Ajit Singh.

In the third room of the upper storey Cleven pictures, all marked No. 87, were found on the four walls, including Bal Gangadhar Tilak, holding in his hand the legend "Swaraj," Chhatrapati Sivaji, Bhashkarananda Swami and Tailanga Sawami.

The following unmounted pictures were found:-

Exhibit 67, photo of Bhupendra Nath Dutt, in an almirah in the second room, upper storey.

In the same place Exh. 61, original list, and 829, detailed list, a photo of Prafulla Chandra Chaki.

In the third room of the ground floor, within a wooden box, Exh. 36 original, and 1144, detailed list, a photograph of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

With reference to the photo of Prafulla Chaki, it is to be noted tnat in the same place, the almirah in the second room of the upper storey, there were found two pieces of paper, marked Exh. 798 and 799, which are attempts to draw Prafulla Chaki. In the former the rope is drawn by which the dead body was evidently supported when the photo was taken. On drawing rays are showing falling upon Prafulla's head, intended probably to indicate that he gained heaven by martyrdom.

In Connection with pictures and drawings, the following should be mentioned : Exhibit No. 332 of 15th November is an old copy of Victoria Charit published in 1294, that is 21 years ago, and bearing the name of

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Pulin Behari Das. It has been entered in the Anushilan catalogue, Exh. 21, as No. 230. There pictures of the late Queen and other Royalties in this book, and at page 34 there is a picture of the Duke of Albany. On the forehead the following words have been written, apparently by Pulin, tor mukhe jhata hatabhata bgeta" - a broom in your face, accursed fellow.

Writings on walls of Samiti. - The Samiti continued to exist some days after the deportation of Pulin Behari Das, and police officers, who made domiciliary visits to the Samiti building, reported that all the vows and regulations had been painted in red upon the walls of the east or entrance room. I visited the Samiti on January 29th, 1909, and found not only that this was so but that there was a good deal of writing upon the walls of other rooms and a considerable amount of pieces of paper lying about in the rooms and compound. Accordingly police officers were deputed, who copied all the writings and collected the paper in the presence of wtinesses. Among the latter were copies of "Sandhya" and "Sonar Bharat" (see page 127). The writings have been translated, and the following are to be noticed : The vows, Adya, Bisesh and Antya are the same as those marked (i) l, (f)1 and No 10 of 5th November. The Nujamabali are the same as Exh. (*h*) 1 of 5th November, except that in paragraph 3, instead of saying that those who run away from that Samiti should be brought back anyhow by force, we find "somehow or other a clue to those who run away should be found out." In paragraph 11 we do not find the passage "every member will get leave for twelve days every year," which appears in the carlier written placard.

In the Kaltalika or time - table the day begins at 4 - 30 and ends at 11. The following is noticeable :

From $4^1/2$ to 6. - You should get up from bed at $4^1/2$, calling to mind the name of the deity. You should chant for some time the name of the deity and of the country at heart.

From 6 to 8. - You should learn and teach drill, bara lathi, chhoto lathi, bauk, beniti and other play.

From 8 to 9. - To arrange, write and keep books on lathi - play, etc., and to discuss historical topics and to make lathis.

From 11 to 4. - Discussion about study, work of the workshop industries, map (drawing), etc.

From $4^1/2$ to 7. - Lathi - play, drill, wrestling, jiujitsu, etc.

From 7 to $8^1/2$. - Sangkirtan and discussion of the sacred scriptures.

From $8^1/2$ to $9^1/2$ - Meal for the night and rest.

From $9^1/2$ to11. - Discussion about study, and then going to bed at 11, calling to mind the name of the deity.

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The account given by Ananta Mohan Chattarji (see page 114) of his experience in the Samiti explains somewhat the nature of the hymns and songs which were in use.

Other writings to be noticed are these :

"A body of asses is going to form the head of your father."

To form your father's head is a proverb meaning to do something utterly useless and wrong.

"O friend, will you return seeing how far the nether world is ?

"In groves, in forests Om Bande."

"Aisa din nahi rahega" (a day like this won't last). This is obviously a parting threat to the authorities for proclaiming the Samitis.

"Ashutosh Das Gupta - Bajrapuri, Dacca"

"A certain man will be beaten within a few days."

"Shanti Niketan" (abode of peace).

"The day on which a certain man will be beaten is near at hand. Be careful."

"We are immortal."

"Say, O brother, Bande Mataram."

"We have contracted good habits."

"Shanti Satya."

"Amar dada, Amar." This is probably Amarendra Nath Basu, whose real name was Manindra Kumar Bose.

"B. B. Gupta."

"Sharashi Mohan Ray - Zamindar."

"From Saraj."

"Jyotirmoi."

"Sri Nripendra."

"Ye Bharat Santans, why do you not look at the dry protuberant tongue o mother, the dry receptacle of blood. Look at her left hand."

"Kali."

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ANUSILAN SAMITI, DACCA

PART III

BY

H. L. Salkeld, ESQ., I.C.S.
Magistrate on special duty

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SECTION V

Some important documents, maps, articles, correspondence
- List of explosives
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SECTION VI

The system of false names
- Statements on the subject
- Documents proving the system
  - Register of names and address
  - List of real and corresponding Samiti names
  - Other documents containing list of names
  - List of Samiti members as given to Police on August 10, 1908
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  - Summary regarding false names

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SECTION V.

SOME IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS, MAPS, ARTICLES, CORRESPONDENCE.

List of explosives — Exhibit 987 of 15th November is a manuscript book endorsed on the cover "Note-book. The real owner of this book is Surendra Chandra Ray...... Dacca District....... nj". The words denoted by dashes have been scored out until the paper was rubbed away. This Surendra Chandra Ray is the son of Kailash Chandra Ray of Mahamadpur, police station Nawabganj, Dacca. The last word, of which only - nj remains, was probably Nawabganj. Surendra was found in the Samiti on 10th August 1908; he was also found there on November 4th and arrested. There are many other books upon which we find Su - - - Ray or Kunja Behari Ray or both, and sometimes the name Suren written in English. (See Volume I, page 135.) The writing has marked characteristics and a comparison of all the books, together with the sameness of the names, establishes their ownership by the same person. "Kunja Behari" was the Samiti name of this person, but in the table of real and Samiti names, Exhibit 805, "Kunja Behari" alone is given. On the first page of this book some mantras are given ; on the second page some mantras for "self-preservation" and on the third page some other mantras. The next page is headed "29-4-15 Stotram 29-4-15," but nothing further is written here or until we reach the two sheets of Serampur paper which form a sort of cover. The date mentioned is 29th Sraban 1315 corresponding to 14th August 1908. On the last page but one of the book there is the following :-

Sri Siba Sankaraya nama

B.M.

Sushka Nitrate of Stashia	16 bhari	
Nitrate of Baraita	2506	
Gandhak	426	
Klater of Potash	96	(the number originally written was 936)
Klater of Matash	936	
Potash	56	
Kashmiri Jangal	26	
Shora Nitric	1 ser	
Manichhal Pickrik	56	
Tinchar Aodim	10	
Acid(?) Phosphoric	(blank)	

Pickrik

100/- and some scribbling

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All the above entries have been scored over but are, except the last two items, easily read. This page of the book was photographed, on 12th December, as an endorsement within the book explains. The written opinion of Major Muspratt Williams, Chief Inspector of Explosives to the Government of India, has been obtained upon this list. He states all are used in explosive mixtures. As regards the figures given, nothing is stated, so that it is uncertain whether certain quantities of each chemical were to be obtained or what exactly is meant.

At any rate, the strongest presumption is raised that these chemicals were intended to be used for the preparation of explosives and the letters B. M. which head the list may signify bomb.

Note-book of Dinesh Chandra Sen containing cypher code and writing— Exhibit 1125 of 15th November is a small book belonging to Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta, which has been paged and translated, the cypher writing having been first translated into Bengali. On page 2 some addresses are given. On page 4 there is some cypher writing, of which the key will be found on the last pages of the book. This writing refers to "Mahadeva tincture of gold" and also the address No. 14, Hatitala Street, Calcutta, Sri Kumar Krishna Mitra, Manager, where apparently a sleeping mixture Svapna Bandhab can be obtained.

On page 6, there is the address in English "Bethair, Baratarap, Mymensingh. This is the home of Surabala Devi, wife of Bank in Chandra Ray of Serajganj, from which she writes letter, Exhibit 25, to Dinesh Chandra Sen, and letter, Exhibit 46, Prafulla Chandra Sen (see page 138).

Next, on this page we find in cypher "Jatindra Nath Ray, Ranigram, Serajganj – Bhabani Nath Ray." Ranigram is a village about $1^1/_2$ mile from the town proper of Sirajganj, but is within the limits of the municipality. There was a Samiti in Ranigram at the house of Bhabani Ray, and his sons Upendra and Jitendra Ray were the leaders of this Samiti. This Samiti is said to be in close touch with Bankim Ray's Samiti at Sirajganj and the Samiti of Jitu Ray at Bharenga. Jitu Ray is related to Bankim Ray and is known to have visited Ranigram and Sirajganj Samitis.

Next follow some positions of Yog, and on page 24 we find an account in Dinesh's handwriting of expenses incurred in visiting Goalundo and Lohajang.

Pages 27-28 contain what purports to be a cypher letter evidently intended for Pulin Behari Das. This reference seems certain from the phrase "your heavenly central Samiti." The purport of the letter is that certain persons have been showing hatred towards "the most unfortunate trio of the glorious and revered mother." Dinesh probably means himself,

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Prafulla and Charu, who appeared to have gone about a great deal together. (See, for example, page 138.) Dinesh has resented the accusations of these persons and has complained to Pulin about them. But a few letters from Pulin have convinced him that the accusers are in the right and we, the trio, are "thorough sinners." "So, thinking it unjust on our part to pollute your heavenly central Samiti, we are from to-day cutting off connection with it. But, because we will not be able to give up the thought of furthering the interests of the Samiti as long as we live, we beg to be entrusted with the charge of the entire work of the Bigrampur pargana. Suresh also" (this is Suresh the Paridarshak, see page 3, and the owner of the song book, see page 163) "should be allowed to work with us. In that case, too, the Samiti, being purged of the worthless, characterless and untrustworthy members of Madhyapara will find free scope for its progress."

Regarding the matter of this letter the first comment to be made is that if the Madhyapara Samiti as a whole was not considered up to the standard of the Samiti organisation in enthusiasm, it is difficult to imagine what superlative degree of sedition was attained in the "heavenly Central Samiti" at Dacca. One member of the Madhyapara Samiti, Hem Chandra Sen Gupta, elder brother of Dinesh, was bound down in heavy amounts on 22nd January 1909, under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, in respect of an essay called "Our present condition and what we should do," which he read at a certain meeting. Sedition could hardly go further than this essay, and the accused threw himself on the mercy of the Court. In an exactly similar manner, Sarada Charan Datta Gupta, another member, was bound down subsequently. A warrant was issued against Dinesh in respect of his writings, but up to date he has avoided arrest. And we have also the phrase used in Rajani Kanta Sen Sarkar's letter "the servers of the country of Madhyapara" (see page 137).

If the Madhyapara Samiti was not sufficiently enthusiastic, it is strange that Dinesh should request Pulin that "we" and Suresh should take charge of the entire work of the Bikrampur pargana. There is also the clearest evidence that all Samitis in Bikrampur were directly under the Dacca Samiti furnished by the notices described later at page 207.

There is nothing to show that this letter was ever despatched; so further consideration of the subject-matter is not required. The important fact is that we find a system of cypher writing used by one of the most prominent members of the Samiti. This system was evidently intended for secret correspondence.

Exhibit 684 is a song-book written mostly by Pulin Behari Das. On the cover of this book there are a few characters of cypher writing, which appear to represent a name.

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Private notes written by Pulin. — Exhibit 28 of 15th November is part of an envelope, on both sides of which there is writing, which shows all the marked characteristics of Pulin's handwriting. It may be compared with Exhs. 27, 29 and 30 which were found with it, and all of these with any proved specimen of Pulin's handwriting. Exhibit 28 is translated as follows : Side-bearing number and signatures : "Everything will be done by itself, if everyone does his own proper work. Whether everyone is doing his own proper work or not, the leaders will see to it. For that, it is not at all necessary that you and I should be anxious."

On the reverse : "Every master of work should see whether he has been able fully to complete that much of the work which has been entrusted to him.

"Everyone should remain hopeful of the root purpose."

"In order to attract common people you may say cunningly true or false words of hope."

Exhibit 30 is translated as follows : "Mahamehima Srijukta Babu (word unintelligible)

"Fear of detectives.

"To be foolishly desperate.

"The more you give way to hunger, sleep and fear, the more you will feel them.

"To face danger with discretion.

"Hankering after fame.

"It is no good going to prison unnecessarily.

"You should not entertain the fear of being committed to prison in the carrying out of your object."

Exhibits 28 and 30 should be compared with Exh. 27, Raktabij Samiti, and Exh. 29, Subordination to a preceptor, both of which are described at pages 96-97.

All these four papers were found together in the library, and are clearly private notes of Pulin, intended too be worked up into leaflets, or, in the case of Exh. 30 in particular, as the headings of a exhortation to members. Exhibit 28 reiterates the teaching of the Paridarshak, vows, and many other documents, that absolute subordination to one's particular leader is all important, but it also justifies securing the help of common people for the Samiti by holding out specious and even false promises to them. In this connection, the emphasis laid upon being sanguine about the "root object" of the Samiti is most significant. The old question at once arises : If the "root object" of the Samiti is physical and moral culture and not revolution, why conceal it, and what is the necessity for deceiving common folk in order to

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win them over to the Samiti ? It would be interesting if Pulin had given some examples of the lies suggested.

Exhibit 30 shows how clearly Pulin realised that the Samiti was pursuing an unlawful object. The logical connection of the headings appears to be "Don't put yourself needlessly in the way of going to jail, by committing some ordinary offence useless for our purpose, simply that you may satisfy your desire to pose as a martyr; but, on the other hand, have no fear of the prospect of jail if it confronts you when you are carrying out some vital part of our plan of revolution."

An account referring probably to the Bahra dacoity.— Exh. 527 of 15th November is an account written in pencil on a long slip of paper. It has been photographed. The account is as follows :

Wednesday

	Rs.	a.	p.
Expenses for bringing Sashi	2	0	0
Expenses for bringing Sachi	0	14	0
Expenses for Sashi's dining in a hotel	1	4	0
Sashi's lunch	0	2	0
Cost of food for that day	6	0	0
Basanta is given	25	0	0
Sachindra's lunch	0	3	0
Hemendra's lunch	0	2	0
For Hari's dining in hotel for 2 days	0	8	0
(?) File and trunk	2	0	0
Rod	0	6	0
Bow saw	3	4	0
File	0	4	0
Emery	0	1	0
Carriage hire	0	6	0
Cocoanut oil	0	0	6
Coolie	0	2	0
Boatman	3	0	0
Cost of food for 1 month 18 days (for Amala)	8	0	0
(penned through) Food for the boatmen given before	2	6	0
Pencil	0	0	6
Dyes	0	1	0
	36	0	0

(On the reverse)—

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Prabash	13	0	0	(penned
Lunghi	4	0	0	through)
Hat	0	10	0	
False hair	12	3	6	
	17	3	6	

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It is believed that the "Shashi" referred to is Shashi Kanta Sarkar, of Asulia, who, according to the evidence, was one of the leaders of the Bahra dacoity. Apart from the evidence given in that case regarding Sashi Kanta Sarkar's membership of the Samiti, there is the clear statement of Hira Lal Datta, dated 9th April 1909, a member of the Samiti at 50, Wari, who managed to escape. He says : "Pulin Babu was there, and after a few days Ashu Babu came; Moti Sen, of Dacca, was there; Sashi Sarkar, of Asulia, was there; he used to come for some time and stay there and then go away." The particular items cost of food Rs. 6, Basanta is given Rs. 25; boatmen Rs. 3, and food for one month for Amala Rs. 8, lead to the inference that this account refers to some transaction in which a number of persons were engaged, either before the dacoity or afterwards, in concealing Sashi. File and trunk, bow saw, file and emery are in this account most suspicious items. On the other side of this account four more items are written in pencil. "Prabash" is paid Rs. 13, but for what is not stated. Four rupees worth of lunghis, ten annas worth of "tupis," i.e., Muhammadan caps, and false hair worth Rs. 12-3-6 are items which can only refer to disguises for a number of persons. Inquiries have been made at the shops in Dacca which sell false hair, and the nearest item found is the sale of false hair and tupi, worth in all Rs. 12, by Israil, Mogaltali, Dacca, on 28th June 1908, which was a Monday.

Another suspicious account.— Exhibit 1206 of 15th November is an account written in a folded sheet of paper. It is of considerable importance and will be given fully later. The account is dated 2nd *Aswin* (September 18, 1908), and contains the following, among other items :

	As.
Santi Babu's spectacles	6
Emery cloth, 10 pieces	10

Now it can be proved by several persons, including Sarat Chandra Ghose, Sub-Inspector, that Santi Babu (Santi Rampada Mukharji) never were spectacles for defective sight. On the other hand, it is well-known that spectacles, particularly blue spectacles, are the most ordinary part of a disguise. The only use for emery cloth is for cleaning metal, and in this case it is to be presumed that guns and swords were to be cleaned.

MAPS

Dacoity Map of Madaripur.— Exhibit 33 of 5th November is a pencil map of Madaripur, Faridpur. Mr. Soames, the Subdivisional Officer, in a letter dated the 15th November 1908, explains how the map tallies with the situation of Madaripur, except that on the North the river Padma has been shown much closer that it really is. It is evident, on the

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first inspection of this map, than it is not intended for the village notes, and differs widely from the two specimens of those maps which we have, Adabari and Balurghat (see page 22). Only a few places are marked and numbered, and the time "20 minutes," "30 minutes," which would be required to reach them from a certain point. The Northern part of the map is not even approximately drawn to scale, but has been much foreshortened, probably in order to show the channels leading from Madaripur to the Padma. Mr. Soames writes as follows regarding the numbers and marks on this map : "The numbers 14 and 15, I believe, indicate the steamer route from Jajira and Barisal, respectively; No. 2 is the Steamer station; No. 3 the Police station; No. 4 the Post office; No. 5 Char Mugmia Bazar; No. 6 the old bazar. No. 1, the place marked with a cross, is presumably a point of attack, and may be intended either for a special shop in Char Mugmia or for the whole bazar. If the latter, No. 5 may mean the village round the bazar. The other numbers seem to refer to chars, rivers, etc. The red pencil marks at the mouths of khals and rivers probably represent suitable places for the meeting place previous to the attack by boat." Two khals are so marked, one to the north and one to the south. In the north-east corner of the map, the side of a channel leading to the Padma has been heavily scored with blue pencil to obliterate some writing in pencil. One word at the end of first line is clearly visible, it is "Nariya," and the last word in the second line may be "paunche." Nariya, which would naturally be approached this way, was the scene of the dacoity in October 1908 which has been connected with the Anushilan by the finding of fragments of village notes and a printed notice in the dacoits' boat, and by the recognition of Murari Mohan Ghosh (Vol. I, p. 51) as one of the dacoits. In this corner of the map we find "P+M", to the meaning of which there is no clue.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it is a most reasonable presumption that this map, found in the Anushilan Samiti, was intended for the purposes of a dacoity.

Map of Maulvi Bazar, Sylhet.— Exhibit 801 of 15th November is a similar pencil map Maulvi Bazar, the subdivisional headquarters of South Sylhet. Regarding the map, the Superintendent of Police reports : "It is rough map of Maulvi Bazar. The place marked 'Doctor' in the map represents the Charitable Dispensary. The place marked 'Akhra' is where Durga Kumar Das lived. He opened a dispensary there, and it was there that lathi-play used to go on." Durga Kumar Das' house is the address from which a person signing himself "Pranesh Pagal" writes to Ashu Babu at Dacca (Exh. 31) asking for permission to return to Dacca and inquiring if Pulin would come to Maulvi Bazar, and, if so, "that he should

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bring with him what he had been asked to bring." On a lathi-play book (Exh. 809) belonging to Pranesh, the handwriting of which is identical with that of the letter, we find the word "Shamshernagar" written, Shamshernagar being the nearest railway station. The Shamshernagar road is clearly marked on this map. Apart, then, from the finding of this map in the Samiti premises, there is good evidence to connect Maulvi Bazar with the Anushilan organisation. This map may have been drawn in connection with the village note system, but it may also have been drawn with a view to committing dacoity. The village note map may, of course, serve the same purpose.

Catalogues of Maps and Plans.— Exhibit No. 7 (detailed list) of 15th November is the Survey of India Catalogue of Maps and Plans of Assam. It is marked as No. 443 of the Anushilan Library and will be found entered as Exh. 21, the library catalogue. At page 2 we find all the District Maps for the Plains and Hill Districts and Manipur marked, eleven in all, Goalpara is not marked.

Exhibit 8 is a similar catalogue for Bengal, numbered 442 in the Anushilan Library. On this book the words "Gita, Chandi, Stotra Grantha, Gita Gobinda, Ramayan, Mahabharat" are written in vernacular by Pulin Behari Das. At pages 8, 9 and 10 we find 35 of the district maps for Eastern and Western Bengal marked.

Exhibit 5 is a similar catalogue numbered 444 in the Anushilan Library, for the maps and plans of Burma. No marks are found in this.

Other Maps.— Exhibit 37 (original list) is bundle of maps comprising the following:

(1) Eleven paper maps printed in 1890 and showing area and population in 1881 of these districts : Dinajpur, Rangpur, Howrah, Bogra, Midnapur, Hooghly, Bankura, Pabna, Burdwan, Rajshahi, and Jalpaiguri.

(2) A mounted map of Rangpur district, evidently from the District Board office Part has been torn away.

(3) A similar map of Pabna and from a similar source.

(4) Rajshahi, also from the District Board office.

(5) Three paper maps of Bogra dated 1874, showing area liable to famine.

Exhibits 62 and 381 of 15th November are maps of the town of Dacca, the latter mounted and bound for carrying in the pocket.

Exhibit 504 is a folding map of Tippera district, which has evidently come from one of the Government offices there, as the names and positions of the various Inspection bungalows have been marked. The label is endorsed "Take as a sample."

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Exhibit 570 is a folding map of the City of Calcutta.

Exhibit 51 is a mounted folding map entirely of hilly country, said to be the Kangra Valley.

Exhibit 66 is a small vernacular map of Bikrampur pargana, mounted on rollers.

Exhibit 65 is a similar hand-drawn map of Munshiganj, mounted on rollers.

Exhibit 1104 is a map of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway taken from some Time table.

General remarks regarding Maps.— It has been noted at page 172 that "map" is put down in the Time-table as a subject for study. It is far from clear what is meant. A new pantograph (Exh. 86) was also found in the Samiti (see page 22). Every map found in the Samiti has been enumerated above, but it was intended, no doubt, to obtain maps of every districts in the provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam. However, so far as the provision of maps had gone, it is obvious that the study of them must be very limited. Setting aside the question of dacoity, for what purpose was the study of maps prescribed ? Obviously it has nothing to do with physical exercises, assuming that this was the object of the Anushilan organisation. The explanation of "map study" would probably be that it was purely part of education. Boys should be taught the geography of their own country. This explanation might be plausible if we found a regular school education going on in the Samiti, but such was not the case. It will be shown, when the educational books are examined, that the teaching in the Samiti was extremely little and of the crudest nature. There is nothing to show that maps were studied, and there were, in any case, only these few maps to study. But assuming that it was intended to have a good supply of maps, we can only say that the study of them was for purposes, both present and future, connected with the Anushilan organisation. The present purpose would be mainly to assist agents in travelling about the country, and the future object was probably the preparation of an intelligence department, ample materials for which would be furnished by the village notes. It is obvious that the guerilla or "unequal warfare" upon which the Bartaman Rana Niti lays such stress can only be carried on by those who have an intimate knowledge of the country. This knowledge was probably the ultimate object to be attained by the proposed study of maps.

Plans of the Samiti building.— Exhibit 63 of 15th November is a front elevation of the Samiti building. Number 452, South Maisundi, in Bhaja Hari Shaha's Street, which has been renamed for the purposes of this drawing "Pulin Road." It is correctly drawn. It will be noticed that what is presumably a "Nathinal Volunteer" in uniform and pagri with

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badge, and armed with rifle or lathi, is guarding the entrance. It was on the wall immediately over this doorway that I found and removed the notice "National Bajrapuri Mess, 452, South Maisundi. Members wanted." (See page 103A) The room on the right of the sentry is the entrance room, where the vows were painted on the walls.

Exhibit 1102 is a plan of the ground floor and first storey of this building, already noticed at page 91. This plan shows the sleeping arrangements for 39 persons. The "Gita Class" takes place on the verandah of the upper storey immediately above the sentry's head. The use made of the numbers placed on the various "seats" is clearly shown in Exh. 733, an account of clothes sent to the dhobi. Clothes were sent to the wash under the number of the "seat" which was allotted to the wearer. But this plan was not followed in every case, and particular names are given frequently.

Exhibit 800 of 15th November is a pencil drawing of some article. The only point which seems certain is that four screws are used in part of its composition. What the article is cannot be ascertained.

Articles.— Exhibit 1267 (covered by 83 original list) of 15th November consists of : a hilt for country-made sword; two pieces of leather sword scabbard; the top of a Curtis and Harvey powder flask; a piece of tin from an Exshaw's brandy bottle; and a lump of lead upon which "Pulin" has been cut, evidently for use as seal or token. The first three articles are most incriminating, when it is remembered that swords were so much used in the dacoities, and when so many swords and two rifles have been found at Kalma Bazar, Munshiganj, and connected beyond question with the Dacca Samiti.

At the end of December or beginning of January these weapons were buried close to the house of Jogendra Das by Jogendra himself and Haran Chandra Chanda. On 1st Falgoon (February 13th, 1909) they were taken up on account of rain and kept in Haran's house by Jogendra. On April 12th, just before the police reached Kalma, the weapons were thrown in a ditch near Haran's house, where they were found by the police. Jogendra Chandra Das Gupta, son of Tara Kanta Das Gupta, of Kalma, is described in Haran's statement dated 20th April, as a member of the Dacca Samiti, at whose house he had seen Pulin, and on several occasions such prominent members as Ashutosh Das Gupta (a relative), Santi Mukherji *alias* Achid Ananda Basak, Sarat Chakrabarty of Faridpur, accused in the Bhojeswar attempted dacoity case, and Nripendra Chakrabarty (suspected in the Janmastami stabbing case and an absconder in the Bahra dacoity case). Jogendra's name will be found regularly enrolled in Exh. 817. He is No. 6 in the list of names.

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Exhibits 1 and 2 (covered by 83 original list) are respectively a rifle or large revolver bullet and two wad punches.

Exhibit 84 (original list) is a piece of paste board from which nemerous wads have been punched. The larger of the two punches exactly fits the holes.

Correspondence.— At the two searches on the 5th and 15th November, 43 letters were found. All these have been entered with abstracts in a register and numbered I to XLIII. Excepting Exhs. 1 and 2 entered together as XXV, Exh. 8 (XVIII) and Exh. 22 (V) of 5th November, all the others were found on 15th November. During the search on August 10th letters generally were not named in the Samiti warrant and therefore none were removed. Similarly on 5th November letters were not the main object of the search, and only four were removed. The letters, then, are practically confined to one search, and it may safely be said that every letter found within the Samiti was removed. Excepting an ancient post-card, Exh. 883, addressed to Pulin and dated March 1898, the remaining 40 letters covered the period from June 25th 1908 to the day of the search. Another letter, dated 14th December and addressed to Pulin Behari Das by Surendra Kanta Basu alias Rasik, was intercepted in the post. It is XLIV in the register. This correspondence is dealt with in detail in connection with the various writers or recipients of the letters, but a few general points which the letters proved may be noted here.

Extent of the Samiti organisation, Sylhet.— Exhibit 295 (Reg. III) is a letter from Satis Chandra Ray, of Ikram, Banachung, Sylhet, to his brother, Satya Ranjan Ray alias Bishnupada Ray (Volume I, page 57) in the Dacca Samiti. Satis Chandra Ray asks his brother to get Pulin to send a good lathi-play teacher there. This proves that the Sylhet Samiti was branch of Pulin's Samiti. Satis Chandra Ray is a very prominent member, who lives generally at Chhatak Sunamganj sub-division and his house was the rendezvous of members of the Dacca Samiti when they travelled. In August 1908, Nishi Kanta Bosu Roy Chaudhuri of Madaripur, when staying with Satis, was prosecuted, under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, for giving a false name and address, viz., Satis Chandra Ghosh, of Dacca town. In December 1908, two members of the Dacca Samiti, Pyari Charan De, of Mandarkhandi, Habiganj, Sylhet (see Exh. 817), and Manikya Chandra Guha Mustafi, son of a Dacca pleader (Volume II, page 23), who put up with Satis at Chhatak, were prosecuted, under section 363, Indian Penal Code, for kidnapping the headmaster's son. Pyari Charan De is still an absconder in that case. (See Superintendent of Police's report dated 31st March 1990).

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Exhibit 31 is the letter from Maulvi Bazar, from "Pranesh Pagal," to Ashu Babu, already mentioned in connection with the map of Maulvi Bazar (see page 182). The house from which this letter is written is the "Akhra" marked on the map where lathi-play used to go on. (See Superintendent of Police's report dated 7th March 1909).

Exhibit 47 (Reg. XXX) is a post-card from Har Kumar De at Balaganj, North Sylhet subdivision, to Nirmal Chandra Das Gupta, at 452, South Maisundi. The post-card says that the work for which he came to Balaganj could not be accomplished there, but he learnt that it could be accomplished if he went to Habiganj. "I wired to Habiganj to-day. See that no one else opens the letter which I send". This card is dated 12th November. From 11th to 13th November only two telegrams were sent from Balaganj to Habiganj, and neither is sent by Har Kumar De.

Tippera.— Exhibit 823 (Reg. XIII) is a letter, dated 11th September 1908, from Jamini Kumar De, of Chunta, Tippera, "to the Manager of the Anushilan Samiti Dacca." The writer wishes to join the Samiti and asks for information.

Exhibit 828 (Reg. XI) is a post-card from Hem Basu, of Garjankhola Chak Bazar, Tippera, to Ashutosh Das Gupta. It clearly shows that the Tippera Samitis belong to the Dacca organisation, and has been translated at page 28. It is probable that the "Dinesh Babu" mentioned is Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta.

Noakhali.— Exhibit 423 (Reg. XXIV) is a post-card, dated 20th October 1907 from Noakhali, to Debendra Lal Sen Gupta at the Anushilan Samiti, Dacca.

The writer, Debendra's aunt, says : "I cannot at all understand why you should give up your study and leave your home in order to learn lathi-play." This is a difficulty which numerous parents throughout the province experienced. A prominent member of the Dacca Samiti was Harsha Nath Sen Gupta, of Noakhali, who is probably a relative. Harsha Nath had two Samiti names, Kshiti Mohan and Bhutnath (Volume I, page 139).

Exhibit 1158 (Reg. XXXII) is a characteristic Samiti letter. It has been sent by messenger, not by post. The date is 15th Kartic (October 31st 1908). "Ranga Dada" writes to Prafulla Chandra Sen at Dacca. It is not clear where "Ranga Dada" was, but the letter shows that he was being sent to Noakhali on Samiti business. Ranga Dada or Hari Mohan are two Samiti names of Gopi Ballab Chakrabarty, of Bhadraghat, Pabna (Volume I, page 39). The letter is very guarded : "Arriving to-day I start to-day. I go to Noakhali. There are some apprehensions if I do not go to-day. For that reason (they) send (me) to Noakhali. If you both had

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arrived to-day, then probably I could have gone to Sirajganj with you." "You and Bankim Babu" (i.e. Bankim Chandra Ray, of Sirajganj) "both will please write to Pulin Babu. You should write in such a way that I might certainly go. It is owing to your enthusiasm that I have come here" ... "Know I am going to Noakhali against my will"....... "Show this letter to Dinesh Babu and to Suresh. (See that) none else sees it."

Chittagong.— Exhibit 19 (original list) (Reg. XXVII) is a letter which was found torn into pieces on the floor of the entrance room of the Samiti. It has been pasted together. Tarini (Kumar De) writes on 6th November 1908 to Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, a friend in Dacca, about Tarini's brother, Chandra Sekhar De, who was arrested in the Samiti on 4th November. Tarini writes : "He eloped before the Pujas from here without letting any one know anything. A few days after learning that he had joined the Anushilan Samiti at Dacca, a letter was written to Pulin Babu asking him not to allow him to remain in the Samiti." Tarini then describes how he had just heard that the Samiti had been surrounded on the 4th November and Pulin and the others, including Chandra Sekhar De, arrested. He is, of course, very anxious about his brother, and asks Jogendra Chandra Ghosh to help in the matter, Jogendra had tried his best (see his statement dated 18th January 1909) to get Chandra Sekhar from the Samiti, and had left this letter with him. Chandra Sekhar was defiant and refused to leave. After the Samiti was broken up in Dacca, Chandra Sekhar went home to Chittagong for a few days and then left.

Dinajpur.—There are two important letters showing the existence of an Anushilan Samiti in Dinajpur and also throwing considerable light upon the Anushilan organisation. The circumstances will be made clear by stating, first, the facts ascertained by inquiry. Rajendra Chandra Guha, aged 20, is the son of Ambika Charan Guha, of Dinajpur town, who lives with, and works as clerk for, his brother-in-law, Gobinda Chandra Ghosh, Pleader and Honorary Magistrate. Gobinda's second son, Kulada Kanta Ghosh, is a pleader and a known Extremist. A very close neighbour of Kulada was Ashiwini Bhattacharjyo, a clerk in the office of the Deputy Inspector of Schools, and of like views with Kulada. Rajendra quarrelled with his father and lived in Kuluda's house, and became a student of the Dinajpur National School. These are the circumstances in which he lived. It was reported to me in October 1908, among many similar cases, that Rajendra Chandra Guha, of Dinajpur, had run away from home, was believed to be in the Samiti, but no trace of him could be found, and he was believed to be keep in hiding—a proceeding which was well proved in the case of Sushil Kumar Ghosh, son of Tarak Nath Ghosh, Water Works Engineer, Dacca.

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We turn now to the Samiti records of Rajendra Chandra Guha. His Samiti name was "Digendra Kumar Ghosh"; he writes many books, and seems to have made a speciality of writing the Invocation to the Sword - Exhs. 668 and 1066, and in Exh. 1126 (Orig. 58) he writes the invocation for some one else (Volume I, page 55). In the library issue-book, Exh. 12, at serial No. 57, the librarian issued a book to Digendra Chandra Guha, falsifying only the first name, but the recipient signed his bogus name fully as "Digendra Kumar Ghosh". This person himself acted as librarian (see serials 63 to 69 and 106 to 119 in Exh. 12).

The first letter for mention is Exh. 1124 (Reg. XVI), dated 26th September 1908, from Aswini Kumar Bhattacharjyo, at Dinajpur, to "Digendra Kumar Ghosh," at the Samiti. It contains the following : "I am very sorry to learn that you have not been able as yet to shake off all compassion and tenderness." ... "Keep love and attachment at a distance from the mind. Have courage always and fill the mind with prowess. You will see with what earnestness you are courted and with what warmness you are received. Never write to anybody else save us in Dinajpur. Regard yourself as if you are dead." ..." — Babu has warned you not to write letters to anyone else." ...... "I am looking after your share." (This means share in the National School). "I am going home on Monday for 12 days. — "Babu has also gone home." .... "Let me know after asking '____' Babu whether Deben and Ramesh should go. I will send them."

The next letter is a letter written surreptitiously by Rajendra in the Samiti to some one in Dinajpur whom he addresses as "Digendra Bhai." Rajendra first wrote out this long letter in pencil and was making a fair copy in ink when the Samiti was raided on 15th November. The letter contains a reference to the arrest of Pulin Babu and 34 members, including himself, on November 4th, so the approximate date of this letter, which was not dispatched, is certain. The letter is Exh. 1123 (Reg. XL) and contains the following : "It is a long time since I parted from you. Perhaps you do not know my whereabouts since we parted. You must have surmised that I had gone home, but I did not do that. Coming out from amongst your midst I have taken shelter in the hermitage of Pulin Babu. Death is in many respects preferable to the life of a hanger-on"......... "From the beginning of the swadeshi movement my mind has been greatly attached towards it."......... Up to this time I have not been able to render any service to the country. You will then know if I ever succeed in doing anything.

"The rules of this place — It is specially convenient to write letters. A letter or two may be written if need be, but even in that case nothing

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of a confidential or private nature must be written, because the letters have to be shown to the authorities before they are posted." (This procedure is described in the statement of Ananta Mohan Chatterji, dated November 5th). "I have no authority here myself. Here we have to be under the control of the authorities, shaking off all tenderness and compassion. I have only succeeded in writing privately to you by getting two pice from a person." Then, after narrating the story of the arrests on 4th November, he continues : "Have there been any discussions about me after I left ? My name here is Digendra Kumar Ghosh. You may remember this, if you like. Let me know if my share in the school still exists. If so, you will kindly take 'care' of it. Show this portion to Ramesh Babu, if necessary.

"You should make no delay in replying to this letter. The answer must be very spirited. The authorities will first of all read it. Please let me know how the Dinajpur Samiti is faring. There is little hope that I shall be able to see you soon. If I live I shall see you after some time (say about two years)."

This is the clearest statement proving the use of fictitious names, and may be compared with the two admissions made by Ananta Mohan Chatterji and Pratap Chandra Sarkar regarding the changing of their names. (See statement dated 6th November 1908).

Calcutta.— Exhibit 824 (Reg. XII) is a post-card dated 11th September 1908 from "Joyanta," 25, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta, to Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta, 50, Wari, Dacca. The writer is probably Jatindra Nath Chakravarty, whose Samiti name was "Joyanta" (Volume II, page 51). He writes in English "Received yours yesterday. It is sure I will go to Faridpur in the Puja Vacation. Most probably I will start for Faridpur 25th September. Try your best to go to Faridpur in the Puja Vacation. Very urgent necessary. Don't fail to do so. Reply this to the above address. Don't forget it."

So far, the circumstances in which this post-card was written have not been ascertained, but it may be noted that the Bhojeswar attempted dacoity and the actual dacoity at Naria both took place in Faridpur after the Pujas. The person addressed is certainly Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta of Chhoto Kalia, Jessore, who had the Samiti name Bankim Chandra Ray (see page 48 and Volume I, page 30.)

In connection with Calcutta, the following is to be mentioned :

Exhibit 804 of 15th November is a receipt No. 15 for a telegram dated 19th September 1908. The original telegram has been obtained, and reads as follows : "To Manager, Bengal Stores, 49, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. — Send articles necessaries directly immediately with men — From Sen & Co." On the reverse the sender's name is given as "Manager,

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Sen & Co., Patuatali Dacca." The English writing of all this telegram is that of Pulin. This may be proved particularly by the capital Bs, Cs, Ds, and Ss, by entire words like "Bengal" and "Stores" and by the two ways of forming the letter r. The receipt was found in the Samiti. The principal representative of this firm is Sashanka Mohan Sen Gupta, who was a member of the Samiti. His name appears in the register, Exh. 817, and he is also named as an assistant Senapati for the mock-fight in Exh. 749. The shop of Sen & Co. Patuatali, appears to have been a depot for the Samiti. The wording of the telegram is highly suspicious. It was sent to Calcutta, the address being that of the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti shortly after Pulin had paid a visit to Calcutta.

Faridpur.— Exhibit 22 (Reg. V) is an extremely seditious letter dated August 26th, 1908, from Saraju Bala Sen Gupta at Kartikpur, to Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta at Roy Thakur's Gadi, Serajganj. This letter was found in the east room of the upper storey, i.e., Pulin's private room. Saraju is the wife of Paresh Ch. Sen Gupta, brother of Dinesh (see pages 137 and 113). The letter is as follows :

Bande Mataram

Katikpur, 1315 B.S.

Pure hearted !

Beloved Thakurpo (*lit.*, son of father-in-law, i.e., husband's younger brother)

A few days ago I had much pleasure in receiving your letter full of the purity of your heart. I hope you will not hesitate to please me by thus writing letters occasionally. Please let me know if you have heard from mother. I have not been hearing from her for a long time. Let the matter drop.

You have, written to me that one of our brethren, deceased Khudiram Basu, has been hanged on the gallows by the mlechha Shetangas (an abusive expression for the English). *But there is no reason why we should show grief, for to-day one of our brethren has gone up to heaven recording in golden characters Bengali heroism on the pages of the world's history and leaving behind him a golden example to show how to sacrifice one's life for the sake of one's own country. Moreover there is no knowing how many more will have to give up their lives in the fire of this treachery owing to the new current that is now-a-days flowing throughout the length and breadth of India.*

I have heard my brothers say that when a new religion, i.e., the religion which the Shetangas (*lit.*, the white-bodied, i.e., the English) now profess, was being preached, many innocent people had to give up their lives in fire, and that the result is that in England almost every one now-a-days has accepted it.

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You know that, when oil becomes hot, fools pour in water to quench it, and the result is that it blazes out so furiously that they themselves are compelled to give up their lives in it. Now, the more the foolish locusts will be engaged in quenching the oil of *rebellion* with *weapons* of water (or "with the water of our tears"), the more the *rebellion* will blaze out, and the result will be that they will have to be exterminated with their families. Brother Khudiram in his life time has not finished doing his duty to his country. *Even from the other world he will exterminate them to the root for his hanging on the gallows in spite of his innocence.*

To the memory of *our dear brother,* we shall now have to erect a temple (mandir), so that at the sight of it we may call up to our minds that he, laughing all the while, has become one with the five elements for the sake of his mother country on the gallows of those locusts, those treacherous who, 100 years back, were standing with folded hands like ordinary slaves (word unintelligible).

Brother deceased Khudiram !"

However, let us drop the matter. The more shall I write, the more will my desire to do so be roused.

Pure hearted Thakurpo ! You have written to me saying that probably you are at Shirajganj for a month, and that you are going home afterwards. If you stay up to the Pujas you will probably meet me. Most probably at the time of the Pujas or after them I shall go to Madhyapara. So you will please go to Madhyapara and try to take me, for though I don't wish to go to Madhyapara, yet I very much like to see your figure full of purity. Please don't laugh at me because I write like a shameless person. Besides, it is not anything that I ought particularly to be ashamed of, *for we, female shall have to spend all our lives in our father-in-law's house.* It is needless to undergo troubles for nothing. Please don't mind it, as it is needless to write much. I have heard from sister. You have written to me requesting me to let you know if I have received any letter from (your) Sunder Dada (brother) ? Thakurpo ! I think it is nothing to be ashamed of. I received a letter from your Sunder Dada (brother) day before yesterday. He is all right. Please let me know whether you hear from him or no. I have nothing more to write. Please let me know where and how Profulla Thakurpo is. Where is brother Suresh ? Each one of you will please accept my most cordial greetings.

Your wellwisher,
Your brother's wife,
Saraju Bala Sen Gupta

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Direction on the envelope—
Pure hearted
Srijukta Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta,
Snehaspadesu,
P.O. Shirajganj, Roythakur's Gadi,
Dist. Pabna
On the other side of the envelope—
Bande Mataram
Brother Dines, I have seen the letter
for you, Please excuse me. (Post mark of delivery
26th August 1908)
(*Sd.*) Profulla

Exhibit 45 (Reg. XXIX) is a letter from Satis Chandra Mitra, evidently Captain of Saladh Samiti, dated 12th November 1908, to Ashutosh Das Gupta in the Samiti saying he is very sorry to learn from a letter of Murari Mohan Ghosh "that Pulin Babu and 34 brethren have been arrested"..... "I sent Rs. 5 from the Saladh Samiti per money-order to you yesterday. The pecuniary condition of the Samiti is very deplorable, so I cannot send any more money. You will oblige by kindly accepting the money sent by your poor brethren. I await with great suspense your letter". Murari Mohan Ghosh (Vol. I, p. 51), of Bidgaon, Dacca, was a leading member of the Dacca Samiti and has been proved to be one of the Naria dacoits. The original money order has been obtained. It is signed by Ashutosh Das Gupta and dated 12th November. The letter also proves the identity of Faridpur and Dacca Samitis.

Mymensingh.—Jogesh Chandra Chakrabarty, son of Gour Sundar Chakrabarty, of Aranyapasha, Mymensingh, with one Basanta Kumar Chakrabarty, of the same village, appear to have been induced by Debendra Kishor Sen, who is known as Captain of the Mymensingh Anushilan Samiti, to join the Dacca Samiti. Jogesh was found in the Samiti on 15th November and ten currency notes of Rs. 10 and a hand note (shown separately in the original search list) found upon his person, were taken possession of by the police. Jogesh stated that he was on his way to Benares and was only invited to the Samiti for the night. This seems unlikely enough, because in Exh. 1217 (Reg. VII) we find Jogesh writing to his friend Basanta, C/o Amar Chandra Chakrabarty, of Netrakona, an Extremist and owner of a swadeshi shop, in which Basanta works, on the subject of "musti bhiksha," and the date of this letter is August 29th, 1908. Another letter, Exh. 1222 (Reg. IX), from Jogesh to Basanta, again mentions "musti bhiksha" and is dated September 5th. A canvas bag was found in the fourth room to the west lower storey

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containing, among other papers, ten letters connected with Basanta or Jogesh; they are the two just mentioned and Exhs. 1212 (Reg. XV), 1220 (Reg. XVIII), 1214 (Reg. XIX), 1215 (Reg. XX), 1218 (Reg. XXI), 1210 (Reg. XXII), 1219 (Reg. XXXIII) and 1221 (Reg. XXXIV). Except the two mentioned separately, these letters confined to private matters.

Letter Exh. 1209 (Reg. XXVIII), dated November 9th, from Hiran Chandra Rai, of Gunerbari, Mymensingh, to Amarendra Nath Bose at the Samiti, is of great importance as showing the extraordinary rapidity with which the Anushilan organisation was being extended among low-class people and the activity of its Dacca members, "Amarendra Nath" is the Samiti name of Munindra Kumar Bose, of Kuchaipatty, police station Gosairhat, Faridpur. He was arrested on 4th November in the Samiti and gave the false name. It was several months before he was traced. The letter is as follows :

Address — Manyabara (Revered Sir)
Srijukta Amarendra Nath Basu,
Manyabareshu,
P. O. Dacca, No. 452, South Maisundi,
Bhuter Bari, Dacca.

(On the other side of the envelope)
74½
Bande Mataram

1315/24

Manyabareshu (Revered Sir)
Master Babu,

I am anxious not to have received any letters from you. Please come (here) as soon as you read my letter, for you have started 6 or 7 Samitis in Gunerbari alone. A master who has come here is unable to conduct the work of these Samitis. You can do it, but he cannot. The Samiti at Dudhiagachha is almost broken. The Dakaita Samiti, too, is in the same condition. So come here as soon as you read my letter. You should not make any delay, for the people of this place are uneducated. If you do not come within four or five days, there will be great confusion. So I write to you again. Please come as soon as you read my letter. When you come we are greatly infused with enthusiasm.

Master Babu ! Please do not cleanly forget us. Remember what high hopes you held out when you admitted me, and we shall be very sorry at heart if you do not come. Master Babu, perhaps you have forgotten all about us. Do not forget us. Be kind to us. Come up as soon as you read my letter. You should make no delay, Rajnath is all right. He came to

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Pretbari. All other members are well I am well, Kaka also is well. Gladden me with the news of the welfare of you (all).

Sri Hiran Chandra Rai.

The figures 74$^1/_2$ mean that the curse incurred by Akbar at Haldiaghat, who destroyed so many Kshattriyas that the ashes of their sacred threads weighed 74$^1/_2$ maunds, will fall on the person who wrongly opens the letter. The writer of this letter, Hiran Chandra Rai, is a student of Mujchata M. E. School, and is reported to be only 12 years old. He lives with his sister's husband Lalit Mohan Dutta, of Gunarbari. Lalit's brother, Purna Chandra Dutt, works for the 2 $^1/_2$ annas zamindar of Sherpur town. This is a place where there was a branch of the Anushilan, which Pulin himself visited with Charu Chandra Sen in July 1908, and all that follows may be traced to that visit. Purno Chandra Dutt wrote in Bhadra 1315 (August-September 1908) to the Dacca Samiti, saying that he wished to open a Samiti at Gunerbari, and asking for an instructor in lathi-play. In response to this invitation "Amarendra Nath Basu" came about the end of September 1908 to Gunerbari, accompanied by Pyary Lal Pal, of Pajbani, an adjacent village, and Trailakhya Nath Ghosh, of Rasidpur, near Jamalpur, both students of the Jamalpur High School. Amarendra stayed with Jagat Kishor Sengupta, a petty talukdar of Gunerbari, and started a Samiti, with headquarters at Jagat's house, and five other Samitis in the neighbouring villages of Rajbari, Dakatia, Dudhiyagacha, Shaita, and Chunipatal. In February 1909 the Sub-Inspector, Raj Kumar Ray, collected the names of 49 boys and youths belonging to these various Samitis. Early in October "Amarendra" returned to Dacca, but came back before the Kali Pujah, 24th October, and returned again to Dacca after the Pujah. He then sent from Dacca two instructors, Nabin Chandra Sarkar (said to belong to Sylhet, but not traced), and "Ajit Banerji", of Adabari, Munshiganj. This is another Samiti name of Abani Mohan Ganguli, a boy of Adabari, who signed the village note of Adabari as Paridarshak (see page 22). These two youths taught lathi-play and introduced "musti bhiksha," living upon the rice so collected. But they were apparently not of the same stamp as "Amarendra," hence this letter was written on November 9th by Hiran at the dictation of Purna Chandra Dutta. Towards the end of November "Amarendra" arrived once more at Gunerbari to stir up the required enthusiasm, and Nabin and Ajit returned to Dacca. On this occasion the Sub-Inspector of Madarganj came to Gunerbari and questioned Amarendra, who gave a false name, but his real name was subsequently ascertained. In the middle of December Amarendra came again to Gunerbari foster his new Samitis, but was much annoyed to find that they

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had ceased to exist. This was, of course, after the Dacca Samiti had dissolved.

Exhibit 1231 (Reg. XXXV) is a letter, without date or cover (but sending a stamp for reply), from Debendra Kumar Basu to his younger brother, Manindra Kumar Basu. This Manindra is the "Amarendra" mentioned in the last paragraph. Debendra writes : "Brother, you have no younger brother, in that case you would have realised the magnitude of a brother's affection." Evidently Debendra did not approve of his brother abandoning his home for the Samiti. He, of course, addresses his brother by his real name. The identity of Mahindra and "Amarendra" is conclusively proved by the separate thump-impressions obtained upon the separate history sheets prepared for each name. In those sheets "Debendra" is given as the elder brother. This is in accordance with this letter.

Exhibit 46, original list (Reg. XXXI), is important, as proving one of the numerous instances in which young boys were induced to join the Samiti, abandoning their studies and their parents. On Friday, November 6th, 1908, Sushil Kumar Gupta, son of Joy Sankar Gupta, of Santosh, left home without any warning. On November 10th his father wrote a letter to Inspector Sarat Ch. Sen at Dacca asking for his help. The case was then brought to my notice on November 13th, and the letter has been filed with a post-card, dated 19th November, announcing that the boy had returned home. Immediately after Sushil's father had written to the police, Jogendra Chandra Sen (a teacher in the same school — Jahnnabis - as Sushil's father) wrote from Santosh to Ashutosh Das Gupta in the Samiti at Dacca. This is the letter Exh. 46 :

Sri Sri Durga
Bande Mataram

P.O. Santosh,
Tangail

My dear Ashu Babu,

It is after a long time that I appear before you not for anything personal but for another person. *Now that you have advanced for the sake of your country with dangers overhead, you shall have to do everything in their midst.*

Sushil Kumar Gupta, the only son of the 2nd Master here, is a member of your Mymensingh Samiti. He is usually called Makhan. He goes from here to Mymensingh to learn surveying. There he does not attend at all to his studies. Nothing can be known about his doings there. He has no mother, and he is the only son of his father. He does not see his father. He does not go home even when written to do so. There is a chance of the Samiti falling into ill-repute if he be taken into the Samiti.

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We hear that he is now at Dacca. Please send him to Mymensingh soon, or do what you can to improve his character.

I am all right. How are you getting on ? *May God fulfil your cherished desire.*

Yours affly,
Jogendra Chandra Sen

I shall tell you orally everything about him, if I meet you.

Jogendra is obviously an old friend of Ashutosh Das Gupta, and the two passages which have been underlined indicate that Jogendra knew his friend had embarked on a dangerous project. It was in this quarter of Mymensingh particularly, viz., Sherpur and Tangail, that the Dacca Samiti received financial assistance. Members from Dacca frequently went there, and hence Jogendra and Ashutosh Das Gupta became friendly.

Register No. XLIV is a letter, dated 14th December 1908, from Surendra Kanta Bose *alias* Rasik Chandra Bose, son of Nil Kanta Bose, pleader, of Tangail, to Pulin Behari Das. It was intercepted in the post shortly after Pulin was deported. This Rasik was found in the Samiti on August 10th, and is frequently mentioned in Samiti papers (see Vol. I, p. 41). The purport of the letter is that he is ill and asks pardon of Pulin for not coming to Dacca when summoned by Ashu Babu. He explains the difficulty of maintaining his family. How to maintain one's family and do work for the country as well ? A country's welfare depends on the welfare of its families.

He has been member of the Samiti for three years and travelled about much, but for no personal advantage. Thinks he will be able to work for the Samiti if he remains at home. Asks Pulin to enquire from Jnan Bhaduri, of Tangail. The writer is not like Tarak or Ramesh Ghosh who are doing no work.

This letter illustrates well the powerful position which Pulin had made for himself, Jitendra, elder brother of Surendra, was suspected in the Bindhu Bashini School burning case, and the house of Nil Kanta Bose was searched and three letters found, one for Jitendra, one for Surendra, and one for a certain Upendra Chakrabarty. The writer is Romesh Mali, who describes the founding of new Samitis, asks for them to be enrolled as subordinate to Tangail Samiti, and subject to the Central Samiti. Captains and "field captains" have been appointed and the addressees are urged to come and inspect. Jnan Bhaduri a captain of Tangail Samiti. It was at the end of July that Pulin visited Tangail, and shortly afterwards Surendra Bose was found in the Samiti. Surendra used to study in the Malda Zilla School, but left in 1906.

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Pabna — Exhibit 1115 (Reg. VI) is a post-card, dated 28th August, from Pulin to Charu Chandra Sen, care of Bankim Chandra Ray, of Ray Thakur's Gadi, Serajganj. This establishes the identity of the Dacca and Pabna Samitis. It has been dealt with at page 138.

The extremely seditious letter, Exh. 22(Reg. V), which has been translated at page 194, was sent to Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta at the same address at Serajganj.

Exhibit 46 (Reg. VIII) is a letter, dated September 1st, 1908, from Surabala Debi, wife of Bankim Chandra Ray, from Bethair, Mymensingh, to Prafulla Chandra Sen, to this same address in Serajganj.

Exhibit 45 (Reg. IV) is a letter, dated August 18th, 1908, from the same person and addressed to Dinesh at Ray Thakur's Gadi, and also to Prafulla.

Still further evidence regarding the Pabna Samitis is furnished by letter No. 671A (Reg. XLIII) sent by Bankim Chandra Ray on 16th October 1908 at Haturia to Dinesh and Prafulla. This letter was apparently sent by hand. It was found by me within the uncut pages of a song-book, Exh. 671, belonging to Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta. That letter can be proved to be written by Bankim Chandra Ray by comparison with the handwriting of Bankim taken in the presence of the Pabna police and with the handwriting of books and accounts found in Bankim's house. The letter mentions Sukhendu, a member of the Madhyapara Samiti, Gopi Ballab Chakrabarty, Jitu Babu—no doubt Jitu Ray of Bharenga, a relative of Bankim, Charu Chandra Sen and Ashutosh Das Gupta. It is translated in full:

Haturia,
30th Asvin (15th October 1908)

Dear Prafulla and Dinesh,

You did not write a single letter to me after you left. I have written two letters to your home address. Your baudidi (elder brother's wife), too, had written a letter, but she is very sorry and anxious to have received no reply to it, and so am I. At last I wrote a letter to Sukhendu (scored out). I wrote a letter to Gopi Ballav also, to which even I did not get any reply. I wrote a letter to Sukhendu at last. I have received a reply to it to-day, wherefrom I learn that you are at Dacca. Prafulla, Dinesh—this is the sequel of earthly love. Everything ended as you went out of sight. I did not wish to write to you. But I could not help it (could not contain myself). I don't know why I have been sold to you. However, I shall be glad if you kindly send a reply to my letter. A boy is ready to go to your place. I wrote to Gopi Ballav to know Pulin Babu's opinion as regards his case. I did not receive any reply to the letter. Write to me what I should

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do as regards this matter. I have received no reply from Jitu Babu. I do not know why all are annoyed with me. Ask Pulin Babu whether I shall get you or other teachers if I can start Samitis in this quarter and in the Serajganj (subdivision), and write to me about the matter. I am not well physically. I am not writing much. Tender my respects to Pulin Babu. Remember me to Charu Babu and Ashu Babu. You (two) accept my love and convey it to Gopi Ballav with the other two. Let me know whether you received my former letter or no.

Of you two

Bankim Chandra.

The following is written with a copying pencil on the reverse :

Dinesh—Be careful, or else I will in some

Dacca — Exhibit 826 (Reg. X) is a letter, dated September 9th, 1908, from "L. Chaudhury, servant of the country", of Rauthbhog, Munshiganj, to Pulin. "L. Chaudhury" is Lalit Chandra Chaudhury, of Kalipara, Bagbari, outpost Matlab, Tippera, who is aged about 20 and lives in the house of Hari Charan Ghosh, a relative, at Rauthbhog. In November 1908 it was reported in an anonymous letter to the Subdivisional Officer that Lalit had been experimenting with bombs, and one bomb had been exploded against a tree. Hari Charan's house was searched. Nothing incriminating was found there, but on a tree close by a circular mark was found which had the appearance of having been caused by an explosion. Lalit was known as a member of the local Samiti, and it was also known that on the night of 12th September 1908 he had induced Gopal Chandra Bose, son of Purna Ch. Bose, of Dhipur, an adjoining village, and four others, to go to the Dacca Samiti. It was three days before this event that L. Choudhury despatched the following letter :

Rauthbhog,
Basupara, 9-9-08.

My dear Pulin Babu,

I am not known to you. I approach you to-day with this letter and hope you will not forget to reply to this insignificant letter. A month ago I went to Dacca to pay you a visit, but I had to return home with a broken heart, as I could not meet you. I am very anxious to meet you again, as I have many important pieces of business with you; but I cannot do anything until I meet you. Our work is suffering much in consequence. I am unable to say it in this letter. Therefore I cannot write it down here. I have composed many swadeshi songs and much poetry. For want of money I cannot be successful. However, I shall be able to tell you everything when I meet you.

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I send to-day Gopal Chandra Basu, making him undertake the final vows. This person is very anxious to serve the country, and it is why I send him to you. If you cannot keep him with you, please do so for one month at least, and then I shall send him elsewhere after I go there. Through God's mercy I am sending some other persons to you, making them undertake the final vows. If you do not keep under you these men who have forsaken their hearth and home (*i.e.*, those who to serve their country have bidden eternal adieu to their homes), I shall fall into a great difficulty. I have about 12 men with me. However, please reply to my letter, and please let me know your opinion on the matter. I am all right; hoping you are all doing well.

Servant of the country,
L. Chaudhury.

This letter again shows the importance of Pulin's position. "Gopal Chandra Basu" of the letter appears to be a mistake for Gopal Chandra Ghosh already mentioned. There is no "Gopal Chandra Basu" in that neighbourhood, while, on the other hand, the identity of Gopal Chandra Ghosh, of Dhipur, with "Kamakhya Charan Ghosh" of the Samiti has been established. (Volume II, page 85). He was arrested on November 4th and afterwards found in the Samiti, where he gave the name of Kamakhya, son of Purna Chandra Ghosh, of Dhipur.

The wording of this letter throws light upon the way in which the final vow was understood — bidding an eternal farewell to home and parents in order to serve the country (see page 28).

Exhibit 1122 (Reg. XIV) is a letter written from Arial, a village to the west of Rauthbhog and Dhipur, dated 1st Aswin, or 17th September 1908, just five days after the occurrence related in the last letter. The letter is dated 1st September, but was not posted until the 17th. The writer is Shitala (Kanta Chakrabarty), and he addresses Indra Mohan Goswami, the Paridarshak of Exh. 733 (see page 3), and addressee of Sonar Bharat (see page 127). Shitala writes : "I have fallen into a great danger on your account. I shall let you know when we meet. Nine persons have issued forth from Rauthbhog : a great golmal." The "Kalipada" mentioned in the letter is the person who has been proved to be Surendra De (Volume I, page 99). On 10th August he gave his name as Surendra Chandra De, son of Gagan Chandra De, of Kurandi, police station Muradnagar, Tippera, and when arrested on November 4th he transferred into Nikhileswar Pal, son of Gagan Chandra Pal.

Exhibit 8 (Reg. XVIII) is a letter, dated October 11th, 1908, from Guru Doyal Das, captain of Sonamayi Samiti, Narainganj, to Pulin, saying that he is sending in his brother, Narashingha Das, and his maternal uncle's son,

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Mohini, to become members of the Samiti. He is also sending a "thorough idiot. I believe if he is properly trained he will prove particularly useful." The letter is also important, because Pulin is requested to send Hiranmay Guha with some copies of Sampadakganer Karttabya and of first and final vows (see page 28). Hiranmay Guha is here shown as a Paridarshak, and there are numerous records of him in the Samiti (see Volume I, page 23). The boy Narasingha was found in the Samiti on 4th November.

Exhibit 1 and 2 of 5th November are two almost identical letters, except that one is unfinished, the despatch of which was evidently interrupted by the search. One letter is dated 18th Kartick, or 3rd November, and is signed Narendra. This is Narendra Chandra Datta (Volume II, page 39), and the letter is closely connected with the one just mentioned. Narendra is much pleased with a letter from his elder brother, which he has shown to several members of the Samiti. Narendra then writes : "I asked Pulin Babu about my going home. I showed him the letter, too. He said that I could not go home then according to his orders. Narasingha and I are going to mofussil." (Exh. 2)

Exhibit 490A (Reg. XXXVII) is a letter, without date and cover, which was found within a manuscript book (Exh. 490) belonging to Basanta Kumar Biswas (Volume I, page 17). The date is probably just before the search, which prevented the letter being despatched. Basanta writes a very neat hand with some strongly marked characteristics, and appears to have been frequently utilised for writing notices (see, for example, Exh. 827 below) and other persons' books. The handwriting of this letter is identical with that of many books of which Basanta is the owner. But this letter ends "Your brother, Rebati Mohan Biswas." The explanation of this is furnished by the letter itself. Rebati Mohan Biswas a Paridarshak (see page 5), and therefore had to travel. The letter contains the following : "I went to Bikrampur, where I got fever, from which I suffered for 15 or 16 days. I am still ill. I asked for leave to go home, but it was refused. I shall not be able to go home soon." After this prolonged attack of fever Rebati was too ill to write himself, so Basanta, who is undoubtedly his brother — a regular scribe — naturally wrote for him. The Samiti address is given in the letter, and it is endorsed on the back with the $74^1/_2$ maund curse. Neither Rebati nor Basanta have been traced.

Important Notices classed as letters :— Exhibits 821 and 827 (Regs. XXXVIII and XXXIX) are not letters but written notices which will be considered together. They are of great importance as showing the position of Pulin Behari Das and Ashutosh Gupta in the organisation and the control exercised by the Central Samiti at Dacca. Exhibit 821 is here translated :

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Om Bande Mataram

Sri (Manyabareshu),

I hereby submit the contents of the notice over the signature of Pulin Babu for the opinion of all the Samitis. Please write out your own opinions and send them per bearer. A large meeting of the managers of Vikrampur will be convened during the holy Pujas. Please let me know which place is the most suitable for the purpose and who is willing to lend it. The entire expenditure will have to be met by subscriptions raised from all the Samitis of Vikrampur. This is the order of Pulin Babu, and I let you know it accordingly.

Yours obediently,

This draft is in the handwriting of Ashutosh Das Gupta as may be proved by a comparison with post-card Exhibit 23 and letter Exhibit 24 (search of pleader Lalit Mohan Roy's house) written by Ashitosh to his father, a tutor, in Lalit Ray's house (see Volume I, page 13). The date of this notice must have been considerably before the Puja holidays in 1908, roughly about the end of August or beginning of September, because the idea of holding a meeting in Bikrampur was abandoned and fresh notices printed and issued convening a meeting on 7th, 8th and 9th October at Dacca. Exhibit 821 then was drafted by Ashutosh Das Gupta; Exhibit 827 is a copy made by the scribe Basanta Kumar Biswas (see preceding paragraph), which has been signed by Ashutosh Das Gupta apparently for Pulin.

Similarly printed Notice found in Naria dacoits' boat :— The printed notices must be considered here. There are 279 copies, made up as follows :

Exhibit 5 of 5th November 1908	1
Exhibit 951 of 15th November 1908	268
Exhibit 1192 of 15th November 1908	1
Exhibit 1246 of 15th November 1908	9
Total	279

Exhibit 1192 has been folded up and carried in the pocket and the reverse used for noting an account. On the back of one copy in Exh. 1246, which bears similar signs of having been carried about, there is written in English" Mymensingh — Rambhadrapur — Munshiganj — Nabagram," also the name "Nagendra Nath Ghosh." This is strong evidence that the notices were actually circulated in Bikrampur and copies brought back to Dacca by certain members. But still more important evidence of their circulation is the fact that portions of this printed notice were found with portions of the village note sheet in the abandoned boat which had been used to convey the Naria dacoits. The

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date of the dacoity was October 30th, and all information obtained so far points to the conclusion that the dacoits came from Rajabari in Bikrampur. This was shortly after these notices must have been widely circulated throughout the Bikrampur pargana. The following is a translation of the notice :

Om Bande Mataram

There being no covenient place for meeting in any of the villages in Vikrampur, it is arranged that there will be a union in Dacca town on each of the three days, 21st, 22nd and 23rd, Asvin next. Those who are anxious, solicitous and engaged in the physical cultural of youths and initiation and instruction in the love of one's own country and the sampadaks and other authorities of village samitis would kindly meet together at Dacca on each of the said three days and oblige by having an interview with me and by consulting together and arriving at settlement on all subjects. I hope none will hesitate to undergo this little for the welfare of the country.

Most obediently yours,
Sri Pulin Behary Das

"Physical culture" is mentioned as a subject for deliberation, but the words "initiation and instruction in the love of one's own country" are vague enough to cover any kind of political activity. It must be noted that the authorities of village samitis are to meet Pulin personally, and settle all-subjects with him, another indication of his powerful position at the head of this organisation.

SECTION VI

The system of false names :— This system has been frequently mentioned and many examples have already been given. They will now be brought together with others and the documents proving this system described. The list for real and false names is by no means exhaustive, because some of those members of the Samiti who gave certain names to the police or who wrote certain names in their books have not yet been traced.

Statements on the subject :— Six young boys and minors were found in the Samiti on November 4th, 1908 (see page 37). From three of them we get the following information : Ananta Mohan Chatterji, in his statement next day, says "Radhika Babu" [this is Radhika Mohan Banerji *alias* Karuna Kanta (Volume I, page 79, and not Radhika Bhusan Ray (Volume I, page 115), because the latter was not at the Samiti at this time while the former was present and was arrested]" Radhika Babu of the

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Samiti said that my name should be entered in the Samiti register as Ledu. My name was registered as Ledu."

Ganga Charan Datta, son of Dinabandhu Datta, of Adabari, a boy of little over 12 years, stated to Moulvi Faizuddin Hossain, immediately after he had been brought from the Samiti, that his name was Benga Charan Data, and it is so recorded. Next day he gave his name correctly as Ganga Charan Datta. Ananta Mohan, in his statement, speaks of one of his companions in the Samiti as Benga. "Benga" will be found among the names of pupils in the second class in Exh. 80 (original list) of 15th November. On three manuscript books, Exhs. 1030, 1031 and 1057, we find "Sri Benga" or "Benga Bajri" in a very childish hand (see Volume II, page 19).

Hem Chandra Sarkar, in his statement to me on 6th November, said : "My real name is Pratap Chandra Sarkar, and I am also called at home Akhil Chandra Sarkar; but in the Samiti I am known as Hem Chandra." Many exhibits bear out the statement (Volume I, page 47), and the boy signed his statement as "Pratap Chandra Sarkar" or "Hem Chandra Sarkar". This was the boy who accompanied Pulin to Chandpur and Comilla just before his deportation.

The case of Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta *alias* Bankim Chandra Ray has been mentioned in connection with the signing of a written vow (see page 48).

The case of Gopal Chandra Ghosh *alias* Kamakhya Charan Ghosh, of Dhipur, Munshiganj, has been mentioned at page 124A and at page 205.

The case of Jagadish Chandra Ghosh *alias* Manindra Nath Ghosh has been mentioned at pages 125, 147 and 151.

The case of Manindra Kumar Bose *alias* Amarendra Nath Bose, and instances of letters being addressed to him by both names, has been given at page 200.

"Ajit Banerji" was mentioned in connection with the same incident. His real name is Abani Mohan Ganguli of Adabari (Volume II, page 15).

Surendra De or Datta *alias* Kalipada *alias* Nikileswar Pal has been mentioned at page 205.

Surendra Charan Ray *alias* Kunju Behari has been dealt with at some length on page 175.

Surendra Kanta Bose *alias* Rasik Chandra Bose has been mentioned at page 202.

Satya Ranjan Ray *alias* Bishnupada Ray has been given at page 187.

Harsha Nath Sen Gupta *alias* Kshiti Mohan *alias* Bhut Nath has been given at page 190.

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On the same page, too, "Ranga Dada" on *alias* of Gopi Mohan Chakrabarty has been mentioned. Another *alias* is Hari Mohan. (See page 77).

Rajendra Chandra Guha *alias* Digendra Kumar Ghosh, and his own letter on the subject of his change of name, are given at page 191.

Srish Chandra Chakrabarty has been mentioned at page 153.

The boy who was murdered (see page 149), Manasha or Sukumar Chakrabarty, bore in the Samiti the name of Jiban Pradip, as is shown by Exh. 686, 498, page 41 and 734, No. 8. This name was tattooed on the boy's arm which has been preserved.

An instance similar to that of Amarendra Nath Bose at Gunerbari occurred at Sunamganj, Sylhet, and has been placed on record in case $\frac{12}{7}$ 4 of 1908 under section 109,, Criminal Procedure Code. A youth aged about 22 was arrested on suspicion in Sunamganj and gave his name as Satish Chandra Ghosh, of Dacca town. This was found to be false and proceedings taken against him. In his defence, Rebati Mohan Ray Chaudhuri, Head Pandit of Habiganj National School, and Secretary to the Anushilan Samiti (he was dismissed from the Habiganj High School), proved Exh. A, a parwana, with the seal of Habiganj Anushilan Samiti, appointing Nishi Kanta Basu Ray Chaudhuri as Inspector of all the Sylhet Samitis. Nishi was his real name, and he had been instructor on lathi-play at Habiganj for a considerable time. He was proved to be the son of Basanta Lal Bose Ray Chaudhuri, of Olepur, police station Gopalganj, Madaripur, Faridpur. He is connected with Atul Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, of Olepur, and of the Dacca Samiti. Satish Chandra Ray of Ikram, Baniachung, the writer of a letter found in the Samiti (see page 187) is a defence witness, and admits being a member of the Habiganj Anushilan Samiti and having learnt lathi-play from Nishi Kanta. Nishi Kanta having given an account of himself to the Magistrate's satisfaction was discharged.

Documents proving the system

Register of names and addresses :— Exhibit 817 of 15th November is the one and only register of members found in the Samiti, and it only contains 27 names, with fathers' names and residences. Obviously it seems inconsistent that an organisation which tried to conceal the identity of its members should maintain a register of this kind containing, as will be shown, correct names and addresses. It is clear that a large organisation like the Anushilan could not exist without records. In discussing the Paridarshak at page 20 we have shown how the original

idea of providing members with tickets was replaced by the sending in of lists. The search of Jyotirmay Ray's house and seizures of the tickets of membership of his branch Samiti (see page 20) most probably hastened this change. But after the list system was introduced, and it is found in all the complete Paridarshaks, how is it that numerous lists of names were not found in the Samiti. How, also, comes it that, after the Village Note system had been worked out and as we have seen (page 21) two impressions as least of the form had been printed, we have only two forms filled in the Samiti buildings ? It is impossible to suppose that this elaborate form was worked out and a large number of copies printed, and no further use made of them. I think the true explanation is that lists of names and completed Village Notes were regarded as secret documents and kept, not in the Samiti, which, as events in 1908 must have demonstrated, was liable to be raided at any time, but in some secret hiding place. The two completed Village Notes which we find in the Samiti and the name register now under consideration were in all probability left in the Samiti by mistake. In particular, it is probable that Exh. 817 was being written up when the Samiti was raided. In support of this belief two facts may be mentioned : (i) On December 13th, 1908, I questioned Pulin regarding Manasha Chakrabarty, and was told that he was never a member of the Dacca Samiti. I then told Pulin that the boy's name appeared in the Samiti registers, meaning account-books, as, for example, Exh. 734, which shows the issue of shirts, coats, etc. Pulin at once replied that the Samiti kept no registers at all, obviously meaning registers of names and addresses. I think that Pulin meant that they did not keep registers in the Samiti building, and therefore, I could not have found them there. However, when I explained that Jiban Pradip's name was found in a clothing register and offered to show it to him, he admitted that Manasha Chakrabarty had been a member of the Samiti. Several additions to Exh. 817 are certainly in Pulin's handwriting, but even if this cannot be proved, it is impossible to suppose that with the stern discipline of the Samiti a register like this could be written without his knowledge. The existence, then, of Exh. 817 proves the falsity of one of Pulin's statements, and he himself contradicted his first denial of any knowledge of Manasha.

(ii) The second fact also involves Pulin's veracity and incidentally fixes approximately the date of this register. On Sunday, 27th September 1908, Sushil Chandra Ghosh, son of Tarak Chandra Ghosh, Water Works Engineer, Dacca Municipality, disappeared from home under the influence of Akshay Kumar Datta, Captain of Imamganj Samiti. Tarak Babu visited the Samiti the same evening in search of his son, but Pulin

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professed absolute ignorance on the matter, and certainly satisfied Tarak Babu that his son was not at that moment in the Samiti building. Tarak Babu kept men on the watch, and three days later they met Sushil, with some Samiti boys, near the Samiti. He refused to go home and, with his companions, entered the Samiti building. Tarak Babu sought the assistance of Bhupesh Nag and of Ananda Ray, but without result. On the 3rd October, the Deputy Superintendent of Police and Sub-Inspector Ashutosh Banerji visited the Samiti under my orders to warn Pulin that the enticement of young boys and minors was becoming a serious matter and that if he did not restore Sushil to his father at once, legal steps would be taken against him. The Deputy Superintendent's letter reporting his action reads thus : "I have just returned from South Maisundi, after communicating the warning to Pulin Behari Das. He assured me that the son of Babu Tarak Chandra Ghosh was not in his Samiti, and told me that Tarak went to his Samiti and returned satisfied that his son was not there. As for the Rupganj widow's son he told me that he returned with his mother to his home this day morning. The name of this boy is Barada Kanta Dey of Dupdhara, police station Rupganj." The latter boy had been the subject of another complaint and his case had been included in the warning. On the 6th October, Tarak Babu received a letter in his son's handwriting bearing the post-mark Kakala, Hooghly, 4th October, but the cover bore unmistakable signs of having spent some time in a greasy pocket. In this letter Sushil wrote that he had come here to visit a great Mahatma; he was quite well, and his father need not bother to search for him. It is most probable that Sushil remained in hiding in Dacca town or somewhere in the neighbourhood, and that this letter having been written in Dacca was conveyed to and posted at, Hooghly by some member of the Samiti. Nothing more was heard of Sushil until about November 15th, when, as a result of Tarak Babu circulating exaggerated accounts of his wife's illness, Sushil suddenly returned home and has remained there. The immediate response to the bait held out by Tarak Babu points to the conclusion either that Sushil was hiding in Dacca or at any rate was immediately summoned home by the Samiti authorities. The records of this incident have been preserved and every detail can easily be proved.

The following is a translation of the register :

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Khata of names

No.	Name	Father's name	Home address
1	2	3	4
1	Sri Barada Kanta Deb Gupta	Late Tarini Charan Deb Gupta	P.O. & vill. Duptara, dist. Dacca.
2	Sri Sashanka Mohan Sen Gupta	Srijut Prabhat Chandra Sen Gupta.	P.O. & vill. Aminpur, dist. Dacca.
3	Sri Prabhat Chandra Bandyopadhya	Srijut Gopal Chandra Bandyopadhya.	P.O. Arangghata, vill. Mamhua, Nadia.
4	Sri Nagendra Nath Sarkar	Srijut Joy Chandra Sarkar	P.O. & vill. Brahmangaon, dist. Dacca.
5	Sri Satis Chandra Das Gupta	Late Jagat Chandra Das Gupta	Komarpur, dist. Faridpur.
6	Sri Jogendra Chandra Das Gupta	Srijut Tara Kanta Das Gupta	Kalma, dist. Dacca.
7	Sri Birendra Chandra Chattopadhya	Late Tarini Charan Chattopadhya	Fatehjangpur, P.O. Upasi, dist. Faridpur.
8	Sri Kumudeswar Das Gupta	Srijut Kedeswar Das Gupta	Bidgaon, Dacca.
9	Sri Murary Mohan Ghosh	Srijut Lal Mohan Ghosh	Bidgaon, Dacca.
10	Sri Munindra Bhusan Ray	Srijut Narendra Chandra Ray	Komarpur, Faridpur.
11	Sri Dwijendra Kumar Datta	Srijut Durga Charan Datta	Baktarpur, Dacca.
12	Sri Atul Chandra Roy Chowdhury	Late Umesh Chandra Roy Chowdhury	Ulpur, Faridpur.
13	Sri Dines Chandra Guha	Srijut Nibaran Chandra Guha	Srinagar, Vikrampur, Dacca.
14	Sri Suresh Chandra Das Gupta	Srijut Satis Chandra Das Gupta	Churain, Bajrajogini, Dacca.
15	Sri Nishi Bhusan Mitra	Late Lalit Mohan Mitra	Badhyakul, Jessore.
16	Sri Kali Prasanna Das Gupta, Ram Doyal	Late Nagendra Chandra Das Gupta	P.O. Darota, Tippera.
17	Sri Sushil Chandra Ghosh	Srijut Tarak Chandra Ghosh	Churain. Vikrampur, Dacca.
18	Sri Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta, Bankim Chandra Roy - Kaka	Srijut Kshirode Chandra Das Gupta	P.O. Chota (small), Kalia, Jessore.
19	Sri Nalini Kanta Mukhopadhya, Bimal Chandra, Fulda	Srijut Akshay Kumar Mukhopadhya	Bejgaon, Dacca.
20	Sri Chandra Kumar Chowdhury, Beni Madhab	Srijut Haris Chandra Chowdhury	Lukshmipur, P.O. Burichang, Comilla.

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No.	Name	Father's name	Home address
1	2	3	4
21	Sri Shib Chandra Bardhan	Late Abhaya Charan Bardhan	Bhadikhira, P.O. Bomoi, Sylhet.
22	Sri Jogendra Nath Bhaduri	Srijut Dwarka Nath Bhaduri	Pingna, Mymensingh.
23	Sri Gopi Ballav Chakravarty, Hari Mohan ditto, Rangoa Dada	Late Govinda Chandra Chakravorty	Bhadraghat, P.O. Nalga, Pabna.
24	Sri Sukhada Charan Das	Late Prakash Chandra Das	Pargannah Langala, Sankarpur, P.O. Kulaurah, dist. Sylhet.
25	Sri Radhika Mohan Bandyopadhya	Srijut Pyari Mohan Bandyopadhya	Brahmandi, P.O. Araihajar, Dacca.
26	Sri Sarada Charan Bhattacharjya	Late Krishnadhan Bhattacharjya	Sultansahadi, P.O. Araihajar, Dacca.
27	Sri Peary Mohan De	Late Jadab Chandra De	P.O., Mandarkandi, Sylhet.

Eleven names are marked/and four names x as in the original. The register is written in a bold block type style of handwriting, which is found in several other books, principally accounts, but has not yet been assigned to any person. In strong contrast to this handwriting several additions, which are here underlined, have been made. A comparison with any proved specimen of Pulin's handwriting will prove that these additions were made by Pulin. In particular, the word "Vikrampur" against No. 17, Sushil Chandra Ghosh, illustrates at least three of the most obvious peculiarities of Pulin's handwriting. No. 17 is the boy who was enticed from home on 27th September 1908. It is thus evident (i) that the register was written between September 27th and November 15th, 1908, (ii) that Pulin's statements to Tarak Babu were false.

Now as regards the system of double names, we find that five *aliases* have been written in this register by Pulin himself, Nos. 18 and 23 being among the examples collected at page 210. It was obviously difficult not to lose one's way among so many *aliases*, so in the case of this document Pulin noted a few down.

Before proceeding to other documents we must remark upon the importance of the register. The names, fathers' names and addresses are all correct. In most cases we have plenty of written matter or other evidence to show their connection with the Samiti. A few examples will be given. No. 1, Barada Kanta Deb Gupta, is the "Rupganj widow's son" mentioned on page 213, who left the Samiti on 3rd October. The

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statements of both mother and son were recorded by the police on 9th October.

No. 2, Sashanka Mohan Sen Gupta, is the manager of Sen & Co., Patuatali (see page 194).

No. 3. Prabhat Chandra Banerji, of Nadia. All particulars correct.

No. 4. All particulars correct. A student of Dacca Engineering School.

No. 5. Also correct. Satis Chandra was known in the Samiti as "Sukhamay Das Gupta" and was a Paridarshak (see page 3).

No. 6 is Jogendra Chandra Das who appears to have been the custodian of part of the Samiti armoury (see page 186).

No. 7, Birendra Chandra Chatterji, is correctly described. He is now serving in Matri Bandar of Cornwallis Street, Calcutta which belongs to his maternal uncles, Raj Mohan Mullick and Srish Chandra Mullick, of Fatehjangpur.

No. 8, Kumudeswar Das Gupta, was arrested in the Naria case.

No. 9, Murari Mohan Ghosh, is correctly described. He has been named as one of the Naria dacoits, and is now absconding.

No. 10, Munindra Bhusan Roy, is the son of the Head Assistant, Board of Revenue, Dacca, who used to live next door to Bhupesh Nag, with whom he was very friendly. His son and Harsha Nath *alias* "Bhutnath" (see page 210) are cousins, and both were members of the Samiti.

No. 12, Atul Chandra Ray Chaudhury, is correctly described. He used to live in Dacca with his brother-in-law, Jogendra Kishor Rakshit, clerk in the Commissioner's office.

No. 13, Dinesh Chandra Guha (Mustafi), is the son of a Dacca pleader, and brother of Manikya, accused in the Sunamganj case (see pages 188-89). Since December 1908, Dinesh has joined the National College, Calcutta.

No. 14, Suresh Chandra Das Gupta, aged 20-22, is correctly described. His father, Satis Chandra Das Gupta, is head clerk, Magistrate's office, Faridpur.

No. 15, Nishi Bhusan Mittra, is extremely well-known as a member of a Samiti. He was accused, for example, with Khagesh Chandra Ghosh, of assaulting a constable, Purna Charan Raut, but was discharged, case 1898 of 1908. He was arrested in the Naria case.

No. 16, Kali Prosanna Das Gupta, of Tippera, is correctly described, and there are many of his papers among the records.

No. 17, Sushil Chandra Das Gupta, (see page 212)

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No. 18, Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta, of Jessore, is correctly described. There are many of his books among the Samiti papers.

No. 19, Nalini Kanta Mukherji *alias* Bimal Chandra *alias* Fulda, is aged about 18 and is the son of Akshay Kumar Mukherji, tauzi mohurir of Faridpur Collectorate, who ran away from home and defied his father. See the father's sworn statement, dated the 8th October 1908, in which he gives two other similar instances from Faridpur, the brother of the peshkar, Judge's Court, and a son of Kshirod Chandra Das, second clerk in the same office. The former is Nishi Bhusan Mittra, No. 15, and the latter No. 18, Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta.

No. 20, Chandra Kumar Chaudhury, of Comilla, is correctly described.

No. 22, Jogendra Nath Bhaduri (aged 19-20), son of Dwarika Nath Bhaduri, of Pingna (Sarasibari police station), Mymensingh, is correctly described, but it was a long time before he was proved to be the same as a person arrested on November 4th in the Samiti, and gave the following name and address : Mohendra Chandra Chakrabarty, of Danga, police station Nagapur, Mymensingh.

No. 23, Gopi Ballab Chakrabarty, of Pabna, has been correctly described.

No. 25, Radhika Mohan Bannerji, is correctly described. He was found in the Samiti on 10th August 1908 and gave his name and address correctly. When he was arrested on November 4th he gave the name Karuna Kanta, and it was a long time before his identity was established.

No. 26, Sarada Charan Bhattacharjyo, has been traced, but no information about him obtained up to date.

Nos. 21, 24 and 27 belong to Sylhet. The last, Pyari Mohan De, who is now absconding, is mentioned at page 188.

List of real and corresponding Samiti names

Exhibit 805 of 15th November is translated here :

Om Bande Mataram

1	Satis	Sukhamoy	Vol. II, p. 65
2	Jyotis Chandra	Jyotis Chandra	....
3	Rasik	Rasik	Vol. I, p. 41
4	Harsha Nath	Kshiti Mohan	Vol. I, p. 130
5	Narendra	Narendra	Vol. II, p. 39
6	....	Indu	Vol. I, p. 43
7	Kamini	Girija	Vol. II, p. 89
8	Surendra De	Kalipada	Vol. I, p. 99
9	Annada	Naresh	Vol. I, p. 147
10	Ramesh	Bankim	Vol. I, p. 31

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11	Nalini Mukhopadhya	Bimala	Vol. II, p. 73
12	Pratap	Hem Chandra	Vol. I, p. 47
13	Manindra	Jagadish	Vol. II, p. 31
14	Khagendra	Tepa or Dhepa	Vol. II, p. 131
15	Manik	Lalit	Vol. II, p. 23
16	Birendra	Haripada	Vol. II, p. 77
17	Raj Narayan	Jadab	Vol. I, p. 61
18	Makhan Lal	Barindra	Vol. II, p. 59
19	Radhika Bandyo	Karuna	Vol. I, p. 79
20	(Scored out but readable) Gopi	Hari Mohan	Vol. I, p. 39
21	(Scored out but readable) Harendra	Siva Nath	Vol. II, p. 35
22	Bijay Raha	Pramode	Vol. II, p. 7
23	....	Mathura	
24	....	Mahesh	Vol. I, p. 71
25	....	Basanta	Vol. I, p. 17
26	....	Arabinda	Vol. I, p. 59
27	....	Amaresh	Vol. II, p. 111
28	Girinda	Akhileswar	Vol. II, p. 81
29	....	Kunja Behari	Vol. I, p. 135
30	....	Rabindra	Vol. I, p. 21
31	....	Hemanta	Vol. II, p. 151
32	....	Surjya Kanta	Vol. I, p. 91

This list is written by Ashutosh Das Gupta, and the handwriting can easily be proved. The serial numbers have been inserted on one side, and on the other the references to the Name Registers, where in each case the process of identification has been worked out, and every document relating to that name has been quoted.

We must reproduce here the short pencilled list found in Exh. 1023, which has been assigned to Pulin. It will be found on page 152.

1.	Girija	Kamini
2.	Kalipada	Surendra Datta
3.	Indu Bhusan	
4.	Harsha Nath	
5.	Khagendra	
6.	Mahesh	Sris

Nos. (1) and (2) correspond respectively with Nos. (7) and (8) of Exh. 805, Nos. (3), (4) and (5) with Nos. (6), (4) and (14) of Exh. 805. No. 6, Mahesh, corresponds with No. 24, but we have the real name given here Sris.

In Exh. 805 one column does not consist entirely of real names and the other of false names. Sometimes the real name is the left column, sometimes in the right. At No. 6 the Samiti equivalent of Indu (Bhusan

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Datt) is Nagendra : of No. 26 Arabinda is Abani; and the real name of the Samiti equivalent No. 29, Kunja Behari is Surendra Chandra Ray, owner of the book containing a list of explosives. The process of his identification is given in some detail on page 175. The equivalent of No. 32, Surjya Kanta, in Nalini Kanta Ray or Saha.

The correspondences with Exh. 817 are few. No. 1, Satis, is No. 5 of Exh. 817, Satis Chandra Das Gupta. No. 10, Ramesh, and No. 11, Nalini, correspond with Nos. 18 and 19 in the register, where Samiti equivalent are also noted. No. 29 here corresponds with No. 23 in the register and the Samiti name is also noted. No. 19 here is No. 25 the register.

In the case of No. 12, Pratap Hem Chandra, we have the boy's own statement corresponding this record (see page 210).

No. 17, Raj Narayan — Jadab. This is Jadab Chakrabarty. He writes his Samiti name twice, with the address Bajrapuri in Exh. 758, K. P. Basu's Algebra mentioned on page 82.

No. 24, Girindra — Akhileswar. A very large number of books with the Samiti name "Akhileswar Bhattacharjyo" written upon them, were found. At last upon a lathi-play book torn into fragments, Exh. 6 (original list), were found the initials G. C. B. and the name Girinda Chandra Bhattacharjyo, while the handwriting was obviously the same as that of the numerous books belonging to "Akhileswar." Finally, he is traced as the son of Prasanna Mohan Bhattacharjyo, of Lalta, police station Palong, and a relative of Satis Chandra Chatterji, who has been deported. His age is about 22.

In discovering the real names of persons who only appear in Samiti records as "Kalipada," "Sukhamay", "Karuna," "Bankim," the library issue-book, Exh. 12, with its numerous signatures, is of great importance. Serial No. 57 clearly supports the identity of Rajendra Chandra Guha with Digendra Kumar Ghosh (see page 191). As regards "Bankim," serial No. 34 will show that "Bankim" was acting as librarian on this occasion, and when he started writing his name in column three, he inadvertently commenced writing his true name, Ramesh, and then altered it. At serial 4 he makes no mistake about the Samiti name. At serial 92 he writes his true name in full. A particularly glaring example is serial 119, where the signature in English is N. N. Dhar. This is the correct name of the person who signs at serial 111 by his Samiti name, R. P. Sen, Roma Prosanna Sen, who will be mentioned later.

Other documents containing list of names :— Exhibit 1106 is a rough draft of Exh. 810, which may be called a distribution list. There are 36 names, and then an allotment of various persons to various duties. So far as they have been checked, all these names are *real* names. For

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instance, serial Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 14 will be found in the Register 817, and in the real and Samiti names Exh. 805. Here, as in the register we find what are proved to be correct names. Exhibit 810 is here translated :

Bande Mataram

1. Dhirendra Binode Chakravarty
2. Birendra Ganguly
3. Kedar Mukhopadhaya
4. Nalini Mukhati
5. Keshab Chakravarty
6. Nalini Mukhopadhaya
7. Radhika Mohan Bandyopadhaya
8. Gopi Chakravarty
9. Sukumar Chakravarty
10. Jogesh Chakravarty
11. Suresh Chakravarty
12. Jitendra Chakravarty
13. Harsha Nath Sen
14. Ramesh Chandra Das
15. Satish Chandra Das
16. Makhan Lal Ghosh
17. Sudhir Chandra Mittra
18. Sarat Chandra Ghosh
19. Surendra Chandra Basu
20. Pyari Mohan De
21. Kamini Kumar De
22. Rebati Mohan Biswas
23. Khagendra Chandra Datta
24. Pratap Chandra De
25. Surendra Chandra De
26. Ananda Charan Ghosh
27. Satya Chandra Saha
28. Upendra Chakravarty
29. Harendra Chandra De
30. Surendra Chandra Roy
31. Nishi Kanta Mitra
32. Satyendra Chandra Sen
33. Hara Lal Ganguly
34. Suresh Chandra Sen
35. Munindra Chandra Sen
36. Nalini Saha

Members and their respective duties :

Cleaning the house twice a week, Saturday and Tuesday
Satya Saha, Upendra Chakravarty, Nalini Saha

Lighting the lamps and burning incense :
Nalini Saha

Cleansing the rooms :
Satya and Upendra Chakravarty
Every day

Inspection of library, lathis, beddings, paper, ink, pen, etc. - Ramesh Chandra Das.

Attending the sick :
Radhika, Kamini, Surendra De

Kitchen—Sukumar Babu

Pillows, blankets, beddings, clothes, etc :
Jogesh Chandra Chakravarty

Guard during day time :
Nalini, Pratap and Khagendra

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Cooking :

1. Dhirendra Chakravarti and Makhan Ghosh
2. Kedar and Satis
3. Nalini Mukhopadhaya and Sudhir Mitra
4. Gopi Chakravarti and Rebati Biswas
5. Srish and Ananda Ghosh
6. Surendra Roy and Harendra De
7. Keshab Chakravarti and Pyari Mohan De
8. Munindra Chakravarti and Sarat Chandra
9. Jitendra and Harsha Nath
10. Manindra and Kamini
11. Surendra De and Suresh
12. Surendra Basu and Rebati
13. Satyendra and Surendra De

In this document the names are genuine. In others we find real and Samiti names mixed with names of places. (see Exhs. 8 and 22 of 15th November—Sentry duty translated at pages 83-84)

Exhibit 23 of 5th November is a register of persons going out. It covers a period of about 9 days only, 8th to 16th September 1908, and is full of names, real and Samiti.

Other documents constantly referred to in establishing the identity of persons are Exh. 407, a list of seven names; Exh. 734 (account-book of clothing); Exh. 1080, a list of 12 names; Exh. 1248, a very hastily drawn-up list of members and syllabus of studies, written by Ashutosh Das Gupta.

Other less important exhibits containing names are the following : Exhibit 11 of 5th November—A paste-board Kaltalika with names scribbled on the back.

Exhibit 100 of 15th November. A book "Akhoyan Manjari" containing many names.

Exhibit 388—A register of members receiving certain articles
" 452—Svapna Bichar containing names
"733—Dhobi's account
"1136—Lathi-play-book, last few pages
" 1168—An account-book

The account-book generally contain many names.

Two lists of persons found in the Samiti— The idea of a Samiti name as concealing a person's identity would work well provided too searching enquiries were not made. A Hindu has the strongest objections to falsifying his father's name, although one at least had no scruple in falsifying both father's name and caste. However, without proceeding to

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this length, the father's name might be given correctly or with some slight alteration, the thana and districts also correctly given, and a person, who simply falsified his own name and gave his village wrongly, could not possibly be traced. For example, a person found in the Samiti on 10th August gave the following particulars: Sukumar Das Gupta, son of Jagat Chandra Das Gupta, of Palong, police station Palong, Faridpur. No such person could be found. The correct description (No. 5 in Exh. 817, see page 214) is Satis Chandra Das Gupta, son of late Jagat Chandra Das Gupta, of Komarpur, Faridpur. This may be taken as the minimum of falsification, but it was most effective until Register Exh. 817 was obtained. The practical result was this, that unless a travelling member of the Samiti was detained in custody until he had established his identity, it was most difficult and generally impossible to find out who he really was. At present, after months of inquiry, some members of the Dacca Samiti cannot be traced. On August 10th, when the Samiti was searched, a list was made of 24 persons found present. On November 4th, 34 persons were arrested in the Samiti. These two lists have been most valuable in establishing the identity of different persons.

List of Samiti members as given to police on the 10th August 1908

No.	Name and additions	Remarks	Reference
1	2	3	4
1	JAMINI KUMAR CHAKRABARTY, son of Kali Kumar Chakrabarty, Bijhari, police station Palong, Faridpur	History Sheet 97. Not traced up to date. Name most probably false.	
2.	ASHUTOSH DAS GUPTA, son of Kashi Kumar Das Gupta, Garurgaon, police station Munshiganj, Dacca	History Sheet 88. Well-known. Expelled from the Collegiate School in 1906. Present address not known. Age 24. Accused in Bhojeswar dacoity case.	Volume I, page 13-14
3.	KEDARESWAR CHKRABARTY, son of Har Mohan Chakrabarti, Madhyapara, police station Munshiganj, Dacca.	History Sheets 98 and 99. Neither has been traced in Madhyapara. Names undoubtedly false, probably these two persons were Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta and Profulla Ch. Sen Gupta.	
4.	NIKHIL CHANDRA SEN, son of Pyari Mohan Sen, Madhyapara, police station Munshiganj, Dacca.		

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No.	Name and additions	Remarks	Reference
1	2	3	4
5.	NISHI BHUSAN MITRA, son of Lalit Mohan Mittra, Keshabpur, police station Keshabpur, Jessore.	History Sheets 100 and 147. All particulars known. Age 20-21. Appears in Exhs. 817, 1106 and 810. Arrested in Naria case.	Volume I, page 45.
6.	SUKUMAR DAS GUPTA, son of Jagat Ch. Das Gupta, Palong, police station Palong, Faridpur.	History Sheet 101. Traced as SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, and is found as such in Exh. 817, and as Satish Das and Satish Chandra Das in Exhs. 1106 and 810, respectively.	
7.	SUDHIR CHANDRA MITRA, son of (not given), Baroikhali, police station Srinagar, Dacca	History Sheet 102. No such person found in Baroikhali. The first name is probably correct because "Sudhir Mittra" and "Sudhir Chandra Mittra" are found in Exhs. 1106 and 810, respectively.	
8.	BINODE BEHARI CHAKRABARTY, son of (not given), Bhatpara, police station Srinagar, Dacca.	History Sheet 103. Traced as son of Brindaban Chakrabarti, of Bhatpara. His maternal uncle, Jatindra Chandra Basista, was a member of the Madhyapara Samiti (see Exh. 16 of that search). Age said to be 8-9.	
9.	KAMINI KUMAR DE, son of Sib Charan De, Daspara, police station Habiganj, Sylhet.	History Sheet 104. Traced. Address correct. Age 20. Never found at home. Suspected to be a thief and castoff by his parents. Samiti name GIRIJA KANTA.	Volume II, page 89-90.
10.	SATYA RANJAN RAY, son of Sadai Chandra Ray, Ikram, police station Baniachung, Sylhet.	Arrested 4th November. Name and address given correctly. Is No. 9 on that list. History Sheet 64. Traced. Age 18. Samiti name BISHNUPADA	Volume I, page 57.

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No.	Name and additions	Remarks	Reference
1	2	3	4
11.	ANANDA PRASAD GHOSH, son of Kali Prasanna Ghosh, 26, Nilmony Mittra's Lane, Calcutta.	History Sheet 105. Name Ananda. Traced to Calcutta address, where his uncle, Bhusan Ch. Ghosh, lives. He worked in "a swadeshi shop, Cornwallis Street," before he came to Dacca. Age about 19. Now absent from home. Found in Exhs. 1106 and 810. Samiti name NARESH.	Volume I, page 147
12.	RASIK CHANDRA BOSE, son of Nil Kanta Bose, Bhadra, police station Tangail, Mymensingh.	History Sheet 106. Real name SURENDRA KANTA BOSE *alias Gheta. Age 18.* Found in Exhs. 1106 and 810.	Volume I, page 41
13.	SRISH CHANDRA CHAKRABARTY, son of Aswini Kumar Chakrabarty, Lonesingh, police station Palong, Faridpur.	History Sheet 107. Address correct. Age 19-20. Samiti name MOHESH. Found in Exhs. 1106 and 810. On bad terms with family and still wandering about.	Volume I, page 71
14.	MANINDRA KUMAR BOSE, son of Bhagaban Chandra Bose, Kuchaipatty, police station Gosairhat, Faridpur.	Is AMARENDRA NATH BOSE, No. 8, on list of 4th November. History Sheets 63 and 105 prepared under each name. He has signed and given thumb-impression as "Amarendra Nath Bose." Age 18-19. Still wandering about.	
15.	SURENDRA CHANDRA DE, son of Gagan Chandra De, Kurandi, police station Muradnagar, Tippera.	It NIKHILESWAR PAL, son of Gagan Chandra Pal. No. 4 in list of 4th November. History Sheets Nos. 109 and 58. Age 18-20. At home. Samiti name KALIPADA.	Volume I, page 99.
16.	UPENDRA CHANDRA CHAKRABARTY, son of Nirod Kumar Chakrabarty, Baherak, police station Rajabari, Dacca.	History Sheet 110. Traced. Is a Namasudra Brahmin. A very expert lathi-player. Ran away from home and is still absent. Age 17-18.	

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No.	Name and additions	Remarks	Reference
1	2	3	4
17.	SURENDRA NATH RAY, son Kalish Chandra Ray, Mahmudpur, police station Nawabganj, Dacca.	Is SURENDRA CHANDRA RAY in list of 4th November. History Sheet 60. Traced. Age 19. Is at home. Found in Exhs. 1106 and 810. Samiti name KUNJA BEHARI.	Volume I, page 135
18.	GOPI BALLAB CHAKRABARTY, son of Gobind Charan Chakrabarty, Bhadraghat, police station Kamarkhand, Pabna.	History Sheet 111. Fully traced. Age 23. Now started a shop at Bhadraghat. Samiti names HARI MOHAN AND RANGA DADA.	Volume I, page 29
19.	RADHIKA MOHAN BANARJI, son of Pyari Mohan Banarji, Brahmandi, police station Rupganj, Dacca.	Is KARUNA KANTA BANERJI No. 1, of 4th November. History Sheets 55 and 112. Traced. Age 21. Has one ear bored. Found in Exhs. 1106 and 810.	Volume I, page 79.
20.	JAGAT CHANDRA CHAKRABARTY, son of (not given), Hashail, police station Rajabari, Dacca.	History Sheet 113. Traced as JOGESH CHANDRA CHAKRABARTY. This name appears in Exhs. 1106 and 810.	
21.	DHIRENDRA NATH CHAKRABARTY, son of (not given), Hashail, police station Rajabari, Dacca.	History Sheet 114. Age 17-18. Son of Kamakhya Charan Chakrabarty. Known as Pachu Chakrabarty. Arrested in Naria case. Probably DHIRENDRA BINOD CHAKRABARTY, of Exhs. 1106 and 810.	
22.	SATYENDRA NATH SEN, son of (not given), Moheswardi, police station Rupganj, Dacca.	History Sheet 115. Not traced. Moheswardi is name of pargana, not village. Name probably correct as it is found so in Exhs. 1106 and 810.	
23.	BIRENDRA CHANDRA GANGULI, son of (not given), Dogachi, police station Srinagar, Dacca.	History Sheet 116. Traced as son of Hari Mohan Ganguli. Found in Exhs. 1106 and 810. Now wandering about.	

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No.	Name and additions	Remarks	Reference
1	2	3	4
24.	SURENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, son of (not given) Rautbhog, police station Munshiganj, Dacca.	History Sheet 117, Surendra Mohan Ghosh, son of Rajani Mohan Ghosh of Dhipur. Age 20-22. Reported to visit Fatehjangpur Samiti, Faridpur. Accused in Bhojeswar dacoity case. Samiti names KHAGENDRA and TEPA.	Volume II, page 131

List of persons arrested in the Samiti on 4th November 1908 and the names, etc., given by them

No.	Name and additions	Remarks	Reference
1	2	3	4
1.	KARUNA KANTA BANERJI, son of Pyari Mohan Banerji, Brahmandi, police station Rupganj, Dacca.	Is No. 19, RADHIKA MOHAN BANERJI, of list above.	
2.	AGHORE CHANDRA DATTA, son of Kristo Chandra Datta, Barodi, police station Narayanganj, Dacca.	History Sheet 56. Age 25. Thumb-impression taken. No such person known in Barodi.	
3.	BINODESWAR DAS, son of Sibeswar Das, Kamarpur, police station Palong, Faridpur.	History Sheet 57. Thumb-impression and signature taken. Not traced in Kamarpur. Name undoubtedly false. Not found in Samiti records. Suspected to be Satis Chandra Das Gupta, No. 6, of above list. But thumb-impression of Satis not obtained.	
4.	NILHILESWAR PAL, son of Gagan Chandra Pal, Kurundi, police station Muradnagar, Tippera.	No. 15 of above list	Volume I, page 99
5.	DIGENDRA KUMAR GHOSH, son of Ambika Charan Ghosh, Dinajpur Town.	History Sheet 59. Traced as RAJENDRA CHANDRA GUHA. See full account, page 191.	Volume I, page 55.
6.	SURENDRA CHANDRA RAI, son of Kailas Chandra Rai, Mamudpur, police station Nawabganj, Dacca.	Is the same as No. 15 on list above.	Volume I, page 135.

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No.	Name and additions	Remarks	Reference
1	2	3	4
7.	BHUTNATH SEN, son of Hara Prasanna Sen, Komarpur, police station Palong, Faridpur.	History Sheet 62. Age 20. Samiti name HARSHA NATH SEN. Is still absent from home.	Volume I, page 139.
8.	AMARENDRA NATH BOSE, son of Bhagoban Chandra Bose, Kuchaipati, police station Gosairhat, district Faridpur.	The same as No. 14 in list above.	
9.	SATYA RANJAN RAI, son of Badai Chandra Rai, of Ekram, police station Baniachung, district Sylhet.	The same as No. 10 in list above.	
10.	SIB NATH DEY, son of Gobind Chandra Dey, Amtali, police station Munshiganj, district Dacca.	History Sheet 65. Age 16-17. Father traced but son's identity not yet established. Real name is probably HARENDRA LAL or CHANDRA, which is found in Exhs. 1106 and 810.	Volume II, page 35.
11.	BANKIM CHANDRA RAI, son of Khirode Chandra Rai, Bojrapuri, Dacca.	History Sheet 66. Age 19-20. Real name RAMESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, No. 18, in Exh. 817. Thumb-impression taken. Found in Exhs. 1106 and 180.	Volume I, page 31.
12.	HAIMANTA LAL CHAKRAVARTI, son of Bhagwan Chandra Chakravarti, Haldia, police station Srinagar, Dacca.	History Sheet 67. Thumb-impression taken on 13th December. Not traced. Age 18-19.	Volume II, page 151.
13.	ACHADANANDA BASAK, son of Surendra Nath Basak, Dacca.	History Sheet 68. Age 22. Gave thumb-impression and signed as Achadananda Basak. His real name is SANTI PADA MUKHERJI, son of Sitanath Mukherji, clerk in Post Office, Dacca. This is a proved case of all names and caste even being falsified. Accused in Bhojeswar dacoity case.	Volume II, page 11.
14.	CHANDRA SEKHAR DE, son of Chandi Charan Dey, Chittagong.	History Sheet 69. Age 18-20. Traced. See leter Exh. 19, page 190.	

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No.	Name and additions	Remarks	Reference
1	2	• 3	4
15.	RAMA PROSANNA SEN GUPTA alias Dheba, son of Mahendra Chandra Sen Gupta, Nagen, police station Bhedharganj, Faridpur.	History Sheet 7. Thumb-impression taken and signature Dhepa only. He was recognised at thana, when giving the name Rama Prosanna, as NARENDRA NATH DHAR, son of Mohendra Dhar, of Narayanganj, and admitted his identity. See page 220.	
16.	RADHA SYAM DE, son of Dina Bandhu De, Dacca.	History Sheet 74. Age 17-18. Traced. Lives in Dacca town. Name and address correct.	
17.	KAMAKHYA CHARAN GHOSH, son of Purna Chandra Ghosh, Dhipur, police station Munshiganj, Dacca.	History Sheet 75. Traced as GOPAL CHANDRA GHOSH, of Rauthbhog. Age 17-18.	Volume II, page 85.
18.	AKHILESWAR BHATTACHARJI, son of Prasanna Ch. Bhattacharji.	History Sheet 76. Traced as GIRINDRA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJYO, of Lalta, police station Palong, Faridpur. Age 22. See page 220.	Volume II, page 81.
19.	MAHENDRA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY, son of Dwarika Nath Chakravarty, Danga, police station Nagarpur, Mymensingh.	History Sheet 77. Traced as JOGENDRA NATH BHADHURI. Age 20. Son of Dwarika Nath Bhaduri, of Danga, police station Sarisabari, Mymensingh. *Real name appears as No. 22 in Exh. 817.	Page 217.
20.	SAMARENDRA SEN, son of Gobinda Chandra Sen,k Tantar, police station Srinagar, Dacca	History Sheet 78. The name is obviously false and the person has not been traced. Thumb-impressions were taken. It is believed that this person is DINESH CHANDRA SEN GUPTA, son of Gobinda Chandra Sen, of Madhyapara, who was involved in this case. See Exhs. 1 and 4 of Madhyapara search. Only one son of Gobinda belonged to the Samiti, and that was Dinesh, who is now absconding.	Volume I, page 15.

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No.	Name and additions	Remarks	Reference
1	2	3	4
21.	INDU BHUSAN DUTTA, son of Mahes Chandra Dutta, Balaramganj, police station Sherpur, Mymensingh.	History Sheet 79. Traced as NAGENDRA NATH DATTA, *alias* KHUDU. Is at home. Age 24. "Nogendra" is found in Exh. 1106.	Volume I, page 43.
22.	JATINDRA NATH CHAKRAVARTY, son of Ram Charan Chakravarty, Dhairpara, police station Srinagar, Dacca.	History Sheet 81. Age 17. No thumb-impression taken. Not traced.	
23.	PROBHAT CHANDRA RAI, son of Mahim Chandra Rai, Jutakhali, police station Munshiganj.	History Sheet 82. Not traced. The village "Jutakhali," shoebeating, is obviously bogus. Thumb-impression was taken on 7th December. This corresponds exactly with that taken much later of PROFULLA CHANDRA SEN GUPTA, son of Mahim Chandra Sen Gupta of Madhyapara. The identity is proved. See No. 20 above. (Convicted in Wari case).	Volume I, page 87.
24.	BENOY BHUSAN DATTA, son of Giris Chandra Datta, Hashara, police station Srinagar, Dacca.	History Sheet 84. Age 15. Traced. Lives in Dacca town. He is nephew of Lalit Mohan Ray, pleader.	
25.	NRIPENDRA KUMAR CHANDA, son of Gobinda Kumar Chanda, Sharulia, police station Savar, Dacca.	History Sheet 85. Age 18-19. Traced, but absent from home.	
26.	DENGU CHANDRA SIKDAR *alias* MAN MOHAN, son of Jagat Chandra Sikdar, Olpur, police station Gopalganj, Faridpur.	History Sheet 86. Age 18-20. Facial portrait taken, but no thumb-impression. Not traced. From description and marks suspected to be ATUL CHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI, of Olpur, No. 12, in Exh. 817.	

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No.	Name and additions	Remarks	Reference
1	2	3	4
27.	JYOTIRMOY *alias* BENGA RAI, son of Mohim Chandra Rai, Dacca town.	History Sheet 87. Well-known in the town. Convicted in Victoria Park stabbing case, No. 11 of September 1907, section 324, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to 8 months' rigorous imprisonment.	
28.	PULIN BEHARI DAS	—	Volume I, page 19-20.

The following minors and young boys were found in the Samiti :

29.	ANANTA MOHAN CHATTERJI	Age 9-14	See page 37.
30.	MANIKYA CHANDRA GUHA, son of Nibaran Chandra Guha, Srinagar, Dacca.	History Sheet 71. Age 15. Son of Nibaran Chandra Guha, Mustafi, pleader, Malitola, Dacca. His brother is Dinesh Chandra Guha, No. 13, Exh. 817. Accused in Sunamganj kidnapping case.	Volume II, page 23.
31.	NARSINGHA DAS, son of Raj Kisore Dass, Sonamoyee, police station Narainganj, Dacca.	History Sheet 72. Age 13-14. His two elder brothers are Ram Doyal and Guru Doyal, and his own name is SYAM DOYAL. See page 205.	
32.	RAJ KUMAR DATTA, son of Durga Chandra Datta, Sonargaon, police station Narainganj, Dacca.	Age about 13.	
33.	GANGA CHARAN DATTA, son of Dina Bandhu Datta, Bikrampur, police station Munshiganj, Dacca.	Samiti name BENGA. See page 209. Age about 13.	Volume II, page 19.
34.	HEM CHANDRA SARKAR, son of Purna Chandra Sarkar, Bhadrason, police station Narainganj, Dacca.	Real name PRATAP CHANDRA SARKAR. See page 210. Age about 13.	Volume I, page 47.

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Summary regarding false names :— The two lists given furnish conclusive proof, if any further proof were needed, of the efficiency of the Samiti system in baffling the police. Of 24 persons found in the Samiti on 10th August, 20 have been traced in most cases after prolonged inquiry, and only after subsequent searches of the Samiti had furnished some clues to their identity. Four, however, Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 22 have not been traced up to date.

Of 28 persons arrested on 4th November (excluding the minors), although signatures and thumb-impressions were taken in nearly all cases, five, Nos. 2, 12, 20, 22 and 26, have not been traced. In the case of No. 20, "Samarendra Sen," his identity is practically certain, as the following interesting facts will show. The identity of No. 23, Prabhat Chandra Ray, has been actually established by these facts.

In the Madhyapara search of Gobindra Chandra Sen's house, among many papers three letters were found. In Exh. 1 the elder brother of Saraju, wife of Paresh Sen, of Madhyapara, writes from Kartikpur, Faridpur, on 8th December 1908, to Saraju saying : "You will inform me in detail what has become of the case in which Dinesh, Bejoy, Prafulla, etc. are implicated." Exhibit 4, another letter without date, written from Madhyapara, contains the words "my husband's younger brother, Dinesh, dearer to me than life, is at Dacca. They have been involved in a case for which I am very much restless." Lastly, in Exh. 3, a letter, dated 27th November 1908, from Madhyapara, Sarajubala, wife of Paresh, writes evidently to Dinesh himself : "Hearing that nothing has happened to you in the case in which you were implicated, I have performed the Matri Puja this day with much devotion. Are the police trying for any other complaint ? You must not fail to inform me that in a letter."

It is impossible that these references can be to any other case in Dacca than the kidnapping case in which all the members of the Samiti were arrested on November 4th. But one will look in vain for the names of Dinesh, Suresh, Bijoy or Prafulla in the list. And yet Dinesh is mentioned by Surajubala as being involved. Now, the objection to giving a father's name entirely falsely has furnished the necessary clue to detection. Prafulla, the cousin and inseparable companion of Dinesh, is the son of late Mahim Chandra Sen Gupta of Madhyapara. No. 23 on the list gave the name of Prabhat Chandra Rai, Jutakhali, Munshiganj. He fortunately gave his thumb-impression. For nearly six months he naturally remained untraced, and in the meantime the Sub-Inspector of Lohaganj had prepared a family-tree of the Sens of Madhyapara and obtained thumb-impressions of those members who had been placed on the C class list. Noticing that Mahim Chandra was the father's name of

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Prafulla and also of the untraced person No. 23, I compared thumb-impressions, and the identity was at once proved. It has been impossible to obtain a thumb-impression of Dinesh, as he had abscond, but when it is obtained, I believe it will establish his identity with No. 20, who gave a thumb-impression in November last as Samarendra Sen. Dinesh's father's name is, of course, Gobinda Chandra Sen.

Bijoy and Suresh may have been in Dacca on the 4th November, but may not have ben arrested. It is more probable, however, that the writer of the letter from Kartikpur had received some exaggerated report.

This account of real and Samiti names is not exhaustive nor have all the documents containing names been mentioned. All references to a particular name have been brought together under that name in separate registers.

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ANUSILAN SAMITI, DACCA
PART IV

BY

H. L. SALKELD, ESQ., I.C.S.

Magistrate on special duty

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SECTION VII

Financial Resources of the Samiti
Summaries of Account books
Accounts of *Mushti Bhiksha* in Dacca Town
Summary Statement of Income and Expenditure

SECTION VIII

The Samitis as an Educational Institution
Rough Classification of Text-books
Elementary teaching
Documents showing arrangement of classes and courses of study
Conclusion regarding Samiti education

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SECTION VII

Financial Resources of the Samiti — The income comes under two main beads—cash and rice collected by *mushti bhiksha*. All entries showing the credit of money have been brought together, and Exh. 1206 of 15th November, which is mentioned at page 181, has been given in full. It shown that Ashu Babu credited Rs. 191 in three days, 18th to 20th September 1908, and these entries are also found in Exhs. 997 and 1197. Pulin himself informed Sub-Inspector Sarat Chandra Ghosh that in the districts of Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera and Mymensingh there were 509 Samitis, and each Samiti paid him one rupee annually, and some of them paid him half their yearly earnings and that his own boys pay whatever they can afford each month, and thus be was able to maintain the Samiti. [Abstract XLIV of 1908, paragraph 527 (a) 5]. After mentioning this statement we will note that some branch Samitis of Bikrampur, which are named, are entered as contributing Rs. 15-12-0, but, excepting Rs. 10 from Sarala Debi's swadeshi fund, in every other case of crediting money we are simply told the name of the person, Ashu Babu, Pulin Babu, Nishi Babu, etc., who paid it. Where the money came from is not stated.

Summaries of Account-books.

Exhibit 258 (Lathi-Play-book)

		Rs.	a.
Page 29—Receipts :	Cash	4	0
	As cost of coming from Kajirpagla	1	0
		5	0
Page 50—Receipts :	Autshahi	5	0
	Bamira (?)	3	8
	Noyna	1	8
	Svarnagram	1	8
	Mulehar	0	4
	Baherak	0	8
	Pachgaon (?)	0	4
	Garurgaon (?)	0	4
	Bidgaon	1	0
		13	12
		2	0
		15	12
Page 51—	Autshahi	5	0
	Bamira (?)	3	8
	Noyna	1	8

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	Rs.	a.
Svarnagram	1	8
Mulchar	0	4
Bergara	0	8
Pachgaon	0	4
Bidgaon	1	0
Ga	0	4
	13	12
Kajirpagla	1	0
	14	12

Page 53—The following appears on this page :

Korhati, own house

P. O. and Village ditto (i.e., Korhati).

Being represented as thieves to Sri Tara Kanta Ghosh Mahasay, he has stopped Mushti Bhiksha.

Page 54—That rascal (?) has from the Korhati village—Mushti Bhiksha (?) of our Anushilan Samiti—(These are the words that can be made out). Sri Murari Mohan Ghosh, of Bidgaon district, Dacca, police station Munshiganj, has stopped Mushti Bhiksha coming to Korhati, and he says that if Mushti Bhiksha is given, the members go away seeing everything of every house, and at night they steal away things. The Mushti Bhiksha having been stopped, there has been a weekly loss of Rs. 2 to the Samiti, and the gentlemen (bhadraloks) of the locality do not like to get their sons admitted into the Samiti.

["There has, etc.," is carried on to next page (page 55) of the exhibit).]

Exhibit No. 498

Page 36 Receipts 23rd Magh 1314 (6th February 1908)

			Rs.	a.
	From	Dacca	1	0
	"	Noyna	0	8
	"	Baghia	0	8
	"	Svarnagram	1	0
	"	Mitara	2	0
	"	Baliga	0	4
			5	4
Page 37—Receipt :	20th	Cash	9	0
		Vegetable	1	0
			10	0

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		Rs.	a.
Page 40—Receipts :	31st Chaitra (13th April 1908), per Ashu Babu	1	0
	1st Bysack (14th April 1908), per Ashu Babu	1	0
	"	1	0
	"	0	2
	2nd "	1	8
	3rd "	1	0
	4th "	0	8
	"	1	0
		7	2
Page 42—Receipts :	28th Jaistha 1315 (10th June 1908) Total	37	0
	Deduct	2	0
		35	0
Page 44—Receipts :	28th Jaistha 1315 (10th June 1908) Coal	15	0
	Market expenses	20	0
	Pulin Babu	2	0
		37	0

Page 45—Receipts 25th Jaisthya 1315 (7th June)

	Rs.	a.	p.
20th	1	4	0
21st	2	7	3
22nd	2	0	0
23rd	-	-	-
24th	1	2	0
25th	0	11	0
26th			
27th			
28th			
29th			
30th			
31st			

1	8	0
5	10	0
7	2	0

Receipts

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	Rs.	a.	p.
Page 46—29th, 1315 (29th Jaistha—11th June 1908)			
Receipt 35 0 0			
Receipts	2	0	0
Jnan Das	0	6	0
32nd	5	0	0
	7	6	0
Page 47—1315, B.S., 13th Aswin (=29th September 1908)			
Receipts in the name of Sri Sri Kali mata $1^1/4$ pice.			
Lala Babu of Lashenbakra, Re. 1-1-0			
Receipts : Sarala Debi Swadeshi Fund, Rs. 10.			
Page 48—3rd Sraban = 19th July 1908. Receipts : Nishi Babu	1	0	0
Hara Lal	2	0	0
	3	0	0
Page 50—1315, 14th Jaistha (27th May 1908)			
Receipts : Bhupesh Chandra Nag, per Jnan Dada and Sachindra Babu Re. 1.			
Page 51—(17th July) Receipts : 1st Pulin Babu	5	0	0
Per Birendra	2	0	0
Nishi Babu	1	0	0
	8	0	0
		Rs.	a.
Page 54—5th Bysack (18th April) Receipts		1	0
Page 56—Receipts		14	0
Bhupesh Babu		0	12
		14	12
14th		1	0
		15	12
	Rs.	a.	p.
Page 58—1315 B.S., from the 20th Bysack (3rd May 1908), Receipts	10	0	0
Pagge 59—Carried over Receipts	11	0	0
8th	1	0	0
	12	0	0
	0	2	6
	12	2	6
Page 60—Receipts	10	0	0
6th	1	0	0
	11	0	0

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	Rs.	a.	p.
Page 64—1314 B.S., 21st Chaitra (3rd April 1908),			
Receipt : 21st, Ashu Babu	3	0	0
Page 65 (1314 B.S., 21st Chaitra) (3rd April 1908),			
Receipts carried over	3	0	0
Page 66 (1314 B.S., 22nd Chaitra) (4th April 1908)			
Receipts carried over	3	0	0
Page 67 (1314 B. S., 22nd Chaitra) (4th April 1908)			
Receipts carried over	3	0	0
Page 68 - 1314, 23rd Chaitra (5th April 1908)			
Receipts carried over	3	0	0
23rd	1	0	0
	4	0	0
From Mufussil Samitis	2	0	0
	6	0	0
24th (6th April 1908)	0	10	0
	6	10	0
24th (6th April 1908)	1	0	0
	7	10	0
Page 69 - 1314, 24th Chaitra (6th April 1908)			
Receipts carried over	7	10	0
24th Lalmohan	4	6	0
25th (7th April 1908), Ashu Babu	1	4	0
	9	2	6
28th (10th April)	1	0	0
	10	2	6
28th (10th April)	5	0	0
	15	2	6
Page 70-1314, 29th Chaitra (11th April 1908)			
Receipts carried over	15	2	6
29th (11th April)	2	0	0
	17	2	6
Again	8	0	0
	25	2	6
Per Jnan Dada	0	2	0
	25	4	6
Page 71 - 1314, 30th Chaitra (12th April 1908)			
Receipts carried over	25	2	6
31st "	0	6	3

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	Rs.	a.	p.
	25	8	9

	Rs.	a.	p.
Page 74 - 29th Chaitra 1314 B. S. (11th April 1908),			
Receipts	8	0	0
Receipts (?)	9	4	$10^1/2$
	0	0	6
	9	5	$4^1/2$
	0	0	$1^1/2$
	9	5	6
Betel	0	0	3
Gum	0	0	3
	9	6	0

	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
Page 76 - Total Receipts	6	0	0				
	3	0	0				
	3	0	0				
	12	0	0	Total	45	6	6

Exhibit No. 608 - A slip of paper -

On one side - To the Secretary, Anushilan Samiti,
Hamsady,
P. O. Barudy, Dt. Dacca,
and some accounts (disbursements).

	Re.
On the other side. Receipts	1
	1

and some accounts (disbursements).

	Rs.	a.	p.
Exhibit No. 737 - Hishab Janibe (Boarding), Receipts			
Pulin Babu credited by himself	10	0	0
Ditto	110	0	0
Ditto	2	0	0
Ditto	20	0	0
Baligao Samiti haite Jatindra Gupta marfat	1	3	9
	143	3	9

(This total carried over several pages of the exhibit)

Exhibit No. 982

	Rs.	a.	p.
Receipts, 31st Bhadra 1315 (16th September 1908),			
Shabek	0	2	6
	0	2	6

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	Rs.	a.	p.
Girindra Babu Marfate Khod	0	8	0
Receipts. 1st Aswin (17th September 1908) carried forward	0	8	0
Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	1	0	0
	1	8	0
Receipts. 3rd Aswin (19th September 1908) carried forward	1	8	0
Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	8	0
	2	0	0
Receipts. 4th Aswin (20th September 1908) carried forward	2	0	0
Radhica Babu Marfate Khod	1	0	0
	3	0	0
Receipts. 5th Aswin (21st September 1908) carried forward	3	0	0
Girindra Babu Marfate Khod	1	0	0
	4	0	0
Receipts. 6th Aswin (22nd September 1908) carried forward	4	0	0
Radhica Babu Marfate Khod	2	0	0
	6	0	0
Receipts. 10th Aswin (26th September 1908) carried forward	7	0	0
Radhica Babu Marfate Khod	1	0	0
	7	0	0
Receipts. 12th Aswin (28th September) carried forward	7	0	0
Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	1	3	0
Up to 13-6-15	8	3	0

signed by Aushutos Das Gupta

Exhibit No. 985

	Rs.	a.	p.
1st page. Receipts :18th Sraban (3rd August 1908), Ashu Babu	4	0	0
19th (4th August 1908), Ashu Babu (Scored out)	1	0	0
20th (5th August 1908), Ashu Babu	4	0	0
	9	0	0

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	Rs	a.	p.
Next page, Receipts (5th August 1908) 20th day			
Marfate Ashu Babu	1	0	0
Jogesh Babu	1	0	0
	2	0	0
Next page. Receipts : 21st day (6th August), Ashu Babu	1	0	0
Marfate Ashu Babu	8	0	0
	9	0	0
25th day (10th August), Ashu Babu	4	0	0
	13	0	0
Last but two pages -			
Receipts : 28th day (13th August),			
Marfate Nishi Babu	1	0	0
Marfate Ashu Babu			
29th day (14th August), Marfate Ashu Babu	2	0	0
Marfate Ashu Babu	1	0	0
30th day (15th August), Marfate Ashu Babu	2	0	0
Marfate Nishi Babu	1	0	0
	7	0	0
Last but one page -			
Receipts : 31st day (16th August),			
Marfate Ashu Babu	1	0	0
Ditto ditto	1	0	0
Ditto Ashu Babu	1	0	0
(?) 32nd day Marfate Ashu Babu	3	0	0
Ditto Nishi Babu	3	0	0
1st Bhadra (17th August), Marfate Nishi Babu	6	0	0
	15	0	0
Last page -			
Receipts : 2nd day (18th August)			
Marfate Nishi Babu	9	0	0
In the afternoon Marfate Nishi Babu	4	0	0
3rd day (19th August) In the morning -			
Marfate Nishi Babu	3	0	0
In the afternoon	5	0	0
4th day (20th August)			
In the morning -			
Marfate Nishi Babu	3	0	0
In the afternoon Marfate Ashu Babu	3	0	0
	27	0	0

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		Rs.	a.	p.
Exhibit No. 992				
	Receipts : 6th Bhadra (22nd August 1908),			
	Nishi Babu Nikat haite	9	8	0
	Receipts : 7th Bhadra (23rd August 1906) ditto	11	0	0
		20	8	0
	Recipts : 8th Bhadra (24th August 1908),			
	Gyan Babu Nikat haite	2	6	0
Exhibit No. 995 - (Same as Exh. 992 up to page 3) -				
	Receipts : 1st page. 6th Bhadra, 1315 (22nd August) -			
	Nishi Babu Nikat haite	9	0	0
	7th Bhadra (23rd August) -			
	Nishi Babu Nikat haite	11	0	0
		20	8	0
Page 3 -	Carried forward	20	8	0
	8th Bhadra (24th Aug.), Gyan Babu nikat haite	2	6	0
		22	14	0
Page 5 -	Carried forward	22	14	0
	10th Bhadra (26th Aug.) Gyan Babu nikat haite	2	3	0
	11th Bhadra (27th Aug.), Gyan Babu nikat haite	5	0	0
	12th Bhadra (28th Aug.), Gyan Babu nikat haite	2	4	0
	From Nishi Babu	0	10	0
		32	15	0
Page 7 -	Receipts carried forward	32	15	0
	13th Bhadra (29th Aug.) From Jnan Babu	2	0	0
	From Ashu Babu	5	0	0
	14th Bhadra (30th Aug.) From Ashu Babu	2	0	0
		41	15	0
Page 9 -	Carried forward	41	15	0
	15th Bhadra (31st Aug.), Ashu Babu nikat haite	3	0	0
		44	15	0
Page 11 -	Carried forward	44	15	0
	15th Bhadra (31st Aug.) Ashu Babu	10	0	0
	17th Bhadra (2nd Sept.), Bejoy Babu	0	7	3
		55	6	3
Page 13 -	Carried forward	55	6	3
	19th Bhadra (4th Sept.), Ashu Babu	4	0	0
	20th Bhadra (5th Sept.), Surendra Babu	0	4	3
		59	10	6

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		Rs.	a.	p.
Page 15 -	Receipts carried forward	59	10	6
	21st Bhadra (6th Sept. 08), Ashu Babu	1	0	0
	22nd Bhadra (7th Sept. 08), Ashu Babu	4	0	0
		64	10	6
Page 17 -	Carried forward	64	10	6
	23rd Bhadra (8th Sept 08.), Hem Chandra Sen	2	0	0
	24th Bhadra (9th Sept 08), Nishi Babu	0	11	9
		67	6	3
Page 19 -	Carried forward	67	6	3
	26th Bhadra (11th Sept.), Ashu Babu	1	0	0
	27th Bhadra (12th Sept.), Ashu Babu	3	0	0
		70	6	3
		(ought to be 71-6-3 in the exhibit)		
Page 20 -	Carried forward	70	6	3
	Khoraki babad	0	3	0
	Harsha Nath	0	7	6
	Amanat Jama	—	—	—
	Khuchra (miscellaneous) Jama	0	3	6
	Fajil (?)	0	14	0
		72	2	3

Last page - Receipts : 30th Bhadra (15th September), Ashu Babu, Rs. 7

Exhibit No. 997 - (See Exhs. 1206 and 1197 for the same credit)

		Rs.	a.	p.
Page 3 -	Receipts : 2nd Aswin 1315 (18th September), Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	98	0	0
	3rd Aswin (19th September), Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	63	0	0
	4th day (20th September), Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	20	0	0
		181	0	0
	4th (20th September), Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	10	0	0
		191	0	0
Page 5 -	Nishi Babu	1	0	0
	Nishi Babu	1	4	0
		193	4	0

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		Rs.	a.	p.
Page 6 -	Receipts carried forward	193	4	0
	1315, 8th Bhadra (24th August 1908), Nishi Babu	1	9	0
		194	13	0
Page 10 -	Carried forward	194	13	0
	7th Aswin (23rd September), Nishi Babu Marfate Khod	3	0	0
	12st Aswin (28th September), Ashu Babu	1	4	0
	13th Aswin (29th September), Ashu Babu	18	0	0
		217	1	0
	15th Aswin (1st October), Nishi Babu	1	0	0
		218	1	0
		Rs.	a.	p.
Page 12 -	Carried forward	218	1	0
	14th Aswin (30th September), Girindra Babu Marfate Khod	11	7	6
		229	8	6
	17th (3rd October), Nishi Babu	18	0	0
		247	8	6

Exhibit No. 999 -

		Rs.	a.	p.
Page 1 -	Receipts : 2nd Aswin (18th September)	6	0	0
	4th Aswin (20th September)	6	0	0
	Hem Sen	4	0	0
		16	0	0
Page 7 -	Carried forward	16	0	0
	13th Aswin (29th September), Khod	1	0	0
		17	0	0
Page 9 -	Carried forward	17	0	0
	13th Aswin 29th (September), Ashu Babu	12	0	0
		29	0	0

Exhibit No. 1003

	Rs.	a.	p.
Receipts : 17th Sraban (2nd August), Marfate Ashu Babu	2	0	0
18th (3rd August), Ashu Babu	4	0	0
19th (4th August), Ashu Babu	1	0	0
20th (5th August), Ashu Babu	4	0	0
20th Ashu Babu	1	0	0

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		Rs.	a.	p.
20th	Jogesh Babu	1	0	0
21st	(6th August), Ashu Babu	9	0	0
28th	(13th August), Nishi Babu	1	0	0
28th	Ashu Babu	0	1	0
25th	(10th August), Ashu Babu	4	0	0
29th	(14th August), Ashu Babu	3	0	0
30th	(15th August), Ashu Babu	2	0	0
30th	Nishi Babu	1	0	0
31st	(16th August), Ashu Babu	3	0	0
32nd	Ashu Babu	3	0	0
32nd	Nishi Babu	3	0	0
1st Bhadra	(17th August), Nishi Babu	6	0	0
2nd	(18th August), Nishi Babu	13	0	0
3rd	(19th August), Nishi Babu	8	0	0
4th morning	(20th August), Nishi Babu	3	0	0
Afternoon	Ashu Babu	3	0	0
5th	(21st August), Nishi Babu	3	0	0
5th	Ashu Babu	2	8	0

Exhibit No. 1169 -

	Rs.	a.	p.
Receipts : 21st Aswin (7th October), morning, Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	1	1	0
27th Aswin (13th October), Nishi Babu Marfate Khod	1	0	0
Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	0	3
Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	4	0
Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	4	0
6th Kartik (22nd October), Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	8	0
At noon Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	4	0
Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	8	6
8th Kartik (24th October), Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	5	0
8th Kartik, afternoon, Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	2	6
13th Kartik (?) (29th October), morning, Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	10	0

Exhibit No. 1170 -

		Rs.	a.	p.
Page - 7	Receipts. Radhika Babu Marfate Khod	2	0	0
	Nishi Babu Marfate Khod	0	1	0
		2	1	0

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	Rs.	a.	p.
Exhibit No. 1171 -			
Receipts : 11th Kartik (27th October), morning,			
Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	0	8	0
12th Kartik (28th October), Radhika Babu			
Marfate Khod	0	6.	0
13th Kartik (28th October) Ashu Babu			
Martfate Khod	0	2	0
13th Kartik, Afternoon, Jogesh Babu			
Marfate Khod1	0	0	
Exhibit No. 1187			
Receipts : 7th Bhadra (23rd August 1908),			
Nishi Babu	6	4	0
Purbber Niye	0	6	0
Afternoon	5	0	0
	11	10	0
4th Day	1	0	0

	Rs.	Rs.
Receipts	4	11
	5	2
	2	13
	9	7
	4	15
	4	27
	9	
	6	75
	9	
	4	
	3	
	5	
	3	
	67	

6th Bhadra (22nd August), Saturday morning,			
Nishi Babu	5	8	0
Afternoon	4	0	0
	9	8	0

Exhibit No. 1191

	Rs.	a.	p.
Receipts : 4th Aswin (20th September)	2	5	0
Khir Babad	1	14	0
Khiti	0	4	0

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5th Aswin (21st September)	0	5	6
6th Aswin (22nd September), Khiti	2	0	9
Khiti	0	4	0
	7	1	8

Exhibit No. 1196

Receipts - Rs. 3

Exhibit No. 1197 - (Compare Exhs. Nos. 997 and 1206 for same credit).

	Rs.
Receipts : 1315, 2nd Aswin (18th September), Ashu Babu Marfate Khod	98
3rd Aswin (19th September), Ashu Babu	63
Ashu Babu	20
From Ashu Babu for giving to Girindra and Bejoy	10
	191

Exhibit No. 1198

Girindra	Rs.	6
Bejoy	"	4
Radhika		20
	Rs.	30
		Rs.
On the reverse side		98
		63
		20
		181
Girindra		6
Bejoy		4
Nishi Babu		1
		192

Exhibit No. 1206 - (15th November search)

2nd Aswin (September 18th, 1908)

Page 1

	Rs.	a
1. Hari Charan	7	8
2. Mamudali	5	8
3. Nowabali	5	0
	18	0
Dalali (commission)	1	12
	19	12

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	Rs.	a.
	19	12
4	Re.	1
5	"	1
6	"	1
Bayna (earnest money)	"	1
"	"	1
"	"	1
"	1	as 12
Dalai (comission As. 8	Rs. 4	as 12

Page 2 Sri Sri Kali

2nd Aswin (September 18th)

Hisab Sadai

Coal 20 maunds (scored out)

Receipts Ashu Babu

1st day himself	Rs.	98
2nd "	"	63
3rd "	"	20
3rd " again	"	10
		191
		1
		192

181	181
70	169
11	12

Disbursement

Coal 20 maunds	13	12	0
Assam coal, 2 maunds	1	10	0
Oil, 3 Jer (?)	24	15	0
Fuel, 6 Bhara (bundles)	26	4	0
Coolie	0	1	3
Tiffin (Jal Khabar) for Pulin Babu	0	4	6
Shandip (?)	18	6	9
Other articles	9	3	0
Dal	32	3	0
Coolie	1	4	0
Dal	31	10	3
	169	9	9
Girindra	6	0	0
Bejoy	4	0	0
Carried forward	179	9	9

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Page 3 – Carried forward Rs. 192

Receipts

Disbursements

4th Aswin

Rel Suta (Thread) 2	0	2	6
Carriage hire	0	4	0
Santi Babu's spectacles	0	6	0
Tiffin (jal Khabar) for Jogendra Babu	0	2	6
	0	15	0
	179	9	9
	180	8	9
Jogesh Babu	0	0	9
Radhika	0	0	3
Emergy cloth, 10 pieces	0	10	0
	181		9

Page 4 Sri Sri Kali

	Rs.	a.
1.	2	0
2.	2	0
3.	2	8
	6	8
4.	5	8
5.	6	0
	11	8
6.	8	4
	6	8
	26	4

Exhibit No. 1211

(Memo. showing Cash balance)

10 th Aswin (26th September),

Marfate Basanta (Ghosh)

	Rs.	a.	p.
Nagad Mot Tahbil	93	10	0
Haolat bad	2	4	0
Haolat Basanta bad	3	0	0
	5	4	0
	88	6	6

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	Rs.	a.	p.
Exhibit No. 1247			
Receipts : From Murari Mohan Ghosh	3	0	0
" Srijut Pulin Babu	2	0	0
" " Ashutosh Das Gupta	9	0	0
Ditto Jama	0	1	3
	14	1	3
Exhibit No. 1160 - (Names File)			
Receipts : 19th Bhadra 1315 (4th September),			
Marfate Hari Mohan Babu	0	5	6
Radhika Babu Marfate Khod	0	8	0
Marfate Promod Milk (crossed out)			
	0	13	6
20th Bhadra (5th September) carried forward	0	13	6
Surendra Chandra Ghosh Marfate Khod	1	0	0
Girindra Chandra Chakrabarty Marfate Khod	0	2	0
	1	15	6
21st Bhadra (6th September) carried forward	1	15	6
Surendra Chandra Ghosh Marfate Khod	0	8	0
Girindra Chandra Chakrabarty Marfate Khod	0	2	0
	2	9	6
22nd Bhadra (7th September) carried forward	2	9	6
Radhika Babu Marfate Khod	1	0	0
Nishi Babu Marfate Khod	1	0	0
	4	9	6
23rd Bhadra (8th September) carried forward	4	9	6
Nishi Babu Marfate Khod	1	0	0
	5	9	6
24th Bhadra (9th September) carried forward	5	9	6
Nishi Babu	1	0	0
	6	9	6
25th Bhadra (10th September) carried forward	6	9	6
Ashu Babu	0	8	0
	7	1	6
26th Bhadra (11th September) carried forward	7	1	6
Ashu Babu	1	0	0
	8	1	6

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		Rs.	a.	p.
27th	Bhadra (12th September) carried forward	8	1	6
	Ashu Babu	0	8	0
		8	9	6
28th	Bhadra (13th September) carried forward	8	9	6
	Last night, Ashu Babu	1	0	0
		9	9	6
29th	Bhadra (14th September) carried forward	9	9	6
	Radhika Babu	0	4	0
		9	13	6
30th	Bhadra (15th September) carried forward	9	13	6
	Ashu Babu	1	0	0
		10	13	6

Exhibit No. 1183 (Names File)

Receipts : Gyan Babu	1	0	0
Gyan Babu	1	6	0
11th Day	2	0	0
11th day, Gyan Baba	3	0	0

Exhibit No. 45 (Letter Register)

Satish Chandra Mitra of Saladh, post office Gharisar, Faridpur, writes to Ashutosh Das Gupta, saying that on the previous day money order order of Rs. 5 has been sent to him from Saladh Samiti.

Letter No. XXIX (dated November 12th, 1908).

Account of Mushti Bhiksha in Dacca Town

Exhibit No. 986 - (Mushti Bhiksha Bahi)	Mds.	Srs.
Receipts : Wari, 14th Sraban (30th July)	0	15
Uttar Nababpur, 19th Sraban (4th August)	0	15
Jindabahar, 14th "	0	28
Lakshmi Bazar, 14th	0	$16^1/2$
Lakshmi Bazar, 21st " (6th August)	1	12
Lakshmi Bazar, 22nd " (7th August)	1	31
Lakshmi Bazar, 22nd, in the afternoon	0	21
Uttar Nababpur, 25th " (10th August)	0	8
Lakshmi Bazar, 27th " (12th August)	1	3
Nababpur, 28th " (13th August)	0	16
Uttar Nababpur, 32nd "	0	$7^1/4$
Lakshmi Bazar, 32nd "	0	$31^1/2$
Wari, 32nd "	0	18
Mahuttuli, 1st Bhadra (17th August)	1	0
Purchased, 2nd day (18th August)	2	10

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	Mds.	Srs.
Purchased, 4th day (20st August)	2	0
Purchased, 5th day (21st August)	2	0
Uttar Nababpur, 14th Bhadra (30th August)	0	9
Lakshmi Bazar "	0	20
Patlakhan Gali "	0	19
Dig Bazar	0	8
	1	16
Farashganj, 20th Bhadra (5th September)	0	15
Mahutiuli	0	12
Narinda, 21st Bhadra (6th September)	0	18
Uttar Nababpur "	0	7½
Gendaria "	0	13½
Wari	0	5
Imamganj	0	30
Joginagar	0	16½
Raja Deori	0	20
Raja Deori Balak, 21st Bhadra (6th September)	0	12
Nababpur	0	13
	4	2½
Lakshmi Bazar, 25th Bhadra (11th September)	0	32
Wari, 28th Bhadra (13th September)	0	15
Narinda	0	13
Mahuttuli	0	23
Uttar Nababpur	0	7½
Imamganj	0	22½
Joginagar, 31st Bhadra (16th September)	0	12
Tati Bazar Santan	0	16
Lakshmi Bazar, 3rd Aswin (19th September)	0	32
Uttar Nababpur, 4th Aswin (20th September)	0	7½
Lakshmi Bazar		
Imamganj, 21st Aswin (7th October)	0	37
Joginagar	0	14

Bangla Hisab

	Rs.	a.	p.
Receipts, 4th Aswin (20th September)	2	5	0
Khir Babad	1	14	0
Khiti	0	4	0
Khiti, 5th Aswin (21st September)	0	5	6
Khiti, 6th Aswin (22nd September)	2	0	9

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	Rs.	a.	p.
Khiti, 7th Aswin (22nd September)	0	4	0
		1	3

Exhibit No: 990

	Rs.	a.	p.
Receipt	2	0	0

Exhibit No. 989 (Exercise-book)

		Mds.	Srs.
17th Kartik (2nd November 1908)			
Narinda		0	8 1/2
Dig Bazar		0	7
Farashganj		0	11
Patlakhan's Gali		0	5
Patuatoli		0	5
Tati Bazar		0	12
Imamganj } Channighat }		0	20
		0	68 1/2
Nawabpur		0	12
		9	80 1/2
24th Kartik 1315 (9th November 1908),			
Raja Deori		0	9
Farashganj		0	10
Wari As.		0	17
Nagad (cash) As. 4			
Lakhi Bazar		0	27
Patuatoli		0	9
Cash	6		
	10		
Bongaon		0	3
Channighat } Imamganj }		0	20
Tanti Bazar		0	22
		0	117
		2	37
28th Kartik (12th November 1908),			
Nawabpur		0	13

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Exhibit No. 1188 - Collection of Mushti Bhiksha of 31st Bhadra (16th September 1908)

	Mds.	Srs.
Wari rice	0	15
Narinda	0	13
Tati Bazar Santan (?)	0	16 (?)
Joginagar	0	12

Exhibit No. 1190

Receipts : 1315, 6th Bhadra (22nd August),

Saturday morning	Rs.	a.
Nishi Babu	5	8
6th afternoon ditto	4	0
7th (23rd August) ditto	6	4
7th afternoon	5	0
8th (24th August) ditto	2	0

Exhibit No. 1203 (Mushti Bhiksha collection for Dacca town)

	Mds.	Srs.
14th Bhadra (30th August),		
Uttar Nababpur	0	9
Lakshmi Bazar	0	20
Patlakhan's Gali	0	9
Dig Bazar	0	8
20th Bhadra (5th September),		
Farashganj	0	15
Mahuttoli	0	12
21st Bhadra (6th September),		
Narinda	0	18
Uttar Nababpur	0	7½
Gandara	0	13½
Wari	0	5
Imamganj	0	30
Joginagar	0	16½
	4	20
Rajarr Deori	0	20
21st Bhalra (6th September),		
Raja Deori Bansa (?)	0	12
22nd Bhadra (7th September),		
Nababpur	0	13

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Summary Statement of Income and Expenditure - The following is a summary of the two preceding paragraphs :

			Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
(1)	Ashu Babu credits during	April	11	6	0			
		August	102	9	0			
		September	248	15	0			
		October	4	9	3			
		No date given	9	1	3			
		Total	376	8	6	376	8	6
(2)	Pulin Babu credits during	June	2	0	0			
		July	5	0	0			
		No dates given	144	0	0			
		Total	151	0	0	151	0	0
(3)	Nishi Babu credits during	July	2	0	0			
		August	119	2	9			
		September	8	4	0			
		October	20	0	0			
		No dates given	110	0	0			
		Total	150	7	9	150	7	9
(4)	Radhika Babu credits during	September	5	12	0			
		October	0	6	0			
		No dates given	22	0	0			
		Total	28	2	0	28	2	0
(5)	Jnan Babu credits during	April	0	2	0			
		June	0	6	0			
		August	13	13	0			
		No dates given	5	6	0			
		Total	19	11	0	19	11	0
(6)	Girindra Babu credits during	September	13	3	6			
		No dates given	6	0	0			
		Total	19	3	6	19	3	6
(7)	Surendra Chandra Ghosh credits during	September	1	12	3	1	12	3
(8)	Bhupesh Babu credits during	April	0	12	0			
		May	1	0	0			
			1	12	3	1	12	3
(9)	Hara Lal credits during	July	2	0	0			
(10)	Birendra " "	"	2	0	0			
(11)	Lal Mohan " "	April	0	4	6			
(12)	Jogesh Babu " "	August	2	0	0	752	13	0

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		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
					752	13	0
	October	1	0	0			
(13) Kshiti " "	September	2	14	3			
(14) Bijoy Babu " "	"	0	7	3			
	No date given	4	0	0			
(15) Hem Chandra Sen during	September	6	0	0			
(16) Murari Mohan Ghosh, no date given		3	0	0			
(17) Hari Mohan Babu during	September	0	5	6			
Total of (9) to (17)		23	15	6	23	15	6
Grand Total of amounts credited by persons					772	8	6

The above sum is distributed according to months as follows :

	Rs.	a.	p.
April	12	8	6
May	1	0	0
June	2	6	0
July	11	0	0
August	237	8	9
September	287	9	9
October	25	15	3
Dates not given	194	8	3
	772	8	6

To this must be added -

	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Credited on various dates without any names	429	2	0			
From Mofussil Samitis	26	3	9			
Money-order	5	0	0			
Total	460	5	9	460	5	9

The Mushti Bhiksha collection which relates solely to Dacca Town in summarised monthly as follows :

	Mds.	Srs.
July	1	19 1/2
August	8	18 3/4
September	8	23
October	1	11
November	5	10 1/2
Total	25	2 3/4

	Rs.	a.	p.
This was rice of all kinds and will be estimated at the value of Rs. 5 per maund - say, for total value of rice	125	0	0
	1,357	14	3

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The earliest date found in these accounts is 6th February (page 235) and the latest 12th November (page 252), so that we may say the accounts cover, roughly, a period of 9 months, giving a monthly average of Rs. 150 in round numbers. At page 186 the Samiti plan showed accommodation for 39 persons; Exh. 810 at page 221 shows 36 members living in the Samiti, and on 4th November, when the Samiti was raided without warning, 34 persons were found present. This gives an average population of 36.

When Hari Narayan Banerji was trying to remove his nephew from the Samiti, he was told that the body could go on payment of Rs. 12 per months. (See his statement, dated 4th November.) If we take the actual average cost of living per head at half this amount only, Rs. 6, the monthly cost of maintaining the Samiti would be Rs. 216. To meet this amount the average monthly income, calculated from the accounts which we find, amounts to Rs. 150 only.

Lastly, we must notice that, excepting the amounts recorded from mofussil Samitis Rs. 26-3-9, a money-order Rs. 5, Sarala Devi's swadeshi fund Rs. 10, and the amount estimated for rice Rs. 150, in all Rs. 196-3-9, the great bulk of this income, Rs. 1,161-10-6, comes from sources which are not mentioned. The large sums paid by Ashu Babu are particularly noticeable in this respect.

SECTION VIII

The Samiti as an Educational Institution : On August 10th, 1908, after the Samiti had been searched, the names and addresses of all persons found there were taken down by the police. The members of the Samiti, without exception, described themselves as students of the National School, Dacca. There was the closest connection between the Samiti, which started in the premises No. 50, Wari, and the National School which was next door. In fact, the Samiti was really an annex of the National School. Pulin Behari Das was then one of the masters of the school. In July 1908 the Samiti was removed from No. 50, Wiri, to No. 452, South Maisundi, which received the name of Bajrapuri. In October the National School was removed to the same premises and continued to be held there until these searches were made in November. After these searches the school met, first in Sib Nag's house, and later in new premises in Gowalnagar. Since the occupation of No. 452, South Maisundi, by the Samiti, the house was known commonly as "Pulin Babu's Boarding," as well as "Bajrapuri" and "Bhuter Bari," and its most recent title was "National Bajrapuri Mess". It is clear, then, that there has always been the closest connection between Samiti and National School.

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However, apart from this overlapping of the two organisations, it will be maintained that the Samiti provided teachers independently for its members - a statement upon which doubtless great stress will be laid as showing the innocuous, if not beneficent, character of the organisation. It is necessary, therefore, to explain the character and extent of the instruction provided by the Samiti so far as its records show.

Rough Classification of Text-books : The total number of books in the Anushilan Library appears to have been 468; 70 in English and 398 in Bengali and Sanskrit. Out of these 398 books, the major portion consists of works on general Literature; among the rest there are 8 books on Mathematics, 9 on History, 11 on General and Physical Geography, 9 on Physical Science, 9 on General Biography, 24 on Medicine and 12 of a miscellaneous character. Most of these books represent the old School and College text-books belonging to Pulin, his brothers and father, to Akshay Kumar Datta, and Ashutosh Das Gupta, who were expelled from the Collegiate School, and to several others, and they were simply brought by each newcomer to the Samiti and served to swell the bulk of the Anushilan Library. There is no evidence that they were ever read. On this point, the evidence furnished by the Library issue-book (Exh. 12) is conclusive (see the analysis given at page 104). Further evidence is furnished by a written list of books, Exh. 806 of 15th November. It is a well-chosen selection and may be called "The Religious Revolutionists' Library". There are several books on Yoga; books and Chicago orations of Vivekananda, books of his master Ram Krishna; lives of the Mutiny heroes and of famous Indian dacoits; accounts of the Russo-Japanese and Boer wars; how revolution is managed in other countries France, Ireland and by the Nihilists in Russia, and above all the Revolutionists Manual for India-Mukti Kon Pathe. The list is translated here :

Exh. 806 of 15th November 1908

(All words found in English are underlined)

List of Books

		Rs.	a.
1.	Bharate Vivekananda	1	8
2.	Sri Sri Ram Krishner Upadesh	0	4
3.	Prachya O Pashchatya	0	8
4.	Bhabbar Katha	0	5
5.	Paribrajak	0	12

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		Rs.	a.
6.	Bartaman Bharat	0	4
7.	Patrabali	0	8
8.	Chicago Baktrita	0	8
9.	Raja Yoga	1	0
10.	Jnana Yoga	10	0
11.	Karma Yoga	0	10
12.	Bhakti Yoga	0	8
13.	Birbani	0	2
14.	Gita Sankar Bhashyanubad	1	0
15.	A study of religion	1	0
16.	The Science and Philosophy of religion	1	0
17.	Thoughts on Vendanta	0	10
18.	Realisation, etc., its method	0	12
19.	Religion of love	0	10
20.	My Master	0	8
21.	Pahari Baba	0	3
22.	Life and teachings of Vivekananda		

1. Swadhinatar Itihas.
2. Nihilist Rahasya.
3. Boer War.

The Three Years' War

4. Sipahi Juddher Itihas
5. Sirajudowalla
6. Prithviraj
7. Mir Kasim
8. Baji Rao
9. Ranjit Singh
10. Ajoudhyar Begum
11. Kumar Singh
    (at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny)
12. Tantia Bhil.
13. The French Revolution
14. The Irish Revolution
15. Sechitra Russo-Japan Juddhya. (Z Noz 16).
17. Rajasthan
18. Rani Bhabani

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19. Bhabani Pathak
20. Babhanir Matha
21. Mock war
22. Shonita Tarpan
23. Mukti Kon pathe (which way lies salvation) (Jugantar).
24. Haridaser Gupta Katha
25. Darogar Daptar
26. Nabin Chandrar Granthabali
27. Late Hem Chandrer Granthabali.

The Anushilan Library contained some excellant books, but it must be considered as a whole, the good books are just those old books which Pulin, Ashutosh and others had used at school; the new books acquired for the Anushilan Library include such characteristic books as Barttaman Rana niti, Desher Kaatha, Mukti Kon Pathe, Desh Anurag, Chhatrapate Sivaji. All these, excepting Mukti Kon Pathe, are to be found together in Exh. 732 of 15th November, which is called a list of books, pens and ink, etc., and the top of this page is endorsed "Granted by all." Many standard text-books on science are mentioned in this list, but the writer cannot even spell the names, e.g. "Ganot's phisics"; "Guide to Chemastry"; "chemestry (Jones)," and was imply cataloguing old books which he found there. This Exh. 732 does not represent the catalogue which is referred to in the Library Issue book.

Exhibit 12 : The numbers given in Exh. 12 refer to Exh. 21, which has been translated. Whatever conclusion may be arrived at regarding the general character of the Anushilan library, and even if it be granted that every one of the innocuous or excellent books were regularly studied, the character of the Anushilan as an organisation is in no way allocated or shown to be less dangerous. On the other hand, we have positive proof that the seditious and revolutionary books of the Anushilan Library were actually studied.

Elementary Teaching : The teaching which a boy might expect in the Samiti is excellently summed up by Pulin himself in the post-card address to Sarado Charan Chakrabarty of Routhbhog, which is translated at page 164. The gist of it is : "If you are ready to sacrifice your life for the Samiti, I will take you in and give you suitable education. You must, of course, give up the idea of attending any school". It is impossible to lay too much stress upon the wording of this post-card, written, as it is, by the head of the organisation. The statement of policy is borne out (i) by the very large number of boys who throw up their studies, to the disgust of their parents, for the Samiti. The case of Sushil Chandra Ghosh

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given at page 212 is an excellent example and several other instances appear in the correspondence; (ii) by the few traces we find of elementary teaching in the Samiti. Pulin realised that the most important qualification for members of a secret society was obedience to decipline. For this purpose, it was best to catch very young and impressionable beys, i.e., boys who in the ordinary course of life, if bhadralok, are just well embarked on their school training, or, if of the lower class, are just beginning at school. But discipline alone was not sufficient; Pulin also realised that the intelligence of his embryo revolutionists must be developed, and therefore it was really intended that young boys, who joined the Samiti, should be provided with suitable education.

The exercise-books show the character of this teaching well. Thirty-nine have been collected together; of these 18 are absolutely blak; the name Akhileswar (Girindra Chandra Banerji, see page 220) is written upon 6, and Jyotish Chandra Chakrabarty, Preparatory Class (see No. 2 at page 218) is written upon another; Exh. 606, with Bande Mataram and seven sums showing that, for example, 35a added to 39a makes 74a. The rest of the book is blank. Exh. 493 has written on the front page Bande Mataram and Ramayan, but the writer got no further. The boy Ganga Charan Datta *alias* Benga has been mentioned at page 209. He certainly needed education from any point of view. Three manuscript books of his are found : Exh. 1030, Chhoto lathir adya path - 19 pages, about half written by "Benga"; Exh. 1031, headed like the others Bande Mataram, but also "Ingrezir arttha" (sic.) i.e. "meanings of English works"; but the book is blank; Exh. 1057, mostly written by some one else, contains stotras. Narasingh Das, the boy mentioned at page 206, is another typical case. He has three books : Exh. 1027 - "Ingrezir artha," one page; Exh. 1081, "Hastalipi Bahi," two pages, one torn out; and Exh. 1097, "Ingrazi Hastalipi Bahi," containing three pages of scrawls. Within this book, Exh. 1097A the village note of Adabari was found. Of course, all the books are well provided with Bande Matarams.

Exhibit 989 contains some problems in Trigonometry. It bears the name of Birendra Nath Bose, 26, Kanai Lal Dhur's Lane (accused in the stabbing case), of Ashutosh Das Gupta and Roma Prasanna Sen (see page 229); it is old, and most probably the original owner was Ashutosh, who used it in Calcutta; it was subsequently used for Mushti Bhiksha accounts.

Exhibit 486 is an exercise book belonging to Satya Ranjan Ray (page 229), in which it is clear that Nishi Bhusan Mittra was the teacher. Nishi's signature appears upon almost every page. In this book there are two very brief dictation lessons, which have been translated. Both are

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addresses to Kali, and in the second we find "Oh, mother, the saviour of the world, the stupor of our sleep has worn off. Oh, mother, now kick at foreign commerce; devote your mind to swadeshi trade." There is a dictation lesson which appears in several books. It is a letter written to 28, Jhamapukur Street, Calcutta. It will be found, for example, in Exhs. 607, 648 and 638, all of which have been marked and signed by Nishi Bhusan Mittra, the teacher. Exh. 638 belongs to Ranga Dada (Gopi Ballab Chakrabarty). Exh. 176 belongs to Haarsha Nath Sen, who gives as his address 55, North Maisundi, the house of Narendra Nath Rai, Head Assistant to the Board of Revenue. Exh. 649 is an exercise book containing the Jhamapukur letter signed with the Samiti name Kshiti Mohan Sen Gupta.

Exhibit 650 is an exercise book belonging to Pratap Chandra De Sarkar, 8th Class (see page 23), in which we find the common signature of Nishi Bhusan Mittra. Exh, 602, another book bearing this boy's name, and "Pulin Behari Das," written many times, there are some very childish vernacular scrawls, which have been endorsed "Bad - N.B. Mittra".

Exhibit 594 contains the Jhamapukur letter in vernacular, written by Kunja Behari Ray (see page 175), who writes his true name Surendra Chandra Ray and then crosses it out. The lesson has been translated.

These examples are sufficient to show exactly what amount of teaching went on.

There was also a system of keeping diaries. One, Exh. 1010, belonging to Sarat Chandra Chakrabarty, has been translated in full on page 42. In all, 20 manuscript books have been classed as diaries, and many of them contain a form which may be called a "Lapses Register." Exh. 815 is taken as a sample. The names of the various vices have been written down by Pulin and there is a drawing at the end of the book intended for Pulin. A somewhat less formidable list of vices have been arranged in the form of a register, but the handwriting is not Pulin's. The headings, and the register with headings, are here given.

Intoxication Pride Conceit. }	Envy. Infatuation }	Dispute	Obstinacy
Cowardice	Breaking of Promise Disobedience	Theft	Insincerity

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	Desire	Anger	Avarice	Infatuation	Sloth and sleep during day time	Lie	Want of promptitude	Negligence of duty	Loquacity
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sunday									
Monday									
Thuesday									
Wednesday									
Thrusday									
Friday									
Saturday									

There is not a single entry is this register. In Exh. 1086, belonging to Hiranmay Guha, we find a similar clean bill of moral health. The longest, if somewhat vague, record of wickedness is found in Exh. 1088, Srish Ch. Chakrabarty *alias* Mohesh (see page 219). He has kept up the record - mainly by entering cyphers - for a week and three days, and he has written out the register for a third week.

In Exh. 1053, belonging to Hari Mohan, i.e., Gopi Ballab Chakrabarty, Ashutosh Das Gupta has given a list of headings and Gop Ballab has drawn up a register accordingly; he enters 15 vices on the first day, including 3 lies. The next three days contain no entry; but he did not persevere beyond the first week.

Documents showing arrangement of classes and courses of study : — Exhibit 1248 is a syllabus mentioned on page 222 as drawn up by Ashutosh Das Gupta, which is most useful for the names it gives. It is translated here :

Exhibit No. 1248

Om Bande Mataram

(Words and phrases underlined are written in original in English)
Makhan, Sarat, Sishir, Shashadar, Shanti.

(1)

Sures	English test	Sures	1	1
Pratap	Translation	Pratap	1	
Jogesh Chakra	Mathematics			
Surendra Datta	Bengalee	Satis	2	4
		Manik	3	

Benga
Jadab Narendra Sen

Ajait	Manindra Ray		Harsha Nath	2
		7		
Birendra	Romesh		Surendra Datta	1
Nalini	Sarba			
Bejay			Ramesh and Benga	1
Surendra Roy	Up to 2nd Class		Rabindra	2
Kamini	Standard		Jadau and Gopi	3
Abinash			Digendra and Dines	2
Indu	1st Year Maths.	2	Ajit and Prafulla	2
Girindra			Kumud and Hiran	3
Rebati	Simple and Compund	3	Birendra	1
Radhika	Rule of Three, Table		Nalini ·	1
Harendra	Book (Dharapat		Behay	1
	Shub Langkari)			
	Kindergarten (Trans)		Joges	
				7
			Surndra Roy	
2				
Harsha Nath	by Rabi Babu Gopan		Kamini	1
Rabindra	and Word-book	5		
Satis	Science Reader		Monomohan	3
	(Lower Primer)			
Dines				
Prafulla	2nd year Maths.		Arabinda	3
Kumud			Indu	1
Arabinda	Rule of Three and A-I Multi			
Chandra Sekhar	IV & V Book,		Girindra	1
(Bra)	D. N. Bose's	6		
	Gramar, Science Reader		Chandra Sekhar (Ka)	3
3	3rd Year			
Chandra Sekhar (ka)		7	Rebati	1
Monomohan	Whole above Equation		Harendra	1
Hiran	Geom. 1-3 Entrance Standard			
Gopi	Essay, Letter-writing, Gramer		Abinash	
Manik			Joytis	
	4th Year			
	A-I whole Geom, whole Entrance Class Standard			
	Essay and Letter-writing.			
	Grammar			

It must be noted that Ashutosh Das Gupta, after being expelled in 1905 from the Collegiate School, studied in Calcutta at the National College or, at any rate, passed the Fifth Standard examination of that

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college in the first division in July 1906. Exhibit 58 is his certificate to this effect, dated 14th August 1908. He was thus in educational qualifications second only to Pulin, a plucked B.A., and appears from this document, on the day on which it was written, at any rate, to have intended having a regular course of study in the Samiti. But the matter cannot have gone further than the idea, or else we would find some traces of it in the Samiti records. Ashutosh, the writer of this exhibit, and "Shanti," the position of whose name suggest that he was to be one of the teachers (see No. 13, page 229), are both accused at present in the Bhojeswar dacoity case.

Exhibit 80 (original list) of 15th November is a large paste-board notice which was found lying on the floor of the upper storey. It is not provided with a card to hang up like the vows and Kaltalikas, etc., and never appears to have been hung up. Its position on the floor indicates perhaps that it was looked upon as waste paper. There is no heading upon the notice, but it consists of three parts, first, a daily time-table of the subjects to be studied each day of the week during the four hours 11 to 3. This time-table is divided into four parts, evidently representing four different classes. The second main part consists of the names of students and will be reproduced here :

Names of Pupils

First year class
1. Abinash
2. Surendra Data
3. Narendra

Second year Class
1. Pratap
2. Nalini Saha
3. Narasingha
4. Benga
5. Rebati
6. Birendra
7. Harendra
8. Bijoy

Third year class
1. Rabindra
2. Harsha Nath
3. Chandra Sekhar Chakrabarty
4. Surendra Roy
5. Jadab
6. Suresh

Fourth year class
1. Monmohan
2. Digindra
3. Arabinda
4. Manikya

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Fifth year class
1. Gopi Ballab
2. Romesh
3. Chandra Sekhar De
4. Jyotish
5. Hiranmay
6. Digendra
7. Satish Das
8. Harsha Nath
9. Kumud

Katakapar (Tailoring ?)
1. Biemdra Chatterji
2. Surendra Chandra Ray

Technical
1. Jogesh
2. Satish
3. Harsha Nath
4. Rashik
5. Kamini
6. Satya Saha
7. Indu Bhusan
8. Kumud
9. Hiran

Cycle
Barada
Hiranaya
Digindra

In the fourth part, we find a list of the text-books to be used by each of the four classes. No mention is made of any text-books for the fifth year class or of the "Technical Class". In the second year course the subject History is represented by "Ramayan" and "Mahabharat" and "Bharatbarsher bisesh bisesh aitihasik ghatana". In the fourth year class the book prescribed for English is "Galiva's (sic) Travels". Now, of the names mentioned in part three, every one represents a member of the Samiti, who has been identified. With one or two exceptions every name has already been mentioned in some context or other. It, therefore, cannot be doubted for a moment that this syllabus was intended to represent the schooling of Samiti boys, who were actually living in the Samiti building. We will now place side by side two time-table, (i) Exh. (g) 1 of 5th November, which was found well mounted and hung up in the first room; and (ii) a copy of the time-table found painted on the wall of this room on 29th January 1909. It is clear that these represent a routine which was actually followed, as occupants of the Samiti have stated. The first time-table has written below it "By order — P.B. Das and Ashutosh Das Gupta".

Om Bande Mataram

Kaltalika

From 4-30 to 6 a.m. : You should get up from your bed four dundas before sunrise (at 4-30 A.M.), taking the name of God all the time, and should call upon the name of God and your native land in your mind and chant hymns to them for a while. Then you should fold up your beddings in a becoming manner. Then you should come outside and, facing the east, salute the sun. Then you should

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attend to the calls of nature, rub you hands thoroughly with earth, and after thoroughly cleansing the cavity of the month, tongue, the teeth with a *datan* (tooth-brush) thoroughly wash them and (before sunset) drink about half seer of pure water. Then after taking a modicum of ginger and salt (saindhava) you should come out for drill.

From 6 to 8 a.m. : You should learn running, drill, lathi, beniti, bak, mallabak, etc., and impart teaching in them.

From 8 to 9 a.m. : Then you should discuss matters pertaining to play books, guide books, or drill or any other kind of learning.

From 9 to 10.45 a.m. : Then anointing the body with oil and rubbing it thoroughly you should bathe and practice swimming, and after rubbing the head and the body dry wear dry clothes, and taking a batasha or a small quantity of sugar should drink water, and after taking ginger, saindhava (salt) and a few oats soaked in water, sit for your meal. You should not talk much while taking your meal nor should you drink much water. Never should you take too much food competing with somebody. You should on no account spoil boiled rice or any food (eatables), and taking to much food throw it away.

From 11 to 4 p.m. : After taking your meal, or even afterwards, you should not sleep during day time. At noon you should be engaged in the cultivation of mathematics, literature, composition, and in the work of the scientific laboratory and in handwriting and make others do the same.

From 4 to 7 p.m. : In the afternoon you should learn lathi-play, benati, bak, drill, etc., and teach others the same.

From 7 to 9 p.m. : After drill you should burn some incense and then cultivate music or discuss historic events. Then, after washing your hands and mouth, go to take your meal and come back after finishing.

From 9 to 11 p.m. : Then you should cultivate mathematics, literature composition and be engaged in the study of the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. Then taking the name of God and chanting hymns to Him you should go to bed.

The second time-table, which has already been noted in part at page 172, is here given in full :

Lower storey

Room No. 1 — Northern part of the wall

Om Bande Mataram

Kal Talika (time-table)

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From $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 : You should get up from bed at $4\frac{1}{2}$, calling to mind the name of the Deity. You should chant for some time the name of the Deity and of the country at heart. And you should wash your hands and face, and drink $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of water. At 5 you should begin to recite hymns. At $5\frac{1}{2}$, when you have finished reciting hymns, you should take gram, ginger and salt. And

From 6 to 8 : You should learn and teach drill, bara lathi, choto lathi, bank, beniti and other play.

From 8 to 9 : To arrange, write and keep books on lathi-play, etc., and to discuss historical topics and to make lathis, etc.

From 9 to 11 : You should go to bathe all together, anointing the body thoroughly with oil, and returning, after bathing, you should finish taking your meal.

From 11 to 4 : Discussion about study, work of the workshop, industries, map (drawing), etc.

From 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$: To keep one's clothes and beddings, etc., in their proper places and to make lathis, etc.

From $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 : Lathi-play, drill, wrestling, jiujitsu, etc.

From 7 to $8\frac{1}{2}$: Sangkirtan (singing songs in praise of the Deity) and discussion of the sacred scriptures.

From $8\frac{1}{2}$ to $9\frac{1}{2}$: Meal for the night and rest.

From $9\frac{1}{2}$ to 11 : Discussion about study and then going to bed, calling to mind the name of the Deity.

Now there is practically no difference between these two time-tables. In the school time-table Exh. 80 (page 263) we have seen that the hours of study are from 11 to 3 and a different subject is laid down for each of these four hours. Now if schooling really went on in the Samiti, we would expect to find in the other time-tables an entry of this kind : "11 to 3 lessons for each class according to school time-table". Instead of this we find that the division of the day is not from 11 to 3, but from 11 to 4. In the first time-table there is a warning not to sleep during these hours, and in both time-tables there is a vague recommendation regarding "discussion about study", evidently meaning simply conversation intended to improve the mind, because we find exactly the same phrase used to describe how the time just before bed time at 11 p.m. is to be spent. This obviously cannot be schooling in set classes. "Handwriting" and "cultivation of mathematics" are mentioned in the earlier time-table, but omitted from the later edition, which mentions "map" instead. We have described the evidence

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regarding "mathematics" and "handwriting" at page 259.

It only remains to see what traces there are of the "Scientific laboratory" (first time-table) which are mentioned for the hours 11 to 4. The workshop and a misti are mentioned in the Notifications Exh. 12 of 5th November.

Exhibit 69 (orginal list) is a small saw, brand new.

Exhibit 77 (original list) is called a bullet mould. It might be used for this purpose, and would produce two bullets of different sizes, but the file cuts on all its surfaces seem to show that it was used for filing purposes.

Exhibit 83 (original list) consists of two wooden boxes containing iron things. The detailed examination is represented by Exhs. 1 to 14 from one box and Exhs. 1258A to 1275 from the other. Apart from the three suspicious articles mentioned at page 186, the only things which could conceivably be used in a workshop are the following :

Exhibit 12. Sandpaper.

Exhibit 13. Three pieces of wood to which pieces of flint are attached by means of lac. Probably intended as small anvils.

Exhibit 14. Ten iron bits and a small hammer head, and two phials.

Exhibit 1262. Five iron instruments, file, etc., and two pieces of sandpaper.

Exhibit 1266. Two rectangular frames fitted to each other, most probably mould frames for casting small thin articles.

Exhibit 1271. 74 screws and nails.

Exhibit 1272. 22 galvanised iron washers and 5 screws.

Exhibit 1273. 13 bits of iron or iron instruments.

There are numerous other articles in these two boxes, bits of locks (Exh. 4), a bicycle tools bag, numerous fragments of locks and clocks, bicycles fittings, old buttons, umbrella ribs, a broken lancet, chalk and rubbish generally.

This is all the "tools and plant" which we find in the Samiti. Obviously there was neither "Scientific laboratory" nor "workshop" and they never existed.

As regards the tailoring department, we may refer to Exhs. 1106 and 810 (see page 220) where Jogesh Chandra Chakravarti is in charge of clothes, pillows, blankets, etc.; and to Exh. 734 a register of shirts and clothing (see page 222). There is no doubt a department of this kind existed.

As regards the cycle corpse, it also existed. There were several instances during 1908 when members of the Samiti carried messages

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about the town on bicycles, and it can be proved that some one from the Samiti riding a bicycle announced the arrest of Pulin on December 13th to Jogesh Raut, Captain of the Zindabahar Samiti.

Conclusion regarding Samiti education : A comparison of the two time-table will show that the course of life mapped out could not possibly be followed by any youth. The day is divided into $5^1/2$ hours sleep and $18^1/2$ hours of activity during which sleep is prohibited. Minute directions in regard to the working of every department are given in the Notifiaction, Exh. 12 of 5th November. Of 181/2 hours no less than 6 are allotted to lathi-play and other exercises; in the earlier time-table $7^1/2$ hours are set apart for meals, bathing, singing, and discussion, and in the latter we find $1^1/2$ hour definitely assigned for Sangkirtan, leaving 6 for meals, bathing, and discussion. In each case the five hours from 11 to 4 are allotted to some vague mental or industrial occupation.

It may be stated at once that no boy could study during the four or five hottest hours of the day when he is taking hard exercise for 5 hours and studying his lathiplay books or making lathis for one hour. The youth, whose diary is given at page 42, rose at 5-10 one day, played lathi from 6 to 8, studied from 8 to 10, then took his meal and studied again. But he remarks that he is not going to study any more. He slept in the afternoon from 1 to 3-30 and from 4 to 6 played lathi. He spent the evening on the streets apparently at political meetings where "many things are discussed".

He got to bed at 10-30 and did not rise till 7-30 next morning. This sort of experience must have been common among the young boys of Samiti. Where they did receive any education at all, we have seen that it was extremely meagre, if not beneath contempt. As for the elaborate syllabuses and course of study and classes, two alternative explanations suggest themselves : either they were drawn up as "false words of hope to attract common people" and delude them into the belief that their sons would get an excellent patriotic education for nothing, or they represent a scheme emanating from Pulin's shallow brain, well meant in itself at the moment, but abandoned directly it was put on paper. The moral lapses diary scheme is a similar phenomenon. Whatever the exact truth may be, this much is certain, that the education in the Samiti was practically non-existent. The real business of the Samiti was to train up revolutionaries and their best education consisted in the study of seditious literature.

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BY THE

LATE MR. H. SALKELD, I.C.S.

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1. Anandamath, Part III, Chapter V. — Tumi amake bisvas ghatak haite paramrasha diyachho, nije o bisvas ghatak; tomake marile brahma hatya hay na. Tomake maribo. Bhavananda to Dhirananda.
2. Exhibit No. 72 has "1315, 9th Asvin" at the top = 25th September 1908.
   Exhibit No. 1100 reads "for the development of the Samiti".
3. Exhibit No. 1099 has "Rabindra Nath" endorsed on it.
   Exhibit No. 1101 has Sri Bankim Chandra Roy, Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta at the foot.
4. Jyotirmay's note-book reads "swords."
   Exhibit Nos. 632, 633, 634, 635, 660, 665 read "will stick while dealing the stroke."
   Jyotirmay's note-book reads "The sword that suits a tall person will not suit a man of short stature so well. (The sword should be up to the navel when the man using it stands)."
5. Jyotirmay's note-book reads "sword." One-half of the sharp portion of the part remaining outside the grip.
6. Jyotirmay's note-book reads "sword".
7. Jyotirmay's note-book reads "sword."
8. Jyotirmay's note-book has got no N.B.
   Jyotirmay's N.B. reads "sword"
9. Jyotirmay's N. B. reads "It is convenient to lacerate the body or to give a thrust or to pierce it into the enemy's body.
   Jyotirmay's N. B. begins this paragraph with the word "Motion" as the heading.
10. Jyotirmay's N. B. leaves out the word "principally".
11. Jyotirmay's N. B. leaves out this illustration.
12. Jyotirmay's N.B. begins this paragraph with the word "Comparison" as the heading.
13. Exhibit Nos. 632, 633, 634, 635, 660, and 1230 have not this paragraph altogether.
14. Exhibit Nos. 660 leaves out "such a bite is called 'sol'"
15. Jyotirmay's N.B. begins this paragraph with the word "First."
16. Jyotirmay's N. B. begins this paragraph with the word "Secondly."
17. Jyotirmay's N.B. begins this paragraph with the word "Thirdly."
18. Exhibit No. 635 ends with the words "you have inflicted on him."
19. Jyotirmay's note-book reads here "The method that is recorded here is called 'Aykang.' There are similar other postures for standing."
20. Jyotirmay's N. B. ends here. In Jyotirmay's note-book the rest is found immediately after the Paridarshak.
21. No. 647 ends here.
22. It is probable that real target practice, like riding, was for the future, but shooting with firearms may have been actually practised in suitable places.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION IN EASTERN BENGAL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE DACCA ANUSHILAN SAMITI

Parts I and II

Volume I

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Serial No. 30

An account of the revolutionary organization in Eastern Bengal with special reference to the Dacca Anushilan Samiti.

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An account of the revolutionary organization in Eastern Bengal with special reference to the Dacca Anushilan Samiti.

Introductory

The Dacca Anushilan Samiti, until it was proclaimed in December 1908 as an unlawful association under the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, was perhaps the most important of the outward and visible manifestations of the revolutionary movement in Bengal, the central organization of which, carried on in secrecy for several years, was first unmasked in 1908 in the trial known as the Alipur bomb case. Although it was known that Pulin Behari Das, the Captain-General of the Dacca Anushilan, was in touch with Calcutta and that the inception of the Samiti in November 1905 was the direct outcome of the political campaign conducted in Eastern Bengal by the Calcutta agitators, Bepin Chandra Pal and the late Pramatha Nath Mitter, the extent of its connection with the central revolutionary organization was only realized much later when that organization itself was exposed.

But reviewing the events of those early years in the light of more recent history and the facts now in our possession, it seems pretty certain that a very close connection existed between the leaders of the secret revolutionary organization in Calcutta, known as the "Jugantar" (after the revolutionary newspaper of that name) and the Dacca Anushilan, and there can be little doubt also that the latter received its inspiration and direction from the master mind of Arabinda Ghose, the chief of the Jugantar band, who has exercised a greater influence over the revolutionary movement in India than perhaps any one other man. Beyond laying down its general policy and the lines on which it was to develop it is probable Arabinda Ghose had little direct dealings with the Dacca Anushilan, and in any case his connection with it could have been known to only a chosen few, but that he was the head and front of the whole movement need not be doubted. It is stated by persons in a position to know and whose information has been found for the most part reliable, that Arabinda in his retreat in Pondicherry is to the present day in receipt of funds specially provided by the Dacca Anushilan Samiti for his support.

As far as can be judged from internal evidence and the general trend of events, it would seem that in the early days of the movement while the Jugantar party was to work in secret to secure arms and materials and establish revolutionary centres throughout India, resorting to acts of terrorism whenever this should serve, the Dacca Anushilan — like the

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Calcutta Anushilan of which also P. Mitter was one of the founders — was entrusted with the mission of rousing and preparing the youth of the country against the day when a general rising could, in the opinion of the leaders, be undertaken with reasonable hope of success. To this end the role of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti and the lines on which it was to work were admirably conceived, and but for the mistakes committed by the local leaders and the difficulty, as the membership grew, of keeping itself in funds by legitimate means, the Samiti might have continued its open course for much longer than it did, for action against it was only taken when the extreme limit of lawlessness was reached and it had become a grave menace.

The proscription of the Samiti in December 1908 abruptly cut short its career in its open and unrestricted form, but the work of disseminating revolutionary doctrines and infecting the youth of East Bengal, had already been done only too well; the society was merely driven under-ground and has continued to flourish exceedingly as a secret and criminal organization, until there are few districts and important educational centres in Bengal where its "organizers" have not penetrated, while the activities of the Samiti outside the province are linked up with the All-India revolutionary movement in which its representatives have played no inconsiderable part. At the present time, by reason of its numerical strength and widespread organization, it is perhaps the most formidable, as it certainly is the most criminal, section of the revolutionaries in Bengal.

Before proceeding to deal with the Dacca Anushilan it will be useful here to sketch, as briefly as possible, the career of the sister organization, the Calcutta Anushilan, with which it had much in common. As has already been stated, P. Mitter was the founder of both the samitis, and it was known that Pulin Das, the leader of the Dacca Samiti, when on his visits to Calcutta used always to put up at the headquarters of the Calcutta Anushilan at 49, Cornwallis Street, and also with P. Mitter himself.

The Calcutta Anushilan Samiti was, as far as can be ascertained, also started in 1905, and having the same origin as the Dacca institution its methods and propaganda, at least in the early stages, were practically identical with those adopted by the Dacca Samiti. The ostensible objects of the Samiti were declared to be "the physical, moral and mental development of its members, boys and young men of the country, and to infuse a feeling of amity, fraternity and mutual sympathy among the people," and as in the Dacca Samiti so here, philanthropy was made a special object and members were sent out to beg for rice (mushti-bhiksha) and distribute it to the poor, nurse the sick, volunteer their services at festivals and so forth. But physical culture and lathi-play

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were by far the most important business and the activities of the Calcutta Anushilan in this respect were by no means confined to Calcutta but extended to various districts of West and East Bengal. Bands of youngmen went about the country giving displays of sword and lathi exercise, engaging in friendly rivalry with the boys of the places visited and founding branches, very much in the manner of the Dacca organization. Mr. P. Mitter was the President of the Calcutta Anushilan and Satish Chandra Bose its Secretary, but the latter occupied in reality exactly the same position as Pulin Das at Dacca, and was a man of strong personality and equally feared. As in the Dacca Samiti, the members of the Calcutta Anushilan had also to take a vow and go through an initiation ceremony. It was reported that the oath was taken by the initiate while he lay flat on a human skeleton with a revolver in one hand and a Gita in the other. In a paragraph in an issue of "The Journal" in November 1907 reference is made to the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti as being another name for "the Calcutta National Volunteers whose organ is the famous Jugantar" — a very explicit confirmation of the belief that the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti was an integral part of the Jugantar organization.

In February 1908 a printed notice, "Famine — an appeal," was circulated in Calcutta by the Calcutta Anushilan calling for subscriptions to enable the samiti to undertake famine relief work in Orissa, and amongst the members of the Committee we find appearing the names of Arabinda Ghose, P. Mitter and Satish Bose. A few months later the arrests in the Manicktolla garden were made and all the principal members of the Jugantar gang, including Arabinda Ghose, were placed in the Presidency Jail to await their trial in the Alipur bomb case. About this time information was received that an attack on the Presidency Jail for the rescue of these prisoners was contemplated and that the Anushilan boys would take part in it. In the previous December the Chingripota dacoity, the first "political" dacoity in Bengal, was committed, and it was said the money stolen was made over to Satish Chandra Bose who kept it in the office of the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti. Satish Bose himself was later on strongly suspected of being concerned in the murder of Khan Bahadur Shams-ul-Alam, the distinguished Police officer who was shot dead in the High Court while the appeal in the Alipur bomb case was being heard. The Calcutta Anushilan Samiti was finally declared an unlawful association under the powers conferred on Government by Act XIV of 1908, and ceased to exist as an open organization. Though it did not attain the success of the Dacca Samiti, sufficient mischief was done and the secret society found ready to its hand the material wherewith to carry on its further activities.

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Referring to the Dacca samiti in his letter to the Chief Secretary in which he recommended the suppression of the Calcutta Anushilan under Act XIV of 1908, Mr. Daly, then in charge of the Intelligence Branch, remarked that "the Dacca Anushilan Samiti was more rapid in its advance, more businesslike in its organization and more daring in its deeds, perhaps owing to the fact that the young Bengali of Eastern Bengal and Assam is generally ahead of the young Bengali of this province in natural audacity and physical courage," and in this estimate Mr. Daly was undoubtedly right.

We are not here primarily concerned with the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti, but it was necessary to sketch its origin and course, not only because of its intimate connection with the Dacca Anushilan but also in order to bring out its very close association with the Jugantar party. The Calcutta Anushilan was playing exactly the same part in West Bengal as had been assigned to the Dacca Anushilan in East Bengal, by the common founders of both these associations, but territorial divisions were not strictly observed and it is on record, as has been indicated, that parties of West Bengal youths were also touring in the eastern districts.

The antecedent events that led up to and made possible the revolutionary movement in Bengal have been very fully stated in Mr. Daly's note, dated August 1911, as also in the more recent note (May 1914) issued by the Intelligence Branch. A perusal of these publications is necessary for a correct appreciation of the course the movement took consequent on the breaking up of the Jugantar gang in the Alipur bomb case and the proscription, under section 16 of Act XIV of 1908, of the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti and the Dacca Anushilan and five other samitis of East Bengal.

It will be seen that an attempt to prepare the way for Arabinda and his revolutionary doctrine, had been made by his younger brother, Barindra Kumar Ghose, as early as 1900. Mr Daly writes :

"According to Barindra he started his propaganda in Bengal between 1900 and 1903 and visited every district and subdivision in Bengal, preaching the cause of independence. He estimated that he was about two years engaged in this mission...... Barindra got tired of the mission and his lack of success and went back to Baroda and studied again for a year. When he returned once more to Bengal, he had made up his mind that purely political propaganda would not do for the country and that people must be trained up spiritually to face dangers. His return to Bengal was simultaneous with the outbreak of the agitation (consequent on the partition) in 1905."

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The significance of this passage lies in the fact that apart from the associations set up in East Bengal by the propagandists of the Calcutta Anushilan, which by reason of its location in Calcutta was naturally in much closer touch with the Jugantar party than the Dacca samiti could possibly be, Barindra had already preached his brother Arabinda's doctrines some five years previously, and it is not surprising, therefore, that on the dissolution of the two Anushilan samitis as openly declared associations and their conversion into secret societies, we should find at various places in East and North Bengal — at Barisal, Mymensingh, Comilla and even at Dacca - the presence, side by side, of branches of two distinct secret organizations, namely, the Dacca Anushilan and "the other party" - also referred to as "the Company" by members of the Dacca samiti — generally on good terms but sometimes in rivalry, exchanging members from time to time and occassionally acting in co-operation, but each owing allegiance to a central authority and maintaining its separate organization. Of "the other party," the Barisal branch under the leadership of Narendra Mohan Ghosh Chaudhuri was perhaps the most important till, after exploiting Calcutta, it received its coup de grace in the Sibpur dacoity. The branch at Mymensingh and in a lesser degree the Comilla branch are also formidable organizations and responsible for many crimes. The complete revolutionary scheme (which will be reproduced later in this report) found in September 1916 in the house-search of Amulya Nath Sarkar of the North Bengal party, sufficiently proves that this party too has regular lines laid down for its development, and the scheme referred to is in certain respects in advance of anything hitherto found in connection with the Dacca Samiti.

The many samitis established at various places throughout the province were not necessarily declared as branches of the Dacca or Calcutta Anushilan. On the contrary, it was clearly to the interests of the revolutionaries to conceal their purpose and mislead the authorities. One obvious way of doing so was to avoid, as far as possible, giving branch samitis names that might indicate their origin and connection with the parent samiti, and advantage was taken, while still retaining their original designation, to revive defunct or moribund institutions, and make use of other existing samitis for the reception and spread of the "idea." We have a good example of this in the Jnan Bikashini Sabha of Madhyapara in the Munshiganj subdivision of the Dacca district. Having existed as a literary and debating society for 25 years or so, it had gradually died out until revived in 1907, when it was found to be nothing else than the Anushilan Samiti masquerading in Madhyapara as a literary society. This was also the case with those samitis in which the Jugantar tradition was

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predominant-such as, for instance, the Surhid Samiti at Mymensingh, which, founded as a benevolent institution about 1900, was reorganized by Miss Sarala Ghosal (now Mrs. Rambhuj Datta Chaudhuri of Lahore) in April 1905 as an instrument for political work; in order to infuse a martial spirit into the members this lady introduced the "Birastami Brata" and "Pratapaditya Brata," ceremonies in honour of departed heroes, modelled on the Sivaji cult of the young Maharattas who followed Tilak. Miss Sarala Ghosal was likewise instrumental in starting the Calcutta Birastami and Atmonnati Samitis for instructing young men in physical exercises and the use of arms. Both these institutions and several others in West Bengal were known to be connected with the Calcutta Anushilan.

As regards the Surhid Samiti, a year later it came under the direct influence of Arabinda Ghose who, accompanied by Subodh Mullik and Bepin Chandra Pal, visited Mymensingh in April 1906. On this occasion Bepin Chandra Pal delivered a number of fiery and seditious speeches at the headquarters of the Mymensingh district and in the interior, inflaming the minds of the educated public and more especially the young men. Similarly, the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti at Barisal carried on a vigorous propaganda and in two years had established 159 branches. The fact "the other party" have been particularly strong at these two places, that is, Mymensingh and Barisal, is undoubtedly due to the activities of the Surhid and Swadesh Bandhab in the early days of the agitation.

The progress and activities of these other organizations are outside the scope of this note, but an attempt is here made to elucidate, if possible, the connection between the two parties and their relative position in the secret revolutionary movement in Bengal. Springing from the same source, it may be wondered why the Dacca Samiti has not merged into the West Bengal party, which is now generally referred to by members of the Dacca Samiti as the Jugantar. The reason will be apparent from a consideration of the facts relating to the Dacca Anushilan to be set out later in this note. The Dacca Anushilan Samiti had acquired such great influence and numerical strength and was so well organized and disciplined that, although its leaders and those of "the other party," both in Calcutta and the mufassal, have been in constant touch, it has continued to retain its separate individuality and organization more or less unimpaired.

Broadly speaking, therefore, in the revolutionary society in Bengal there are two main divisions — the Jugantar and the Dacca Anushilan. The generic name "Jugantar" is now seldom heard, but it seems appropriate and historically justifiable, and if found to be of general

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application to all non-Dacca Anushilan organizations in Bengal, its wider use would perhaps simplify matters and provide a satisfactory nomenclature.

The only other matter with which the following account of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti needs to be prefaced, is a brief reference to the materials from which it is taken. In addition to drawing on the many publications, reports, and records of trials and enquiries bearing on the subject, full use has also been made of the information received from informers and persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act whose statements have been found reliable and on which Government have felt themselves justified in acting. These statements throw much light on the inner working of the revolutionary society, and are of especial value in determining the activities of the revolutionaries and definitely fixing, with the utmost certitude, the crimes that may be placed to their charge.

As to the credibility of this information, taken as a whole, there cannot be the slightest doubt, and for this there is the highest authority. In this connection it will suffice to quote the following passage from the speech delivered by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal at Dacca on the 26th January 1917 :

"The greatest part of the information on which Government has acted in the matter of internments has been derived from the perons who have told us that they themselves took part in crimes avowedly committed in hostility to Government. It has come from persons who say that they themselves have been murderers, or have attempted to commit murder, or have helped to plan murders, or who confess that they have committed dacoity or have helped to screen those who committed dacoity, or have taken care of the arms to be used in murders and dacoities. Government have believed their confessions, not in every detail, but as true on the whole. That Government was justified in doing so is shown, I think, if in no other way, at any rate by the fact that in more than 50 places arms and ammunition have been found just where these confessions led the officers of Government to look for them. By far the greater number of persons against whom we have proceeded are persons who have been implicated by their own associates in the commission of crimes of violence or in the custody and use of arms."

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THE DACCA ANUSHILAN SAMITI

PART I

Its origin

The beginning of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti as a distinct organization may be said to date from the 3rd November 1905, when at the close of a speech delivered at Dacca by Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, some eighty young men, headed by Pulin Behari Das, stood forth at the call of Promotha Nath Mitter, and offered to take a vow to sacrifice their lives for their country : they could at no time have been in any doubt as to what they were entering upon, for in the course of the campaign against Government inaugurated by these two agitators, the plans for the "Freedom of India" had been quite clearly defined, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal even going so far as to declare that this consummation would be attained within a period of five years.

Pulin Behari Das was the first to take the oath, and with him Ashutosh Das and Bhupesh Chandra Nag, both later to play so important a part as lieutenants of Pulin in the Samiti of which he was now appointed commander by P. Mitter, with the title of "Captain-General." The manner of administering the vow was full of significance. P. Mitter held a sword with point resting on the forehead of the postulant as he knelt and solemnly swore that if it were demanded of him, he was prepared to sacrifice even his life for the independence of the country. In this one act the whole mission and purpose of the Samiti is at once revealed and symbolized.

The partition of Bengal was, of course, made to serve as the immediate and righteous cause of the agitation, but there cannot be the least doubt the idea and plan of the revolution had existed long before the partition was even mooted, and the measure merely supplied the opportunity for which the revolutionary leaders were seeking. "The contention of the Crown is that the partition of Bengal in October 1905 gave rise to considerable feeling of discontent amongst the Hindu inhabitants of the newly formed province of Eastern Bengal and Assam and that this feeling of discontent was utilised by certain persons, who desire to bring about a revolution, for the purpose of fomenting discontent against the Government and for the purpose of introducing into the province the design of subverting the Government by force." This passage is from the judgement of the High Court in the appeal in the Dacca conspiracy case. The facts even as they were known at that time fully established the correctness of this estimate of the situation, and

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subsequent events have more than confirmed it. If the partition were the root cause of all the trouble at might be expected that its annulment in 1912 had at least some effect in mitigating the revolutionary movement in Bengal; but, as a matter of fact, this was not the case. The movement, if anything, gained on strength, and it is well known that Bengali revolutionaries were deeply involved in the conspiracy that resulted in the attempt on the Viceroy's life at Delhi in December that year.

Its object — Revolution

The character of the association that thus came into being, and its real mission, will be revealed in the story of its progress and crimes. Its "official" documents and papers alone are sufficient to show that revolt against British rule was the true object of this organization. That the Dacca Anushilan Samiti is a revolutionary society is, however, a fact that is placed beyond all dispute by the pronouncements of the highest judicial authorities, and the following extracts from the judgements in the Dacca conspiracy case will serve to indicate its true nature and significance:

The Sessions Judge thus summed up his conclusions on this point, in his judgement dated August 1911:

"I have now dealt with the most important of the documentary evidence. The official documents alone show that the object of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti was neither self-protection from Muhammadan oppression nor regeneration of India by mental and physical culture, physical culture there was, but it took the form of practice in arms. The Samiti was no society of dreamers, it was a society of vigorous and enthusiastic youths led by Pulin, a man of great administrative ability, and preparing to gain their object by force of arms. The official documents of the Samiti alone leave no reasonable doubt that its object was independence, to be obtained by force of arms. This is made still clearer by the mass of revolutionary literature found on the Samiti premises. There is not, and there cannot be, a shadow of doubt that the members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti were animated by a burning hatred of the English and that their object was independence, to be obtained by revolution."

This view was endorsed by the High Court, with all the weight of its authority, when the case went up on appeal.

Mr. Justice Harington recorded the following opinion : — "The result of the oral and documentary evidence is to show that the Dacca Anushilan Samiti was formed having for its ostensible object the improvement of Bengali youth by the promotion of discipline and

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physical exercises - but behind this ostensible and open object, there was a secret object. . . . that secret object was to bring about a revolution and subvert the Government by force."

Mr. Justice Mookerjee likewise held that the Dacca Anushilan Samiti was a revolutionary society.

Four years later, in the trial of the supplementary Barisal conspiracy case (as also in the original Barisal conspiracy case tried a year earlier), the essentially revolutionary character of the Samiti was once more fully established in the Sessions Court and again endorsed by the High Court in the following terms :- "This Barisal Samiti (that is, the Barisal branch of the Dacca Anushilan) was an off-shoot of the Anushilan Samiti at Dacca which came to an end after the trial of the Dacca conspiracy case and the dispersal of its prominent members. It was active in Barisal, Dacca, and other places. While its leaders professed to inculcate religious and high moral principles, its aims and objects were in the main revolutionary, to drive the English from the country and to start some form of national government."

The "Captain-General" of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti

From the inception of the Samiti till his deportation on the 14th December 1908, Pulin Behari Das stands out as by far the most prominent figure in the organization, which he completely dominated and controlled. The rapid growth of the Samiti and the foremost position it came to occupy in Bengal among the several other societies of a similar nature, was undoubtedly due to Pulin's personality and the autocratic powers he wielded. In 1905 he was about 33 years of age and had already acquired a reputation for proficiency in "lathi-play" and physical exercises generally. Pulin had taken lessons from the fencing master, "Professor" Murtaza, who was employed by Miss Sarala Debi Ghosal for teaching fencing and Jiu-jitsu in her school of physical culture at Ballygunge in Calcutta and had taken a conspicuous part, during the years 1905-07, in promoting this development of the revolutionary movement. By descent partly European and partly Turkoman (he claimed that General Popham was this grand-father), it is unlikely that this adventurer had the slightest sympathy with Bengali national aspirations, but is was doubtless made well worth his while to impart his knowledge. His books and the most elaborate instructions in sword exercise and lathi-play based on his system were subsequently found in the searches made at the Dacca Anushilan headquarters.

About March or April 1905 Pulin and one of his brothers had rented a house, 50 Wari, at Dacca, and here Pulin began to instruct a number of

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youths in what was called "lathi-play," but which also included sword and dagger exercises. It was this band of lathi-players who formed the nucleus of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti and Pulin's immense influence from the very first is explained. His answering to the call of P. Mitter and immediate selection for the leadership was, therefore, not so fortuitous as it was made to appear.

The story of the Samiti during the first three years of its existence is also the story of Pulin, for they were both inseparably connected and Pulin absolutely dominated his surroundings. A correct estimate of Pulin, and the immense power he wielded - amounting literally to powers of life and death - will, therefore, best be obtained by following the growth and progress of the Samiti during this period. But it may be useful to give at this stage a brief personal sketch of the "Captain-General" of the Dacca Anushilan.

Little had been heard of Pulin Behari Das till he came into prominence during the visit of Bepin Chandra Pal and P. Mitter when the Dacca Anushilan Samiti was founded. He belongs to the "Deputy" family of Loneshingh, Palong, Faridpur district, so called because of the number of Deputy Collectors and other officials it has supplied to the public service. By caste a low class of Kayastha, his virtual apotheosis within the Samiti and immense influence even over men of the highest caste were all the more astonishing and quite inexplicable to the ordinary Hindu observer.

The following passage from a report submitted by a Hindu officer to the Commissioner of the Dacca Division is instructive in this connection :—

> "Pulin Das appears from this letter to wield extraordinary influence over all his disciples. The writer of this letter is a Kayastha of some little respectability, whereas Pulin Behari Das, though coming from a family of Deputy Magistrates, belongs to the lowest and the meanest order of the Kayasthas, for he is a Das, and as such, cannot hold up his head before respectable Kayasthas, and it is known to all elderly people that his ancestors were flunkeys to Chand Ray and Kedar Ray of historic name. But yet the writer calls himself, as will be seen in the letter, a slave to Pulin, and calls Pulin a Sat-guru, i.e., a Saviour — a Redeemer."

The same veneration for Pulin is seen in the dedication to him of a collection of seditious poems entitled "Gan," written by Saroda Charan Chakrabarti, of Routhbhog and Adabari, at one time a very prominent member, but subsequently murdered by Birendra Chatarji under orders of Norendra Mohan Sen, who was Pulin's successor in the Samiti and

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meted out to the unfortunate poet the fate decreed for him by Pulin, whose displeasure he had incurred. The dedication was in the following words:- "To the only object of our hope, strong and almighty of prowess, the lotus hands of Pulin Behari Dass."

An under-graduate of the Dacca College, Pulin Behari Das was not a very well educated man, his highest educational qualification being that of a failed B.A. He was at one time possessed of a fair amount of landed property, but this he gradually sold, the last to be disposed of being certain property at Chandpur, which he sold in the middle of the year 1908 for about Rs. 1,500. It may be noted that while in the Dacca College Pulin served as a laboratory assistant, and information was received that long before the Muzaffarpur bomb outrage—the first assassination committed by the revolutionaries—Pulin and his followers had imported stores of chemicals for bomb-making and that Pulin himself was an expert hand. It was also reported that he had discovered the formula for a deadly poison to be applied to arrow-heads.

Pulin must undoubtedly have possessed a strong personality and great organizing ability to have attained the position he did in the short space of three years. He remained to the end the undisputed chief of the Samiti with dictatorial powers, and at the time of his deportation in December 1908, his authority, by means of the net-work of branch samitis which had been established, extended practically throughout the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The most important principle of the Anushilan organization was absolute obedience and subordination in varying grades, under a leader, namely, Pulin himself. Printed and written documents proved this, and in particular the following may be quoted from an essay in Pulin's own handwriting. The paper was on the subject of "the total surrender of one's personal independence in the hands of a leader":— "The democratic principle cannot hold good in matters relating to the army, because in these affairs speediness is the secret of success. The proper time for work passes by and the whole thing falls to the ground if the consent of everyone has to be taken." The same lesson of unquestioning obedience was taught in the "Paridarshak," the largest and most important exposition of the organization as it was constituted at that time.

On the 14th December 1908 Pulin was deported and interned at Lahore under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. He was released in February 1910 and returned to Dacca, but now spent most of his time in Calcutta, where he kept in touch with all the most dangerous revolutionaries, and at the same time directed and controlled the affairs of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, which, declared illegal on the 15th of

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December 1908, now existed, and has continued to do to the present day, as a secret revolutionary society.

In August 1910 Pulin was arrested, and with 43 others prosecuted in the Dacca conspiracy case under section 121 A, Indian Penal Code — waging war against the King. He was convicted by the Additional Sessions Judge of Dacca on the 7th August 1911 and sentenced to transportation for life, but on appeal to the High Court the sentence was reduced to transportation for seven years.

The late Mr. Salkeld, who had many opportunities of seeing and talking to him, has described Pulin Behari Das as follows :-

"He is a slightly built but wiry man, about 5 feet 3 inches in height. His ears have been recently bored, and only two others were found in the Samiti with this peculiarity. This is supposed to be a mark distinctive of those who belong to the innermost circle of the Samiti. A considerable knowledge of his dealings and writings, coupled with a short personal acquaintance, lead me to characterise the head of this pernicious organization as an ascetic disciplinarian, keen witted but shallow; a visionary enthusiast with strong personal influence; cunning and deceitful; full of ambition."

He was certainly also vain and his asceticism did not prevent his practising the grossest immorality, of which there is ample evidence. There is a photograph of him on record in which he is posing attired in a Kshattriya head-dress and flowing robe and carrying a bugle of military pattern.

Bepin Chandra Pal

As has been indicated, Bepin Chandra Pal made no pretence whatsoever as to the nature of his doctrines. His demand at this time (whatever his later pretensions may be) was for autonomy in its fullest sense—not autonomy within the Empire, but absolute autonomy free from British control—British domination was to be overthrown, root and branch. Bepin Chandra Pal's speeches and writings during the time of the partition agitation are too well-known to require any but the briefest mention here. But as showing the general trend of his propaganda and the effect it was calculated to produce on the youthful audiences he was addressing, it may be useful to quote the following passage from his published book entitled "The New Spirit" :

"Tyrants have tried, but have they ever succeeded in repressing this natural love of freedom in man ? Repressed it has grown in strength, crushed under the heel of the tyrant, it has assumed myriad forms, and in successive incarnations, gaining strength and inspiration from repeated failures and endless sufferings, it has risen up finally to

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overthrow the oppressor for good. This is the teaching of history. This is the message of humanity.

"But like the Scriptural adder, tyrannies have eyes, but they see not, have ears but they hear not, and the universal teaching of history and the eternal message of humanity are both lost on them, and the car of progress has, through human folly and perversity, to wade through blood and ruin still on earth."

Quotation may be multiplied, but this one passage sufficiently indicates what the writer's views were. In this same book Sivaji is set up as the incarnation of the spirit of Indian nationalism, and it is pointed out that want of organization and want of arms are what prevent a successful revolution. His speeches were more openly violent, and with the more direct force of oratory, he did not hesitate to exhort his audience to sacrifice "white goats" to Kali.

National School

The rapid growth of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti was greatly promoted by an incident that now occurred and from which arose the so-called Dacca National School, and indeed so closely were the two connected in their origin, that the formation of the Samiti and the Dacca National School constituted one and the same development of the revolutionary propaganda.

One direct result of Bepin Chandra Pal's speeches was a strike of students of the Dacca Collegiate School. Some students attended classes in a costume intended to express mourning on account of the partition, and when ordered to appear in proper dress, they disobeyed and were fined. Then followed the strike in consequence of which certain students were expelled, including Ashutosh Das Gupta, Pulin's chief lieutenant. The result was the starting of the Dacca National School to provide education for these boys. It was at first held in a house in Lakhi Bazar, but was later moved to 51, Wari, next door to 50, Wari, where Pulin lived and held his lathi-play classes-the Samiti, in fact, was really an annexe of the National School. Pulin and his lieutenant, Bhupesh Chandra Nag, were from the outset teachers in the school and made the fullest use of their position to inculcate revolutionary ideas. The school contained to remain in close association with the Samiti until November 1908 when the premises of the latter, now at 452, South Maisundi-whither the school had also been moved-were searched and Pulin arrested.

An idea of the teaching imparted is obtained from a consideration of the books contained in the Anushilan Library, which the late Mr. Salkeled-whose admirable and searching analysis of the Samiti papers

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formed the groundwork of the Dacca conspiracy case-called "The Religious Revolutionists' Library." The books were the property of the Samiti and will be considered later, but having regard to the intimate connection existing between them, the educational methods of the Samiti must necessarily have had a very direct bearing on the life of the school, however much they were nominally held to be separate organizations. The teaching of the Samiti was excellently summed up by Pulin himself in a post-card addressed to Sarada Charan Chakrabarti of Routhbhog; the gist of it is: "If you are ready to sacrifice your life for the Samiti, I will take you in and give suitable education. You must, of course, give up the idea of attending any school." In March or April 1906 Bepin Chandra Pal, and Arabinda Ghose stayed at the National School on the occasion of their visit to Dacca. It was also known that on the night after Mr. Allen, the Magistrate of Dacca, was shot (23rd December 1907) there were songs and rejoicings at the school in celebration of the event. Nothing could better indicate what the Dacca National School really was and the use it was put to by Pulin Das and his confreres.

There was one other school-the National School at Sonarang in Munshiganj, Dacca district, which needs to be specially mentioned here. The Sonarang National School was founded in 1908 by Makhan Lal Sen, who succeeded Pulin (on the latter's deportation) as the leader and "wise man" of the Dacca Anushilan. Makhan Lal Sen will be noticed later; he is a prominent revolutionary, is the author of a moral treatise known as the "Scheme Book" and bears a reputation for piety as it is understood that, whatever his personal views and feelings, he undoubtedly did countenance and actively aid with his advice, the many dacoities committed during 1910-11 with Sonarang as a base of operations. This was very fully established, on unimpeachable evidence, in the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case. It was held by the Sessions Judge that the Sonarang National School was a school merely in name and actually a centre for the propagation of the revolutionary doctrine of the Samiti and for the pursuit of its activities. When the case went up on appeal to the High Court the Hon'ble Judges were equally emphatic on this point:- "There can be no doubt whatever that a number of the dacoities put forward as overt acts in proof of this conspiracy were engineered and carried out from the Sonarang National School, which, by the way, was closed soon after the Suakir dacoity, which was committed on the 31st March 1911." It is also known that the dacoities were committed in order to collect funds to meet the expenses of the defence in the Dacca conspiracy case then in progress.

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The Dacca and Sonarang National Schools were no doubt particularly bad examples, but it can safely be said there is not a "national" educational institution in the whole of Bengal that is not, more or less, permeated with the revolutionary virus, or the "idea" as it is called. Unfortunately the revolutionary "organizer" does not confine his attentions only to the national schools, but has penetrated with considerable success into Government and other institutions as well, with correspondingly serious results. His methods are now known, but he works in the dark, and the difficulties in the way of successfully checking his activities are obvious. As will later be seen from the "District Organization Scheme," the revolutionary emissary is provided with the most detailed instructions for the spreading of the "idea" in schools, especially in Entrance schools and colleges, "for it is unmarried youths who are the depositories of enthusiastic zeal, capability of doing work and self-sacrifice."

"National Volunteers" and the "Boycott"

Synchronously with the founding of the Samiti, the "National Volunteers" and the boycott movement came into considerable prominence and were immediately seized upon and pressed into service by the leaders of the Dacca Anushilan. Both these movements were antecedent to the founding of the Samiti, and as they were at the same time so admirably suited to the propagation of its mission, it is probable their adoption by Pulin was part of the original plan as laid down by the directing minds of the Samiti, that is, by Pramatha Mitter and Bepin Chandra Pal, both of whom were, of course, in the closest association with Arabinda Ghose, who was undoubtedly behind the whole movement. The Dacca Anushilan was but one of the many societies throughout Bengal that took up boycott and "volunteering" as weapons to be employed against Government in the anti-partition agitation, but the Dacca Anushilan, more than any other Samiti perhaps, used them to their fullest capacity, both in order to spread its own influence and prestige (and incidentally lower that of the Government), and to accentuate and give concrete expression to the military character of its organization, which, for the furtherance of their ultimate aim, it was so important to realise as speedily as possible. The picketing, the display of force, the flouting of constituted authority, distinctive uniforms, the carrying of lathis and the adoption of quasi-military formations and words of command, were all well calculated to appeal to the imagination, the vanity and the ignorance of the young bhadralog of East Bengal who had never yet seen a real soldier, much less taken active part in anything resembling soldiering, however remotely.

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The Boycott Movement

The "Swadeshi" and boycott agitation arose directly out of the anti-partition propaganda. "On the 17th July the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' had published a letter over the initial 'G,' in which the boycott of English made goods was first advocated. 'G' was at the time believed to be Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, but it is more probable, from what we know now, that it was written by either Arabinda Ghose or his brother, Barindra Kumar Ghose. The doctrine of boycott at once caught on and was openly adopted at a meeting held in Calcutta on the 7th August 1905, which date subsequently came to be observed as an anniversary of the initiation of the movement. The doctrine was not new — it had been advocated early in the year 1905, by a Punjabi, named tahal Ram Ganga Ram, who is February and March of that year, had distinguished himself by making inflammatory speeches in College Square." (Note on the growth of the revolutionary movement in Bengal.) Whatever its origin, the persons chiefly responsible for the Dacca Anushilan Samiti were certainly very ardent advocates of this economic war against British goods. In an article in the "Bande Mataram" headed "The Morality of boycott," Arabinda Ghose wrote: "The morality of the Kshatriya justifies violence in times of war and boycott is a war. Nobody blames the Americans for throwing British tea into Boston Harbour, nor can anybody blame similar action in India on moral grounds. It is reprehensible from the point of view of law, of social peace and order, not of political morality," and much more in the same strain. The Bengali press and agitators were everywhere advocating boycott, Bepin Chandra Pal foremost amongst them. The position of Bepin Pal at this time, in the boycott propaganda, was summed up as follows :

"All the leading agitators claim that Bepin Chandra Pal is a man with very little real authority and influence, and would have the authorities believe that they do not altogether countenance his disloyal speeches and declarations. At the same time whenever districts quiet down, boycott ceases, and the agitation seems to be in danger of dying out, it is Bepin Chandra Pal who is sent to stir up matters. He is a good speaker and has the power of carrying his audiences with him, and the after effects of this man's visits to different centres are nearly always more in evidence than when other agitators have taken the lead."

A few days before his arrival at Dacca, he delivered a speech at Calcutta ridiculing the Government circular regarding picketing by teachers and students, and urged school-masters to go on strike. Boycott, therefore, in every form, was, as may be supposed, violently preached

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when he again spoke at Dacca on the 2nd and 3rd November. Not only were the Bengalis to eschew all British goods but also all Government posts and even the education provided in Government schools, and Bengalis would have their own University and schools. It was not surprising, therefore, that immediately after this the students went parading the town shouting "Bande Mataram" and nearly caused a riot.

Even more harassing than the economic boycott was the social boycott and ostracism so ruthlessly enforced against offending persons. All the samitis were alike active in employing this coercive weapon so well calculated to inflict misery on the victim, and police officers were the worst sufferers. The performance of religious rites by the Brahmins of the offenders was prevented, and the Brahmins who disobeyed were themselves boycotted; the compeers of the persons ostracised refused to associate or eat with them. the marriage of their children was prevented; their barbers and washermen would not serve them; and even legal practitioners decline to take up their case—this last an engine of oppression of very great power in a country so litigious as Bengal.

The boycott movement, having no economic basis, was bound to fail and in due course died a natural death; but so far as the Dacca Anushilan was concerned, it certainly did its work, for it helped to bind and strengthen the organization and engender that spirit of enterprise and audacity, which it was the intention of the leaders of the revolutionary movement to infuse into the youth of Bengal. The following extract from Mr. Salkeld's report, dated the 10th December 1908, summarises the activities of the Dacca Anushilan in connection with the boycott:

"At first open boycott by bands of youthful 'lathials' was the order of the day. Of late, however, there has been no open violence because the boycott movement appears to have been effective, especially in parts like Bikrampur, where generally speaking hardly any foreign goods are now sold, but where those who still deal in non-Swadeshi articles are subjected to a well-organised social persecution. In one recent case a fine of Rs. 200 was imposed upon a shop-keeper under threat of social persecution and paid by him. The leaders in this matter were prominent members of the Anushilan Samiti. In Ichhapur a Pandit was abused and persecuted by volunteers because he attended the Conference of the Saraswati Samaj at Dacca, when an address was presented to Sir Charles Bayley. Before the Puja holidays this year, agents of the Anushilan, on the pretext of selling swadeshi goods, distributed leaflets in Dacca and Faridpur, threatening those who sold 'bilati' goods with the fate of Noren Gossain (the approver who was assassinated in the Alipur Central Jail). During the Pujas agents went round under Pulin's orders to note those

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shopkeepers who disregarded this warning; the intention being to punish them in any convenient way-arson being one method suggested. There was also active persecution of those who decorated their images with 'rang,' including the Deputy Magistrate of Dinapur, Surjya Kumar Das, a relative of Pulin. In Bikrampur some offending idols were destroyed."

The "National Volunteers"

The "National Volunteers" of the anti-partition agitation period were a very different organization to the "Swadeshi Volunteers" who used to figure somewhat prominently at political conferences and meetings, on which occasions they performed such services, as forming escorts for well-known leaders, collecting tickets, showing people to their seats and keeping order. This was all very well (it is still done at similar functions) and would have been harmless enough if it had not brought boys and young men into direct contact with politics and under the influence of political leaders not always distinguished for their honesty and scrupulous methods.

The later and thoroughly objectionable development of the "National Volunteers" was a very natural and easy transition. The machinery was there and it was merely required to set it in motion. the sinister element was introduced when the young Bengalis in Calcutta were initiated in the Sivaji cult and taught fencing and Jiu-jitsu at Miss Sarala Devi Ghosal's academy of physical culture of Ballygunge. Prior to this the Maharattas were only remembered for their marauding expedition to Calcutta and their name was used for frightening children: "Bargi eshechc deshe" is an expression still commonly used by Bengali mothers to hush their children. Mention has already been made of how this lady started samitis and introduced certain ceremonies in honour of departed heroes. This new departure gave the necessary direction, and with the starting of the Calcutta and Dacca Anushilan Samitis by P. Mitter and other similar societies, several of which together with the two Anushilan Samitis had eventually to be suppressed by law, "National Volunteers" were soon to be found everywhere and became synonymous with all that was antagonistic to Government.

They were most dangerous when masquerading in their character of public philanthropists and benefactors, for however laudable in itself the particular business on which they were engaged, the motive invariably underlying these apparently praiseworthy actions, was to get the masses on their side, and while popularizing their own institutions, to create at the same time a feeling of hostility to the Government. It was in fact an experiment in "Swaraj," as has been more or less candidly

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admitted by Bepin Chandra Pal in his most recent writings. In chapters XXI and XXII of his "Indian Nationalism and the British Empire," now appearing as a serial in "The Commonweal" (edited by Mrs. Annie Besant), he has tried to justify the boycott and "National Volunteering" and even "picketing." The central fact remains, and affords the most complete refutation of any claims made in favour of these "Volunteers," that the great majority of them belonged to samitis, notably the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, which were proved to be nothing else than revolutionary societies pure and simple, and for the creation of which Bepin Chandra Pal was himself greatly responsible.

It is noteworthy that this man, even at the present day, with all the pernicious results of his own handiwork before him, is naively dilating upon the innocuous character of the "National Volunteers" in the following fashion :

"The first inspiration of these voluntary organizations came from the requirements of our educative and propagandist work. Anti-partition and boycott meetings were being held all over the country; and the organization of these meetings and demonstrations called for local organisers who could undertake to get these up, raise the expense necessary for the purpose, circulate notices among neighbouring villages and suburban areas and organise processions for receiving the Nationalist leaders who went to these meetings, and keep order in these gatherings which sometimes ran into thousands and even tens of thousands of auditors. All demonstrations of this kind require some amount of pomp and circumstance, some elements of pageantry, for their success; and these volunteers were led thus to play at 'soldiering,' that is, affecting some kind of uniform and carrying long sticks somewhat after the manner of the boy scouts, parading the streets along which they passed. Sometimes they would draw up in quasi-military fashion to impart grandeur and dignity to the work in which they were engaged. All these appealed to the natural desire of vigorous youth show itself up and bid for the public gaze and the applause of the multitude. But even these innocent and playful demonstration commenced to tread on the nerves of Anglo-Indian publicists, and the 'Special Correspondent' of the 'Englishman' who went to study the situation in East Bengal, in 1906(sic), warned his people and the Government, of the 'Barisal Stare,' as he characterised the pose and attitude of these youthful 'National Volunteers.' This was really the beginning of all subsequent troubles over these so-called volunteers."

In giving to the special correspondent (Mr. Newman) of the "Englishmen" the credit for being the first to bring the true character

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of the "National Volunteers" to notice, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal is right, for with quite extraordinary insight, at a time when the drilling and marching, the mock fights and lathi-play of the "Volunteers" were regarded with mild amusement and the exact significance of these proceedings was still not fully apprehended, Mr. Newman in a series of letters from East Bengal in May 1907 exposed the real nature of "National Volunteering" and declared in the most emphatic terms that the object of the movement was nothing less than revolt against British rule — a conclusion which eighteen months later received the most ample confirmation when the Samiti premises were raided and its "official" papers seized and examined.

The whole movement in East Bengal, and in the Dacca district in particular, was identical with "Pulinism," and formed quite the most important of the activities of the Dacca Anushilan, of which Pulin was the head. Promatha Nath Mitter was himself an enthusiastic and most energetic "Volunteer," — and in going about the country spreading the movement, he was really establishing branches of the Calcutta and Dacca Anushilan Samitis. The identity between the vows of the "Volunteers" and those of the Dacca Anushilan, would alone suffice to establish the direct connection between the two organizations; they were in fact, as has been indicated, developments of one and the same movement. It was shown on more than one occasion that boys enticed away from their homes as "Volunteers" were brought down to Dacca really as recruits for the Samiti. Reference is here invited to the Adya and Antya Pratijnas at pages 30 and 31 of Part II of this note. As has been mentioned, these are identical with the vows "Volunteers" were required to take. The most cursory examination of these pledges will suffice to show that they go very considerably beyond anything that could possibly be required of persons banded together for nothing more hazardous than works of charity. The very first clause is an irrevocable vow.

The All-India Volunteer League

Early in 1908 information was received of an All-India Volunteer League and a list of office bearers was obtained. The list, which is reproduced below, sufficiently indicates what this league really was. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Arabinda Ghose remain to this day by far the most dangerous revolutionaries in India, and Pulin was said to be in direct communication with the former. In July 1908 Pulin had a large gathering at his house for the purpose of organising a demonstration in sympathy with Tilak.

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THE ALL-INDIA VOLUNTEER LEAGUE

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, of Poona, President for All-India.

Mr. P. Mitra, Barrister-at-law, President for Bengal.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Vice-President for Bengal.

Srimati Sarala Devi Chaudhuri, Lady President for the whole of India.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Arabinda Ghose, Bengal.

Mr. Monoranjan Guha, Bengal.

Mr. Aswini Kumar Datta, Barisal.

Babu Pulin Bihari Das, Chief Commander, Eastern Bengal Volunteer Corps.

Babu Brahma Mohan Ghosh, Captain, Faridpur Volunteer Corps.

Babu Kali Prasanna Das Gupta, Secretary, Mymensingh 'Anushilan Samiti.'

Babu Dinesh Chandra Guha, Captain, Parjoor Volunteer Band.

The Captain of the Chandpur Volunteer Corps.

The Secretary of the Barisal Brati Samiti.

The Secretary of the Comilla Sakti Samiti.

The Captain of the Calcutta Anti-Circular Society founded by the late Rama Kanta Ray.

The Captain of the Calcutta Ahiritollah Sakti Society founded by Hemendra Prasad Ghosh of the "Bande Mataram" Office.

The President of the Grey Street Brati Samiti founded in 1906 by N. N. Guha, and a host of other, including in all about three hundred names.

As a means of unifying all the more violent elements of the "Nationalistic" movement in India, this association must have been of the greatest value to the revolutionaries; but that the All-India League also had a positive side to its activities, may be inferred from the fact that it was proposed in March 1908, in connection with the Tinnevelly riots in the Madras Presidency, that the Bengal Anushilan Samitis should send 2,000 volunteers to protect the Madrasis against police oppression, and it was reported a small number had actually gone. Again, from reliable information subsequently received, it would appear that there was some talk amongst the revolutionaries of bringing about a rising in Calcutta at the time Khudiram Bose—the first "Martyr" was executed (August 1908)

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and that all samitis in India were asked to furnish contingents, the contribution of the Dacca Anushilan being fixed, it is said, at 20,000 volunteers. The idea, of course, never materialized, but that it was seriously mooted need not be doubted.

"Volunteers" as public philanthropists.

This brief sketch of "National Volunteering," in its bearing on the Dacca Anushilan Samiti with which we are here more particularly concerned, may be suitably concluded with an extract from the late Mr. Salkeld's report, dated December 1908. Mr. Salkeld had been District Magistrate of Dacca, and having made the Dacca Anushilan Samiti the object of his special enquiries, was particularly well qualified to form a correct estimate of the true character of this organization. His knowledge of the Samiti was unique and when the great search of the Samiti headquarters took place on the 15th November 1908, Mr. Salkeld was immediately placed on special duty to classify and examine the vast quantity of records, books, documents, etc., over 1,400 in all, which were seized, and was still engaged on this work at the time of his death in September 1909.

Referring to the Dacca Anushilan in its character of a "Sebak" Society, Mr. Salkeld wrote as follows :

"Mr. Allen testified to good work done at the Nangalband Mela in 1907. The Mela of 1908 and the great Ardhoday Jog in Calcutta show a great extension of this activity, but the true character of the volunteers was as clearly shown to me in 1908 as it was to Mr. Allen in 1907, and as regards Calcutta, I need only remark that the leaders of that particular band of Sebaks, which was extolled for 'selfless' devotion, are now proved to be dacoits. The real object of this 'philanthropy' is, I believe, to show those enormous masses of the population, which came together at religious festivals, the power and extent of the Samiti organization, and how it is supplanting the organization of Government. At the last Nangalband Mela, the volunteer leaders showed an extraordinary readiness to accept any conditions, provided I allowed them to keep order at the bathing ghats and help pilgrims at the various places where crowding caused discomfort. By engaging not to picket, the volunteers, numbering in all about 1,000, obtained the unique privilege of masquerading with lathis, pagris and gaudy badges before a concourse of about 300,000 people. Now that the true character of the Samiti organization has been unmasked, I would deprecate strongly any further recognition of volunteers on these occasions. The services rendered to individuals have been purchased at much too dear a price. These remarks cover all samitis, whether Anushilan, Surhid, Brati or other, for all unite as Sebaks."

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How accurately Mr. Salkeld had gauged the exact significance of this public philanthropy has been amply borne out by subsequent events, and his estimate is as true at the present time as it was ten years ago, with this difference that the methods of the revolutionaries have had to be modified to suit the altered conditions consequent of the suppression of "National Volunteering" as an open and undisguised organization.

On the occasion of the Burdwan floods in 1913, "Volunteers" were said to have done yeoman's service and their exploits were the subject of much euologistic writing in the Indian press. The fullest credit may be unreservedly given for such work as was done and it is not intended to detract from the value of these services; but it was surely something more than a mere coincidence that on this occasion were brought together so many of the most dangerous revolutionaries in Bengal. It was known that the party sent by Abinash Chakravarti, the ex-Munsiff, who was intimately connected with the original Jugantar gang, included certain revolutionaries, such as Abinash Ray, Khitish Sarkar, Kunja Lal Datta, and that they went to the house of the notorious Srish Ghosh (of Chandernagore fame) at Subaldaha in Burdwan. It was also found from papers recovered in November 1913 in the searches made at 296-1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, in connection with the Raja Bazar bomb case, that Sasanka alias Amrita Hazra, the very dangerous revolutionist of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, was in correspondence with the Head Relief Centre at Chandipur in the Midnapur district. We have since had it on the best authority that the gang of revolutionaries, some 22 in number, residing at 88, Upper Circular Road, who were proved to be so closely associated with the bomb conspiracy at 296-1, Upper Circular Road, all proceeded, en masse, to the Flood Relief Works, where they met Makhan Lal Sen at the head of a select company of some of the most desperate members of the revolutionary society. "Enquiries then made showed that the opportunity thus afforded for gathering together in circumstances which did not arouse the suspicion of the police, was eagerly seized upon by the revolutionary parties, both of East and West Bengal, who flocked to the flooded areas in considerable numbers and doubtless utilised the opportunity thus afforded to map out their future plan of campaign" (**Mr. Tegart's note on the Ram Krishna Mission**).

But the inward significance of all such apparently disinterested philanthropy is really beyond all doubt and we may let the revolutionary speak for himself. In the following extract from a statement on which there is every reason to rely, the true character of the revolutionary in his role of public philanthropist is at once revealed :

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"Aswini Babu after play in the field, used to give us revolutionary ideas, as we sat round in a circle. He used to tell us that the country was being drained of money by the English, that the country was miserable with famine and disease and the best remedy was to drive out the foreigner. Men should be recruited for the purpose and the best means of doing this was by mixing with the public, in nursing them and by Sankirtan, and by tuition of boys without fees. He used to take boys apart and make them promise not to leave the Samiti, nor disclose its secrets, always to try and improve its conditions, and not to teach outsider the secrets of the Samiti and so on."

This Aswini, it may be remarked, was a private tutor in the house of a respectable Bengali gentleman, who had employed him to teach his two sons, and he taught revolution with such success, that in a very short time both his pupils took place amongst the most desperate criminals and assassins of the revolutionary society.

It is interesting to note the important place given to public philanthropy in Amulya Sarkar's revolutionary pamphlet to which reference will again be made. The various departments of the organization should so work "that the public may take the entire body to be public philanthropists." The leader of the "Indian Liberating League," as it is called, is to be specially qualified in the department of "public works" and should be able "to exert such influence over the public that the latter's mind may be focussed to him wherever he will proceed to do any philanthropic works. This requires strong personal character." Again, "through philanthropic works" is one of "the process of recruiting." Amulya Sarkar is a man of the Pabna branch of the Jugantar party, but the enquiries in the Raja Bazar bomb case showed he was in direct communication with Amrita Hazra of the Dacca Anushilan, and the principles laid down in his scheme are now really common to all parties. It is known Amulya Sarkar was amongst the "philantropisits" who went to the Burdwan Flood Relief Works. The pamphlet, it may be noted, was found so recently as September 1916 in a search of Amulya Sarkar's house in Pabna and so represents, as far as we know, the most recent exposition of the revolutionary organization (see page 93, Part II).

The Headquarters of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti

It has been shown, therefore, the national schools, and the boycott and "National Volunteering" movements, helped very materially the rapid growth of the Dacca Anushilan, the "National Volunteers," in fact, constituting the chief outward and visible manifestation of the Samiti's activities outside its precincts.

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We may now return to the life of the Samiti at its headquarters and glance at the happening there.

There Samiti was started at 50, Wari, Dacca, which was Pulin's own residence and where he had been practising and teaching lathi-play for some months previously. As the house at 50, Wari, had become too small to accommodate the members, the Samiti extended itself to 51, Wari, already the Dacca National School, which now became the Samiti Boarding House. The house of Bhupesh Nag, Pulin's lieutenant, was also used for the purposes of the Samiti and members were here instructed in "Jiu-jitsu." No. 50, Wari, continued to be the headquarters of the Samiti till July 1908 when the owner, on account of reports which had reached him, ordered Pulin to vacate the house. Pulin accordingly moved the Samiti to 452, South Maisundi, and here it remained till the searches in the following November and its proscription in January 1909. This house was larger than 50, Wari and Pulin lived in a house immediately behind it, which had previously been hired by his brother. No. 452, South Maisundi, was known as "Bhuter bari" (the abode of ghosts), but subsequently after the Samiti moved there it was named "Bajripuri" or "The abode of the Thunderers," the members of the Samiti having adopted the name of "The Thunderers." "The National Bajripuri Mess", was another name given it. After the move to "Bajripuri" a stricter discipline and greater secrecy were maintained, the door was kept constantly closed, guards with lathis were kept stationed outside night and day and no one was allowed to enter without the permission of Pulin or of his lieutenant Ashutosh Das Gupta.

The selection of the title "Bajripuri" was significant and quite in keeping with the real character of the organization. Indra, in the Hindu pantheon, is feared as the awful ruler of the Storm and director of the lightning and thunder, and is represented as bearing the "Vajra" or thunderbolt in his hand. A verse of the Rig-veda says : "Indra, with the bones of Dadhyanch (otherwise Dadhichi) slew ninety times nine Vritras (or demons)." The story as afterwards told in the Mahabharat and Puranas is that the sage Dadhichi devoted himself to death that Indra and the gods might be armed with his bones as more effective weapons than thunderbolts for the destruction of Vritra and the Asuras. In the first chapter of the "Bartaman Rana Niti" (the Modern Art of War), a book much read by the Dacca Anuhsilan members, and to which reference will have to be made again, there occurs the following allusion:— "Fame cannot be obtained unless you offer all your bones and ribs by counting them like Dadhichi." Hence doubtless we get "Bajri" (or Vajri) the Thunderers, and "Bajripuri" the Abode of the thunderers, as the name

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adopted by the Samiti, for the destruction of the "Asuras" was certainly their one object.

The choice of "Sri Krishna" as a crest for the Dacca Anushilan Samiti is probably explained by the fact that it is Sri Krishna who reveals himself in the Bhagavad-Gita, which, as will be shown, was employed in the most unscrupulous manner to further the ends of the Samiti. Although Sri Krishna is represented as playing the flute, his connection with war and fighting is shown by the crossed swords, which formed part of the device.

"Anushilan," the title of the Samiti, means simply "Culture." If physical culture had been the only, as it was the ostensible, object of the samiti, the name was not inappropriate; but physical culture was merely a means to the end—Revolution. The name was admittedly taken from the well-known work "Anushilan" by the celebrated Bengali novelist Bankim Chandra Chatarji. It is a small philosophical treatise in the form of a dialogue between "Guru" and disciple, wherein the author endeavours to show how all differences and inequalities of capacity and station in life, are but the result of the manner in which individuals cultivate the powers inherent in each, and that there is nothing, physically or spiritually, that is not possible of attainment by the most ordinary of men, provided the right kind of culture is practised, and that the fullest knowledge is the truest religion. The book is included in the revolutionists' classics and we find it being sent to an "organizer" to help him in his work of spreading the "idea." It is excellent in itself, but was doubtless misapplied, like everything else, including their most sacred scriptures. The influence of Bankim Chatarji's works, and especially his novels "Annanda Math" and "Debi Chaudhurani," on the revolutionary movement in Bengal, will be noticed later. With reference to "Anushilan" Mr. Justice Mookerjee, in his judgement in the Dacca conspiracy case, remarked: "I must add that I was not impressed with the effort made at the Bar on the side of the appellants that the main features of the Samiti were borrowed from the work on Anushilan or Culture by Bankim Chandra Chatarji."

The growth of the Samiti

Pulin and his lieutenants lost no time in extending the Samiti and making recruits. Soon after lathi-play began at 50, Wari, lathi-play was also started in other parts of Dacca and the mufassal, and during the years 1906, 1907 and part of 1908 the movement spread rapidly. Pulin is said to have stated that there were some 500 branches of the Samiti, and in the Dacca conspiracy case evidence was given of the existence of 11

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branches in Dacca and 46 branches in the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Tippera and Pabna. We have since been told there were not less than 600 branches, and the statement that the Dacca Anushilan was to furnish 20,000 men for the proposed rising in 1908, to which reference has already been made, gives some indication of the numerical strength of the organization at this period. In March 1910, on his return from deportation, Pulin stated in a conversation with Mr. Denham, that he had 1,000 members in Dacca town and between 20,000 and 30,000 members in various districts of East Bengal.

Most of the branches were called by the name Anushilan Samiti, but some were known by other designations and, for obvious reasons, secrecy and concealment were most desirable so far as they could be employed consistently with the vigorous growth of the movement; for instance, in Barisal two mysterious "Gita" samitis were started, but later were discovered to be nothing else than branches of the Dacca Anushilan. Reference has already been made to the Jnan Bikashini Sabha of Madyapara, which masquerading as a literary society, was proved to be a branch of the Dacca Anushilan. Other samitis which retained a separate organization and activity, even they came under the influence of the Dacca Anushilan, which set the pace and fashion, till "Pulinism," as it came to be called, was rampant everywhere. The "Swadesh Bandhab" Samiti and its close ally the Braja Mohan Institution at Barisal under Aswini Kumar Datta; the "Surhid" at Mymensingh and the allied Sadhana Samiti, of both, of which Babu Anath Bandhu Guha, the head of the local Bar, was patron; the "Brati" Samiti as Faridpur under the patronage of Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar (President of the National Congress in 1916 and "Home Ruler") these were the most powerful of the samitis which retained a separate individuality, but they were not altogether proof against "Pulinism." Brahma Mohan Ghosh, a dismissed Sub-Inspector of Police and a very dangerous character, who was the founder and Captain of the "Brati," left the latter and joined Pulin at Dacca as soon as he realized that the influence and popularity of his own Samiti—once the most violent and dangerous in East Bengal—were declining as that of the Dacca Anushilan increased.

In July 1907 Pulin organized a secret meeting of 300 volunteers in the premises of the National School and the necessity of lathi-play was urged.

At first, both at Wari and the branches, lathi-play was indulged in openly, but in November 1907 there was an occurence at 50, Wari, known as the Wari Affray Case. In this Pulin and several members were arrested for beating some Muhammadans. The case was defended by P.

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Mitter. Pulin and four members of the Samiti were convicted under section 160, Indian Penal Code, Pulin being sentenced to three weeks' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs.15. After this, as apparently it was thought lathi-play was attracting too much attention, the door of the compound at 50, Wari, was kept shut and the walls were repaired, and it was only with difficulty that the lathi-play could be watched.

In December 1907 Pulin was present at a mock fight at Genderia in which about 250 volunteers were engaged. The Maharatta war-cry "Hara Hara, Bom Bom" was raised mingled with shouts of "Bande Mataram," and Pulin acted as bugler. There were some 500 spectators, including some pleaders.

In April 1908 Pulin visited Manikganj to celebrate the first anniversary of the local branch of the Anushilan which was founded by him. The celebrations lasted four days and there were two mock fights. There were about 500 combatants equally divided into two forces, representing the "Swadeshi" and the British forces, respectively. The war-cry "Hara, Hara, Bom Bom" again was used together with shouts of "Bharat Mata Ki Jay" and "Mantrer Sadhan kimba Sarir Patan."

In July 1908 Pulin went to Tangail, Mymensingh, and was received with the usual shouts of "Bande Mataram" by the students of the Bindubashini and Union Schools. The Samiti was inspected, there was formal worship with sacrifice of two goats at the Kalibari, Pulin lectured on Swadeshi, and encouraged boycott. There was an assault-at-arms next day attended by about 400 persons. The immediate result was increased activity of the extremist agitation, and the Subdivisional Officer reported that a state of terrorism prevailed.

In August there was a series of competitions and a mock fight organized by Pulin at Dacca, to which "volunteers" came from districts throughout East Bengal Pulin judged the competitions and many prizes were given. The mock fight was between a mufassal party, of which Pulin was captain, and a town party captained by Surendra Nath Nag and Upendra Nath Nag of Barodi, Narayanganj. About 400 "volunteers" took part in the fight, of whom 139 received prizes. This festival extended over a week. It is interesting to find that Ramesh Chandra Acharji (alias Kali Das Ray), who later "organized" so successfully at Comilla and Barisal and was one of the principal accused in the Barisal conspiracy case, stood first in the lathi-play competition; Radhika Bhusan Ray of the Dacca conspiracy case was second; a boy named Pratab (alias Jnanendra) was third; and Priyanath Acharji, cousin of Ramesh and likewise convicted in the Barisal conspiracy case, was fourth. Ramesh

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and Priyanath received as prizes the books "Chandi" and "Sitaram Ray," respectively.

The selection of "Chandi" as prize for such an occasion was certainly significant. "Chandi" is an epithet of Durga because she destroyed the demon Chanda, and this book tells of the reasons why the gods, driven from their kingdom by the demons, created Kali—Adya Sakti, or primordial energy—a manifestation of Durga, for the purpose of destroying the demons. The parallel to the political situation from the revolutionist's point of view is apparent, and so Kali is naturally the favourite deity of the revolutionist and he takes his vows before her image. The best known among the demons, whom Kali destroyed, were Sumbha and his brother Nishumbha and the general of the demons, Raktabij. The Chandi thus becomes the means of investing revolutionary ideas with a religious garb. Raktabij is a demon, from every drop of whose blood, when it touched the earth, a thousand other demons sprang into existence, and who, therefore, was the most dangerous and hardest to conquer of all the demons.

Recruiting Methods

It was known, at the time, that Pulin and his lieutenants were actively engaged in inspection work and establishing new centres, and much light has been thrown on their proceedings and methods by the fuller information of which we are now in possession. It is unnecessary for our purpose here to attempt to give any detailed account of their activities, but as showing how these things were managed, it will suffice to give in the deponent's own words an account of how Pulin and his lieutenant Ashutosh Das recruited a whole school, en masse, and sowed the "idea." The deponent, a revolutionary himself and convicted in a "political" dacoity, speaks with personal knowledge, thus :

> "After being placed in charge of the Anushilan, Pulin and his lieutenant Ashutosh Das Gupta came to Brahmangaon. The students in a body went to Pulin and asked to be enlisted, but he declined to take them without a guardian's permission in writing. I asked my uncle's permission but he refused, so I got a family connection, Nishi Guha, to write me one. Pulin accepted the permit and he agreed to take me, and gave me a form to fill in and sign, which I did. My father was still at Dinajpur at that time. Ashutosh then taught us lathi-play. Some 50 or 60 boys joined. We also received moral training. Pulin and Ashu remained 3 days at Brahmangaon in the house of Atul Guha, son of Jagat Guha, a Government pensioner. This Atul had been a Public Works Department

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Overseer in Burma, but had been dismissed. Pulin created him the Secretary of the Brahmangaon branch, and Atul used to give us instruction in drill. Inspectors from the Dacca branch came occasionally to instruct us. I remember Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta was one of these Inspectors. The instruction continued until I passed the Entrance. When I was in the Entrance class some bomb formulae, lithographed with some exciting head lines, such as, 'Mulya Ingrajer Kancha Matha,' 'the price of this is the head of an Englishman,' were received in the school. They were posted in Calcutta, addressed to the students of the Brahmangaon School. We learnt subsequently they had been posted to all schools. I was one of the students who first received the packets. The contents were read by all. My maternal uncle and the post-master were much afraid and they wanted to destroy all the copies, and actually destroyed a certain number, but we retained others. This occurred after the arrests in the Alipur bomb case."

(Note—It is known that after the arrest of the "Jugantar" gang and their incarceration in the Alipur Jail, Hem Chandra Das, their bomb expert, succeeded in sending out to sympathizers copies of the bomb formulae for wide distribution.)

"We did not make any use of these papers, the bomb formulae were beyond us and we could not procure the chemicals......... I entered the Victoria College, Comilla, in the First Arts Class and read up to the Puja vacation. During the holidays I went to Brahmangaon to my uncle, and met Brajendra. One day he invited me to come for a row on the river which I did. In the course of conversation he asked me why I was idling and doing nothing after all Pulin had said. Brajendra then told me the movement was slowly but surely progressing, he asked me to sacrifice everything and cut off all family ties. I replied this could not be done in a day and he told me to think over the matter quietly and to let him know my decision. Some time after I sent for Brajendra and told him I was prepared to work for the cause, but could not cut off my family ties at once, but would do so gradually. He told me I must take a vow, but I replied I had already taken one, the Adya Pratijna, and why should I take another. He replied that it was incumbent on me to take the Antya Pratijna, to which I agreed. . . . . . Brajendra asked me to accompany him to Sonarang, where he was reading in the National School, but I declined. He asked me for my address and said he would write to me from time to time and that I must reply. I returned to Comilla and rejoined the school. Brajendra used to write me very exciting letters, and as I was afraid of their falling into the hands of my brother, I arranged a window delivery at the Post Office. . . . . ."

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This is in many respects a typical case, but the "organizer," Brajendra, has apparently some trouble with the boy who had scruples and is attached to his family, and progress is consequently somewhat slow. In the hands of Pulin himself or some other of the more masterful leaders, the resistance offered by this boy to the "idea," would doubtless have proved of even less avail.

In the above account it will be noticed Pulin requires the boys to obtain their guardians' permission before he will enrol them, but that Pulin was actuated in this by any conscientious scruples may be put aside at once; he probably had some ulterior motive of his own—conceivably to commit the guardians as well. In fact, recruitment of boys for the purposes of the Samiti without the consent of their guardians, has been one of their commonest methods of getting recruits, both during and since Pulin's time. It was one of the points the prosecution very satisfactorily established in the course of the trial of the Dacca conspiracy case. Causing a boy to "abscond," as the revolutionists call it—that is to say, to sever all family and social ties (we see the man Brajendra trying to effect this in the particular case quoted) is looked upon as peculiarly adapted to the purposes of the Samiti. This will be more fully dealt with later.

In October 1908 a boy named Motilal had been persuaded by Pulin's agents to enter the Samiti and it was only when the boy's father went to the Samiti with a party of "lathials" that Pulin could be induced to given him up. It was this recruiting of boys—it has been designated "moral kidnapping"—which indirectly led to, of at all events, precipitated the action of the authorities with regard to the proscription of the Samiti.

One of Pulin's lieutenants, Fatik Chandra De, was specially in charge of the "recruiting department," and it would appear Sarada Charan Chakrabarti (to whom reference has already been made) was one of their most energetic recruiters. The following is the full text of the post-card written to him by Pulin :— "For such as are willing to sacrifice their lives for the Samiti, food and clothing are provided. Suitable education is also provided for them by the Samiti; but if any have also to study at school, there is not provision of food and clothing for them. If you give up the idea of reading at school and sever yourself from all worldly affairs, and are ready to do the work of the Samiti, then you can come to the Samiti. Give my love to all the members." It is obvious that the terms of this letter offered the strongest inducement to poor parents and the policy of catching boys very young was deliberately adopted the Pulin as an admirable means to his ultimate object. Many cases of enticement of minors and young boys came to notice at the time, and that this was a regular practice as a means of re-recruiting has since been deposed to by

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many of Pulin's contemporaries in the Samiti. A boy named Ganga Charan Datta, aged 13 years, was rescued by the District Magistrate from the Samiti after a month's residence there, but in this short thime his character was so changed that his father remarked that a month's training in the Samiti had deprived his son of his sense and made him a blackguard—so pernicious was the training given.

Connection with the Calcutta anarchists

During all this time Pulin remained in close touch with Calcutta and frequently went there. On these occasions he used generally to stay at 49, Cornwallis Street, the head-quarters of the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti, but he also stayed with P. Mitter. There is very little doubt that he must also have been in direct touch with Arabinda Ghosh.

Demonstrations, at Dacca, in sympathy with the Calcutta anarchists were most marked. At Dacca and at all important branches of the Dacca Anushilan, the members walked about barefooted on the occasions of Khudiram's, Kanailal's, and Satyendra's executions. On the other hand, there were open rejoicings when Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banarji was shot, and shortly after this a list was prepared at Dacca of police officers marked out for assassination.

The searches at 117, Amherst Street, Calcutta, in September 1908, in connection with the Alipur bomb case very clearly established the connection between Calcutta and the Dacca Anushilan. The house went by the name of "The National Students' Mess" and was largely frequented by East Bengal men, many of whom were members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. The mess was shown to be, from the papers found in it, a hotbed of revolution, uncontrolled or even encouraged, by the authorities of the National College.

The Samiti and its crimes

Pulin's recruiting propaganda had succeeded very well. The Samiti at this time was at the height of its numerical strength and its activities were correspondingly bolder. Beginning with boycott and picketing, it was, by the end of 1907, definitely committed to acts of violence and crime, which eventually led up to its being declared an unlawful association, under Act XIV of 1908. Thenceforward the history of the Samiti is the history of its crimes. Its progress as a secret society has been marked by a steady record of crime till at the present time it is responsible for more assassinations and decoities than perhaps any other section of the revolutionary society in India.

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The crimes committed by the Samiti during this initial period of its progress while it still existed in open association, will now be detailed.

The system and methods of its organization will next be stated, as being common to both periods of its development, that is, its career as an open organization and then as a secret society, in which form it continues to the present day. It will be necessary to describe the organization of the Samiti at some length, for it is to the thoroughness and efficiency of the methods employed that its success and continued progress are mainly due.

And lastly, an account will be given, in chronological order, of the crimes that may be ascribed to the Samiti from 1909 onwards, together with such other information bearing on its operations and the action taken to combat them, as may help to convey a connected impression of the activities of the Samiti as a whole.

It is hoped, by this method of treatment, a bird's-eye view of the Dacca Anushilan, from its inception onwards, will have been presented, showing it in its true character of an essentially revolutionary and most dangerous secret society, highly organized and absolutely unscrupulous, having widespread ramifications and occupying an important place in the general revolutionary scheme for the subversion of British rule in India.

Overt acts and crimes up to end of 1908

(1) **The Janmastami stabbing cases** :— On the 4th September 1907 on the occasion of the Janmastami procession at Dacca two men were stabbed; one fatally, by a band of young men, who suddenly fell upon their victim outside the Shaheen Medical Hall, and the other was stabbed in the back while walking through the Victoria Square. The first of these cases was not detected, but it is now known the right men were suspected. In the second case, Jyotirmay Ray alias Bhenga (Captain of the Lakshmibazar Branch Samiti), was sentenced to 8 months' rigorous imprisonment under section 324, Indian Penal Code. With Jyotirmay and Promode Nath Ghosh, another member of the Lakshmibazar Samiti, some important papers were found, including copies of the Anushilan Regulations and Drill-book, the "Adya Pratijna" (the first vow), and the "Sampadakganer Kartabya" (duties of Secretaries), which will be referred to later. We have since been told that these assassinations were ordered by Pulin in order to put a stop to the criminal intimacy existing between Hindu boys and certain

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ruffians of the town, and this is doubtless the true explanation, as the murdered man was known to have enticed away boys for immoral purposes.

(2) **The Digirpur case**, in which Mr. Allen, the District Magistrate of Dacca, was pelted with mud, requires notice. The two accused were sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment each and bound down under section 106, Criminal Procedure Code, but the police met with an organized opposition to suppress evidence. Digirpur was a prominent "Volunteer" centre and those who combined were members or supporters of the Samiti. It is significant that Mr. P. Mitter was engaged for the defence, but for some reason, not known, failed to appear.

(3) Next for mention is the **Wari affray case** to which reference has already been made.—Vide page 17.

(4) **The attempted assassination of Mr. Allen** at the Goalundo railway station on 23rd December 1907, when Mr. Allen was shot with a revolver and seriously wounded, remained undetected. It is definitely known now that three members of the Dacca Anushilan were concerned in the commission of this crime, and that it was undertaken under Pulin's orders who thought Mr. Allen was dangerous to the Samiti.

The rejoicings that took place at the Dacca National School in celebration of this event have been mentioned.

As showing the attitude of the Indian press it is noteworthy that the "Silchar" of the 14th January 1908, in a paragraph headed "The descendants of Raktabij," wrote that Mr. Allen, being an Englishman, had recovered from the wounds inflicted on him—an excellent application of the story of Raktabij as told in the book "Chandi" (see page 18).

(5) **The Branch dacoity** :—This was committed on 2nd June 1908, in the Dacca district. Four persons were killed, seven others wounded, and property valued at Rs.26,000 carried off. Four persons were committed for trial before a Special Tribunal but were all acquitted. But the dacoity was beyond doubt committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan, and it is noteworthy that the dacoits' boat, in which they were escaping, was received with shouts of "Bande Mataram" by the people of Dhamrai, where there was a strong branch of the Anushilan. We have since received the most circumstanial details of the occurrence from persons who were actually concerned. Some 25 men took part in the dacoity, including Pulin's lieutenant Ashutosh Das

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> and others who were later such prominent members of the Samiti, such as, Saroda Charan Chakraborti, Norendra Sen, Trailokya alias Kali Charan Chakrabarti, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Sasanka alias Amrita Hazra, and others. Fire-arms were freely used in this dacoity and the Samiti employed their own boats which they rowed themselves. Both the boats had to be abandoned, and one of them, which might have served as evidence, was removed by sympathisers at Asulia which was the rendezvous, both before and after the crime. It is known now that one of the dacoits succumbed to injuries received during the attack and another was seriously wounded.

Although not present at the dacoity personally, Pulin planned and had it committed. While himself an advocate of violence, the application of which was the ultimate object of the Samiti, Pulin appears to have entered upon this campaign of dacoities with some hesitation, doubtless foreseeing the danger that lay in them to his plans, which would best be served by spreading the movement openly without overstepping the limit and so precipitating action by Government. That this was Pulin's idea is clear from clause 6 of the "Paridarshak" — a document which will be discussed later; the gist of the instructions there given is that nothing was to be done which might impede the quiet secret working of the Samiti towards its goal, but with this proviso, any compulsion or physical force may be used in the interests of the Samiti. But his hand was forced both by the necessity of holding his party together at all costs and by the increasing difficulty of keeping the Samiti in funds. When therefore, as we have since been told, the members of the Dacca Anushilan threatened to secede to the more enterprising Jugantar party, whose exploits had excited so much admiration and received such wide advertisement in the Alipur bomb case, Pulin, in order to popularize his Samiti and retain his hold on the bolder spirits, organized the Barah affair and carried it through. He doubtless also took into consideration the other advantages this course offered — funds would be replenished, real military experience gained, and with little danger from the public, who would afterwards approve the deed as patriotic, and any who disapproved could be coerced into silence. It was also time people should know its aims and objects, and dacoities while increasing the impression of the power of the Samiti, could be relied on to lower the prestige of Government and demonstrate its comparative impotence. We have it on the authority of one of the most important of the Dacca Anushilan members that after the Barah dacoity, all idea of separating from the Samiti was given up.

This was the first dacoity committed by the Dacca Anushilan and it is important to note its exact significance.

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(6) **The Satirpara boat theft case** committed in the Dacca district on 16th August 1908. Three members of the Samiti were found stealing a boat and in possession of arms, and were convicted. It is now known that the theft was committed under orders of Pulin in order to replace the Samiti boats lost in the barah dacoity. It was also established in the Dacca conspiracy case that the boat was found under circumstances that formed part of a plan to commit a dacoity near Bairab in the Mymensingh district. The Sessions Judge's finding is interesting as showing the power of the Samiti at this time:-"I find that the story of the boat theft case as told by Hemendra and Nagendra is a true one, it was a plan by Pulin for a dacoity to be carried out by members of the Samiti, and the incidents which occurred in connection with it are striking instances of the power and influence of the Samiti which was able to anticipate the police at every point, kidnap Nilmani and keep him out of the way for a considerable length of time, and finally arrange for the defence of the accused in the case." Nilmani, it maybe noted, was the owner of the boat, and Nagendra and Hemendra two members of the Samiti who became police informers and later narrowly escaped being murdered.

(7) **The English Bazar dacoity,** committed at Gopalpur in the Malda district on the 20th October 1908, is believed to have been the work of the Samiti. Students and members of the teaching staff of the Malda National School were very strongly suspected, but, owing to a conspiracy of silence, it was found impossible to bring home the charge. The dacoity took place while Hemendra Kishore Rakshit, a member of the Dacca Anushilan, was at Malda inspecting the National School there. Hemendra Kishore Rakshit came from the mess at 117, Amherst Street, which was a nest of revolutionaries, and from papers recovered there it was satisfactorily shown that the Malda National School was directly under the influence of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti.

(8) **Attempted dacoity at Bhojeswar** in the Faridpur district on 18th October 1908. Dacca Anushilan men were very strongly suspected. It is now certain this was the work of the Samiti under the leadership of Ashutosh Das Gupta. Revolvers and guns were carried.

(9) **Naria Bazar dacoity, with arson,** committed in the Faridpur district on the 30th October 1908. Property worth over a

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thousand rupees was stolen and several sheds were burnt down resulting in damage to the extent of Rs.7,500. The Dacca Anushilan was strongly suspected at the time. We are now in possession of the fullest details. About the end of October Pulin summoned the leaders of various branches to a meeting at Dacca and on this occasion it was decided to commit dacoities in order to finance the Samiti. A few days later the Naria dacoity was undertaken under Pulin's orders. Well over twenty men took part, including Ashutosh Das and Birendra Chatarji. A machine invented by Pulin and manufactured at the Dacca National School, for forcing open safes, was to have been used, but it was lost on the way and the safes could not be opened-a fact which accounted for the small value of the loot taken.

(10) The murder of Manasha Chakrabarti in November 1908, was the last of the Samiti's crimes during this period and had the most important results. On the 4th November a definite charge of kidnapping was laid against Pulin. This was the first formal complaint and prompt action was immediately taken. Pulin and 27 members of the Samiti were arrested. The particular minor was found and five others. Pulin was detained in "hajat" and the other released on bail. The same night, however, certain of them proceeded to the homes of the various minors, and with the dreaded power of the Samiti, told the parents and guardians what they should do. Police enquiries proceeded, and a boy Sukumar Chakrabarti alias Manasha, who had been named as the local agent who enticed the minor, was examined in his home at Srinagar on November 10th. Papers found in his house and entries in the Samiti registers conclusively proved his connection with the Anushilan, and he was released on bail to appear before the magistrate on the 12th November, in Dacca. He did not appear, and on the afternoon of the 13th, his shockingly mutilated body and the severed head were identified both by his relatives and the police officers who had recorded his statement. It was in connection with this case the great search of the Samiti was made on the 15th November and practically everything removed. There was the strongest ground for believing that the boy had been murdered by the Samiti to prevent his appearing before the Magistrate as there was reason to think he would turn an informer. The matter has now been placed beyond all doubt and we know that the murder was committed by a number of Anushilan members, Ashutosh Das Gupta and Hem Ghosh being the actual assassins.

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The Samiti proscribed

The accumulating evidence regarding the criminality and lawlessness of the Samiti, and the complete exposure of its true character as evidenced by the Samiti papers and records which had now been seized and examined, pressed upon the authorities the imperative need of effectually dealing with the Samiti without further delay. On the 14th December Pulin was deported, and with him his lieutenant Bhupesh Chandra Nag. Next day the Samiti was declared an unlawful association under section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, and ostensibly ceased to exist.

Action against the Samiti was taken none too soon. As has been related, an attempt to murder the then District Magistrate, Mr. Allen, had already been made, and we have since learnt it was likewise planned to assassinate his successor, Mr. Salkeld. On his journey to Lahore, where he was interned under Regulation III of 1818, Pulin stated to the officer-in-charge of the escort that in December 1907 a party was formed for the purpose of harassing Europeans — and, as a matter of fact, some cases of molestation did occur—and that in November that year he was approached by Mukunda Lal Das Gupta, a notorious "Volunteer leader of Barisal, and asked to supply men for the massacre of Europeans.

Pulin's attitude towards the use of violence in the furtherance of the Samiti's interests was characterized by expediency tempered with caution. He had no scruples whatsoever : it was merely a question of whether it was worth while and could be done without imperilling the Samiti. The following account of a conversation, which G... sh Chandra Chatarji (an Anushilan member who was subsequently murdered) had with Pulin, is interesting as indicating the view taken by the Dacca Anushilan with regard to assassinations and violence generally; fanaticism was all very well, but it was stupid to incur unnecessary risks :

"There is one marked difference between the anarchists of West and East Bengal. Whenever a man in West Bengal commits an outrage, he does it openly and suffers the consequences; but in East Bengal the case is just the opposite. Pulin Babu was planning the murder of an official, and I said to him: "Why don't you sacrifice one of your men for him and do it openly in court?' He replied: 'We are no such fools as the West Bengal men.' This official (the late Mr. Salkeld) was the officer who on two occasions issued warrants for the search of the Anushilan Samiti. I had this conversation with Pulin immediately after the Naria dacoity. It took place in the Dacca Samiti. I was taking Pulin to task for committing a dacoity in my locality. Pulin said: 'The life of one of my men is more

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useful than that of a European; if my men behave prudently, they will live to do away with many Europeans.' "

The unreported and secret crimes of the Samiti up to end of 1908.

It requires to be stated here that in addition to the reported cases, there is good reason for believing that the Samiti was, during this period, responsible for many crimes, some of which have never come to light, while in others which were possibly reported the Samiti's complicity was probably not even suspected. It is impossible at this time to trace these occurrences, but those of which we have since received definite information need to be mentioned.

Secret murder must necessarily be one of the weapons of all revolutionary societies such as the Dacca Anushilan. The full extent of its criminality in this respect will never be known, but that it forms no inconsiderable portion of its crimes, there is little reason to doubt.

(1) A robbery on the Netaiganj Road, in Dacca at the time of the Dewali festival, 1907, Amrita Hazra alias Sasanka, Kamini Chakrabarty, and others, stabbed and robbed a man who was carrying a bag of money.

(2) A murder in Dacca town in 1907, Amrita Hazra stabbed another man to death.

(3) Murder of Annoda Prasad Ghose :— A youth aged about 16 years and a close friend of Suresh Chandra Sen (son of Ram Chandra Sen, of Madhyapara) was murdered at Dacca under orders of Pulin, about November 1908. The murder was committed by Suresh Sen, and three others, Pulin insisting that Suresh Sen should deal his friend the first blow. The reason for the murder was that Annoda having come to know of the criminal intimacy existing between Pulin and Suresh Sen, Pulin feared he might divulge the fact and resolved to "destroy his knowledge completely" — as the removal of persons with knowledge of Samiti secrets was euphemistically termed.

(4) Birendra Ganguli was murdered by Ashutosh Das Gupta and two others on suspicion of being a spy. He was decoyed on to the river, stabbed to death and his body thrown overboard.

(5) An attempted dacoity at Asulia in the Dacca district in the latter part of 1907. A number of Samiti members, including Amrita Hazra, went out to attack and loot a jute office but retired on finding the inmates armed with guns. This was in the jute season when large sums of money are remitted for the purchase of jute.

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ORGANIZATION AND METHODS

Religion and European revolutionary methods

Part II

The Dacca Anushilan Samiti was exceedingly well organized for the purposes of its mission. Its rapid growth, the great power it has wielded, and the cohesion in its ranks, enabling it to adapt itself to changing circumstances and adverse fortune and still retain a vigorous life (only now beginning to wane under the application of the Defence of India Act), are all to be attributed to the excellence of its system, and the energy with which Pulin Das and his successors have administered it.

But it is not to be supposed that the plan of its organization originated with Pulin, however well he carried it into effect. Possessed, no doubt, of a certain administrative ability and cunning, he lacked the mental capacity and deep insight needed to evolve and give life to a scheme, which, while eminently practical and exhibiting qualities of order and method such as are not usually found associated with purely indigenous efforts, at the same time introduced so skillfully that greatest of all appeals that could be made to the Hindu mind and imagination-the appeal to his spirituality and religion, wherein, he was now taught, lay the best hope of his political emancipation.

This being so, and bearing in mind, as has before been indicated, that Arabinda Ghose (himself the greatest exponent of the revolutionary "Sadhu") and the original Jugantar gang, with whom Pramatha Nath Mitter and Bepin Chandra Pal, the founders of the Dacca Anushilan, were so closely associated,-bearing in mind that they were behind the whole movement in its early stages, there can be no doubt the religious inspiration came from Arabinda, while it is equally certain the practical lines on which the movement was cast, were taken from the methods of European revolutionaries, as will clearly appear from the following considerations:

Hem Chandra Das, the bomb expert of the Jugantar gang—now serving a life sentence in the Andamans—was sent to France in 1906 for the ostensible purpose of studying mechanics. He there contracted an intimacy with a Russian anarchist woman during his stay in Paris and was introduced by her to other anarchists, from whom he learnt the art of preparing explosives. In November 1909, in the course of a search connected with the Nangla dacoity, there was found a small pamphlet headed "General Principles," being a description, in condensed form, of the methods and organization of the Russian anarchists. At the same time

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three other papers were found, namely, a paper on "the Simple Science of Explosives," another on "Detonators," both containing in language quite free from technicalities very precise instructions for the manufacture of high explosives and detonators, and a third paper, which is a general summary or review of the procedure of Russian revolutionary propaganda, and very interesting it is too in its close bearing on the Bengali revolutionists' methods. Taking, for instance, the paragraph on the "Terroristic Department," the description may be taken almost just as its stands and applied to the "Violence Department" of the Bengal revolutionaries, and is worth quoting here by way of illustration.

It is as follows :—

"This department is the main organ of the revolution. It is divided into two sections—(1) a deliberative and (2) an executive section. The deliberative section is divided into two branches—(a) conspiring, (b) detective. The executive section also is divided into branches—assassins and assailants, and preparers of means of assassination and terrorism."

"The function of this department is to kill or otherwise punish unpopular Government officers, policemen or detectives hampering or shadowing revolutionary work, traitors to the country that are unpopular, obstructive of revolutionary work, or refractory members treacherous and disobedient to the revolutionary party; to commit dacoities; to procure arms from Government arsenals; to manufacture arms, explosives and other deadly things; to conduct secret presses; to act as spies on the police; to take service or employment in disguise at various places; to forge receipts, cheques, drafts, etc.; to realise cess etc.

"This department works quite independently of other departments. The members of this department remain in disguise at every important place; the members of other departments can know nothing of the members of this department, nay, unless extremely necessary, one member of this department gets no opportunities of knowing another member. A trustworthy comparatively inefficient member of this body is appointed its ostensible head. The real head of the department screens himself behind him and does the work. The former person is generally caught and sentenced to death. In many instances such bogus leaders are selected by the casting of lots. The whole work of this department is vested in an itinerant band. It has branches at many places and every member follows ostensibly some occupation or other.

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"The main object of this department is to exasperate the royalists and through them to bring down terrible oppression by the ruling authorities on the sleeping population of the country, and thereby make known to the people of the country their own miserable condition, to proclaim the dignity of strength, to furnish royalist rich men, zamindars, officers, etc., who are unwilling to pay cesses, and to apply remedies to the diseases of treachery and hostility to the motherland, etc.

"Some members of this department enter in disguise various places of business of Government (lit. the Royal party), and gather information with a view to the furtherance of present and future work."

The methods outlined above are very similar to those of the anarchists in Bengal, and for making known to the people of the country "their own miserable condition and proclaiming the dignity of strength," the revolutionaries here seem to find their chief instrument in the Indian press. When we see assassins and dacoits being extolled as "patriots" and "idealists," and every measure designed to combat them misrepresented and violently attacked, the place of the Indian press in this propaganda is certainly a very important one.

That the writer of this comprehensive exposition of Russian revolutionary methods was in personal touch with Russian anarchists is clearly shown by the fact that in the paragraph dealing with finance, he refers to a conversation he had with a "leading worker," and further, that he was also a Bengali, by the comparison he makes in one place with the methods advocated in "Debi Chaudhurani," the well-known Bengali novel by Bankim Chatarji.

The whole of "General Principles" and the connected essay on Russian revolutionary methods are of considerable interest here and are reproduced below at page 113.

It has now been quite well established that this pamphlet was brought from France by Hem Chandra Das. When Upendra Nath Banarji, of the Jugantar gang and now undergoing a life sentence, was interviewed at Port Blair by Mr. Tegart in August 1913, and shown "General Principles," he frankly admitted that it was identical with the pamphlet Hem Chandra Das brought back from France and gave to Barindra Ghose, who distributed copies to sympathisers. It was apparently very widely circulated, for in June 1908 an Engineering student in Madras was seen to have four or five copies in his possession one of which was obtained from him and will be found published at paragraph 1245 of the Bengal Police Abstract of Intelligence, 1908. It is entitled "The secret organization of the Russians," and except for some slight transposition in the arrangement of the paragraphs, is identical with "General Principles."

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The system of the Bengal revolutionaries does not, of course, fit in exactly with the Russian scheme as set out in the pamphlet, for adaptation of differences of country and race, to national customs and tendencies, was necessary, as also to the dominating religious element entirely absent from the Russian propaganda, but the underlying principles are the same and easily discernible in the Dacca Anushilan organization and methods, as will appear later.

The Samiti records and papers

The true character of the Dacca Anushilan is revealed, as has been said before, by its official documents and papers alone, and in this respect it is possible to speak, if indeed the matter were at all open to question, with more exact knowledge and certainty of the aims and objects of the Dacca Anushilan, than of perhaps any other section of the revolutionary society. The mass of books, documents and papers seized on the 15th November 1908 were over 1,400 in number; it took 15 days to prepare a detailed list of them; it took about six months to sort and classify them under different heads; and Mr. Salkeld was still at work on them at the time of his death in September 1909. The result of Mr. Salkeld's searching analysis is embodied in a red book in four volumes, and it is impossible here to do more than refer very briefly to its contents and make such selections as are more especially suited to our purpose.

The "official" documents of the Samiti

In the Dacca conspiracy case considerable importance was attached to what were called the "official" documents of the Samiti. These may be taken as being the most representative selection of the Samiti's official papers in its character of a revolutionary society and it is necessary to describe them at some length.

The "official" documents were classified as follows:

(1) Vows.
(2) Rules for the conduct of members.
(3) The paridarshak, or rules for Inspectors, being an essay by Pulin Behari Das setting forth the nature of the society.
(4) Parwanas, or appointment certificates of paridarshaks.
(5) Sampadakganer Karttabya, or duties of Secretaries.
(6) Notice about organising samitis.
(7) Village notes.
(8) Independence leaflet, or essay on unity.

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VOWS

The vows were four in number and of gradually increasing degrees of solemnity, marking the postulant's progressive initiation into the secrets of the Samiti. They were known as-

(1) The Adya Pratijna, or initial vow.
(2) The Antya Prtijna, or final vow.
(3) The Pratham Bisesh, or the first special vow.
(4) The Dwitiya Bisesh, or the second special vow.

It may be noted here that the Adya and Antya Pratijna are identical with the pledges of the volunteers to which reference has already been made. Copies of the "Volunteers" pledges were in the hands of the authorities as early as July 1907.

Over 1,000 copies of the Adya and Antya vows were found in the Samiti. Under article 19 of the Sampadakganer Karttabya every member of the Samiti was required to keep a copy of the vows.

The Adya Pratijna (Preliminary Vow).

" Om Bande Mataram."

1. (a) I will never dissociate myself from this association.
   (b) Wherever I may be, I will always make the utmost endeavour and effort to bring about the improvement of the association.
   (c) I will never do anything that may injure the association.
   (d) When I see any likelihood of injury to the association I will at once inform the authorities and do my best to remedy it.
2. (a) I will always keep my character pure and stainless.
   (b) I will take particular care and make particular effort to make body and mind firm and strong.
   (c) I will eschew fear as an abject passion.
3. (a) I will cherish no enmity towards any member of this association.
   (b) We members (literally brethren) of the association will all of us be bound together by the tie of unity.
   (c) We will one of us deliver another from difficulties and dangers.
   (d) And having an eye to one another's improvement will gird up our loins for the well-being of the country and gradually of the world.
4. (a) If any member of the association offends me I will forgive him.
   (b) I will not cherish any feeling of hatred for anybody.

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(c) If anybody goes astray I will try to bring him round and act according to the orders of the manager to chasten and reform him.

5. (a) I will always obey the rules of the association.
   (b) I will obey without questioning the orders of the authorities.
   (c) I will never keep back anything from the manager and never tell him anything but what is the truth.
   (d) And will endeavour to be present in time for work.
6. (a) I will never neglect to learn exercise and drill as prescribed by the association.
   (b) I will never teach forms of exercise and arts of self-defence taught by the association without the permission of the association or to anybody who is not a member of the association.
   (c) I will never learn anything anywhere in contravention of the rules and vows of the association.

There are 21 separate promises, and assuming that we had only this document before us and knew nothing else about the Anushilan it might at once be argued that most of the promises are innocuous. According to article 18 of the Sampadakganer Karttabya there was no secrecy about the Adya Pratijna. It was to be put up as a poster, no doubt to convey to the public generally the idea that the Anushilan Samiti was an excellent institution for the moral and physical reform of young men. But the first promise "I will never dissociate myself from this association" goes far beyond the needs of a gymnastic club, and it is remarkable that this very first condition to entering the fold is an irrevocable promise and was administered to all alike, even to young boys of only 9 years of age. Once a member-always a member; there is no possibility of retracing one's steps. Then again 1(d), each member is here set as a watch upon every fellow member. This is the method of securing the inviolability of the vows. If the gymnastic training had been only for the physical and thereby moral improvement of young men, there was obviously no object in keeping it secret.

The Antya Pratijna (Final Vow)

" Om Bande Mataram."

1. I will not reveal to anybody any internal affair of the association and will never, without cause, discuss those affairs.
2. I will never contravene the procedure of the association. I will always be obedient to the manager of the association. I will fully

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obey whatever order he makes at any time.

3. I will never change my residence without informing the manager. I will never keep back from the manager my place of residence or mode of living at any time. If I come to know of the existence of any conspiracy against the association I will at once inform the manager of it and set about remedying it according to his orders.
4. Wherever and in whatever condition I may be at any time I will at once come away on receiving the manager's order. If, on account of any serious, physical or natural impediment I am unable to come, I will at once make a representation to the manager informing him of the circumstances and come away as soon as the impediment is overcome.
5. I will regard no work whatever as degrading. To do the work of the association I will eschew hatred, shame and fear. I will wholly eschew the fear of public censure. I will not cherish even a tittle of desire of fame. I will not be envious of anybody because he excels me and attains fame. Regardless of either good or evil report and wholly eschewing argumentation and babbling, I will keep on performing my duties with gravity, patience and perseverance and will by no means hesitate to display self-abnegation, self-sacrifice and generosity in doing the work of the association.
6. Anything that I shall learn in this association by making a vow in respect thereof, I shall not be at liberty to teach anybody except sworn persons.

Apparently it was recognised that in spite of all rules and the power of the Samiti to enforce them, there would still be a few backsliders. Hence, no doubt, those who took the first vow were under a period of probation, which if satisfactorily passed, the final vow could then be administered. It is clear that this vow marked the admission of a member to some at least of the Samiti's secrets.

Pratham Bisesh Pratijna (First special vow).

" Om Bande Mataram."

In the name of (Citing them as witnesses) the Parambrahma (God), father, mother, guru (religious preceptor), leader and the motherland, I am taking this oath that I shall not entangle myself in any affection either for my parents, agnates and relations, friends, and home, etc., till object of the Samiti is fulfilled.

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I shall not hesitate to make any sacrifice for the sake of the work of the Samiti. I shall never, for anything, leave this Samiti or the association thereof. I shall fully obey all the rules of this Samiti and this mandali (association). I shall perform without any objection all the works of this Samiti under the direction of, and in full subordination to, the permanent, temporary and the present leading members. I shall never change my residence without informing the leaders and shall never be anxious for my own selfish motives.

I shall never, in my life, smoke or drink or take any intoxicating drug. I shall never have any sexual intercourse with a prostitute or any illicit connection with any other's wife, widow or unmarried girls, or never masturbate or do anything unnatural with a boy, and I shall try my best to obstruct and remove the tendencies of my friends, relations and acquaintances towards these acts.

I will bring everything to the knowledge of the authorities if any one breaks this or any other vow for the taking of necessary steps against it, that if I flinch from this solemn vow or in any way act contrarily, the curse of God, of mother, and the mighty sages will destroy me ere long.

This is a very different and much more serious vow than the two preceding ones. This vow was hung up near a "Kali Murti" in the Samiti premises. The picture showed Kali in her most repulsive form and the vow was taken before the goddess Kali in order to give it the religious sanction most binding to a Hindu.

Those who take this vow forsake all earthly ties until the mission of the Samiti is fulfilled, for which every sacrifice shall be made.

An important fact must be noticed regarding the Bisesh Pratijna. It is taken bodily from the "Ananda Math" of Bankim Chandra Chatarji, and very closely follows the fifth chapter of the second part. In "Ananda Math" Satyananda administers the oath to Mahendra before the image of Vishnu. The vow there is in the form of question and answer, but the renunciation of all earthly ties is the same. The omission of a certain passage of the vow in "Ananda Math" from the Anuishilan vow is significant. The words omitted refer to the payment of all money into the treasury of the Baisnabs (the association of the Sannyasis) and to the taking up of arms in the cause of their religion. It is probable that this passage omitted from the Anushilan vow formed one of the "secret mantras" referred to in the next vow, but which it was too dangerous to put into writing.

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Dwitiya Bisesh Pratijna (Second Special Vow)

"Om Bande Mataram."

1. In the presence of God, fire, mother, preceptor and the leader (lit. making them witnesses) I swear that I will do all the work of the circle (Samiti Bardhak Mandali-circle for the development of good sense), staking may life and everything that I possess. I will carry out all commands and will act in opposition to those who act in opposition to the aforesaid circle and do injury to them to the utmost of my power. (The Samiti Bardhak Mandali was described by Pulin Das as being the Executive Committee of the Samiti.)
2. I swear that I will never discuss the inner secrets with anybody, and that I will not tell them to any relations and friends or unnecessarily ask anything about them even of those included in the circle.
3. I swear that I will always be ready to carry out commands in a steady and disinterested manner, always preserving the secrecy of "mantras" and discarding waywardness, fickleness and the propensities for loquacity and wrangling.
4. I swear that I will never conceal anything whatever from the leader, and that I will never tell him a lie.
5. I swear that I will always be engaged in the practice of religion, and that I will mete out just punishment to those who are antagonistic to it.
6. If I fall away from this vow or act in opposition to it, the curse of Brahmins, of the mother and of the great patriots of every country will destroy me ere long.

This the last vow goes further than the Pratham Bisesh and now the supreme sacrifice of death is explicitly embraced. We have here a vow of what is admittedly a secret society, the members of which bind themselves to do injury to the utmost of their power to those who thwart them. The system of terrorism which is clearly advocated in the Paridarshak and hinted at in the Sampadakganer Karttabya reaches a climax in this vow. The phrase "Secrecy of Mantras" corresponds to the "Gupta Mantra" of the Paridarshak and shows how the main principles of the Samiti were embodied in all its documents. Clause 5 refers to religious practices (dharma acharan) and the idea of enthusiasm in their pursuit is estimable enough, but the idea of punishing those who are antagonistic to one's "religion" is a very novel doctrine among Hindus. Obviously the "dharma" is not the ordinary Hindu faith, but some

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militant belief peculiar to the Samiti—a "Samiti religion," it may be called; the pursuit of their aim has become a religion and is to be followed with that fanaticism only associated with religion.

It is to be noted that among those who will punish the broken vow is the "mother."

A variation of this vow begins with the declaration "from to-day I take up the task of setting up Dharma-rajya in India by removing and doing away with all obstacles; I do (hereby) offer my life to achieve this end." This idea comes direct from the Gita and connects this vow with the "Jugantar" newspaper, which had for its motto the following verse of the Bhagavad-Gita:- "Whenever O descendant of Bharata ! piety languishes and impiety is in the ascendant, I creat myself. I am born age after age, for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, and the establishment of piety."

It was held by the trying Judge that the society to which these vows gave admission was a secret society which dared not disclose its objects. It is clear that all the discipline, obedience, secrecy, devotion to dharma and recourse to violence, to which the vow system binds every member irrevocably, are directed to the accomplishment of a dangerous and unlawful object, which can only be the subversion of British rule, as is more clearly brought out in the other documents yet to be described.

Vows how administered

As to the manner of administering the vows, we have the statements of several revolutionaries describing the ritual and ceremony observed, which were all calculated to invest the proceedings with the utmost solemnity and make the greatest possible impression. Priya Nath Acharji, of the Barisal conspiracy case, has thus described his initiation :

"Before the Durga Puja vacation on the Mahalaya day, Ramesh, myself and several others of the Dacca Samiti were formally initiated at Ramna Siddheswati Kalibari by Pulin Das. There were 10 or 12 of us. We took Adya, Antya and the Special Vows before. There was no priest present and the ceremony took place at 8 A.M. before the goddess Kali. Pulin Das performed 'Jajna' before the goddess and other Puja. The vows which were printed were read out by each of us and we signified our readiness to be bound thereby. The special vow was taken by each of us specially before the goddess with a sword and Gita on the head and kneeling on the left knee. This is called the 'Prattalirha' position and is supposed to represent a lion about to spring on his prey."

It may be mentioned that the Mahalya day is specially sacred to all Hindus; it is the day on which Sradh ceremonies for departed ancestors

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take place and is observed by fasting and the feeding of Brahmins.

One more instance may be quoted to show that this system of vows did not die out with the dissolution of the Samiti in December 1908 but is still faithfully adhered to by the members of the secret revolutionary society. Purna Chakrabartti, a very active and dangerous revolutionary in his time, recruited several boys at Comilla in 1914, and one of them, whose name need not be here specified, has described the ceremony as follows:-"On the Kali Puja day of that year I was summoned from my home by Purna and under his instructions myself and the following men did fast for the whole day ..... After nightfall Purna took all four of us to the cremation ground. There Purna had arranged for the image of Kali and at the feet of the image he had placed two revolvers. We were all of us made to touch the image and take a vow to remain faithful to the Samiti. On this occasion we received our Samiti names, viz:-. . . . . ." Another deponent describing the Gopalpur dacoity in 1913 has stated that they fasted, took vows, touched a sword, the Gita, copper and "tulsi" leaves, before setting out on the expedition.

Rules for the conduct of members

This document contains the most elaborate instructions for the conduct of members and the management of the internal affairs of the Samiti. It is laid down at what hour the members are to get up, what they are to do when they get up, when they are to go to bed and what they are to do during the day. The quantity and kind of food they are to eat is also laid down, and their life is regulated even to the detail of saying how often they are to have their hair cut. The duties of members who are detailed to look after different departments, such as bedding, the clothing of members, the food, the library and the sick, are all laid down, the whole being very much on the lines of rules in military barracks.

Mr. Justice Mookerjee thus summed up the significance of this document:

"When we turn to the rules for the conduct of members, we find the same remarkable provision for the preservation of an unnamed secret. With this end in view, allunnecessary discussion even amongst the members was strictly prohibited. They were not even to write letters to their friends and relations without the permission of the leader, and all letters for and from the members were to be shown to him. Members were also to cut themselves off completely from relations and friends, and if they obtained any money from them, it was to be regarded as the common property of the Samiti and circle. Each member was also required to take both the sets of the vows of the Samiti, i.e., the initial

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and the final, as also the special vows of the circle. Every member was further expected to get by heart the vows, the duties of a manager, the paridarshak, the lathi-play book and the regulations. Finally, every member was bound to bring to the notice of the chief whatever drawback he might notice in any of the other members, and if the concealment of the fault of the member by another should be detected, both of them were to be punished. These rules plainly indicated that the members were to be subject to the absolute control of the head of the Samiti and that all possible precautions were to be taken for the preservation of an undisclosed secret."

The discipline enforced within the Samiti was extremely severe. There were sentries on duty at the gate, and a regular distribution of watches during the night. The punishments were ferocious as will appear from the following orders passed in the "Order Book" by Pulin himself:-

"Om Bande Mataram."

(1) "Sriman Upendra shall have, for misconduct, to take boiled rice without salt for 15 days without talking to anybody, to keep watch at night from 2 A.M. to 5 A.M. for eight days, and for the whole night for 7 days.

(2) "Sriman Kshiti Mohan shall have to do the same for 10 days, and to keep watch for the whole of the night for 4 days.

(3) "Sriman Mahesh, too, shall have to do the same for 7 days, and to keep watch for the whole night for 3 days.

The Paridarshak

This is a very lengthy document and perhaps the most important of all the papers of this class found at the great search. It was written by Pulin himself and contained the fullest instructions regarding the duties of the Paridarshak or Inspector.

Clause 4 is specially interesting as showing the military character of the organization and the real object of all the severe discipline enforced. "In no country and at no time a powerful body or a military organization has been or ever can be, formed without hard-and-fast rules. Special knowledge which might be used against the preceptor, can never be imparted without considering the fitness of the recipient." Or in other words-before you train your samitis into military bands, be sure that you are dealing with trustworthy members who will never break their oaths, or in the hour of danger the men whom you have trained may be induced to fight against you.

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Great stress was laid on this document, in the Dacca conspiracy case, as establishing the revolutionary character of the Samiti. Mr. Coutts, the Sessions Judge, summarized its contents as follows :-

"The document is headed with the order that it is to be read five times, and then come the words 'Bande Mataram.' The order to read the document five times shows clearly that it was of importance that its instructions should be thoroughly understood and assimilated. It is the thought out work of Pulin and it is to be rigidly adhered to. The words 'Bande Mataram' which follow the order that the book is to be read five times appear on almost every book and paper of the Samiti, and they are significant in this, that as has been said by Bipin Pal in his 'New Spirit,' the words 'Bande Mataram' are a 'mantha,' they have a sacred signification, and they are not, as appears on the face of them, an invocation of the mother-land only, but they are in addition an invocation to the goddess Kali.

"After the order to read the book five times and the words 'Bande Matram' the instructions proper begin. First the paridarshak is told how he is to proceed when he goes to a new place. He is first of all to get all information about the village, 'indirectly,' from the influential people of the village. He is then to ingratiate himself with the people, and when he has done so, he is gradually to draw their attention to 'our object.' Then, as unity is necessity, the reason for the taking of vows is to be explained. Without unity 'our cherished end' will never be accomplished. The necessity for rules is also to be explained, because no powerful body or military organization can be formed without hard-and-fast rules. The necessity for strict obedience to the leader is then explained.

"The paridarshak then goes on to explain that those who separate themselves from the Samiti are to be brought back by stratagem, force or artifice, and that this will always be possible, because there will always be enough members who will obey the leader. 'Bands' are also to be formed.

Then come instructions as to inspection of branch samitis and how enquiry is to be made for likely places to start new samitis, also instructions about filling up the 'village notes.' Next enquiry is to be made as to whether any one breaking vows or rules. If so, first 'sweet words' are to be used. If these prove ineffectual, 'recourse must be had to other methods.' If anyone is teaching play to anyone, who has not taken the vows, attempt is to be made to remedy this effectually.' If a list of new members has not been sent to the 'Pradhan Sampadak' (Chief Secretary, evidently Pulin), this is to be

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done. Factions that have arisen are to be dealt with. The 'Paridarshak' is to see that each Samiti has its proper officers. Abbreviated signs for each course of study are then given. These courses of study are significant; they are:- 'Sword exercises, dagger exercises, lathi exercises, boxing, riding, archery,. management of boats and exercises with a heavy dao."

"Next, enquiry is to be made by the paridarshak if anyone is learning without taking the vows. If so, an attempt is to be made to make him take the vows. If this fails, 'arrangements will have to be made for the complete destruction of his knowledge.' Then comes instruction about important information which it is necessary to send to the Chief Secretary. This is not to be sent by post; it is to be sent by a trustworthy relative of the Inspector.

"Next comes a reference to swadeshi. Every member is to use swadeshi goods, as much as possible without any show, the Samiti has no 'open relationship' with popular and outward swadeshi, because 'unless the foreigners and foreign king are driven out, it is impossible to drive out foreign goods.'

"Then comes the matter of admission of Muhammadans. Pulin in his paridarshak says they are not to be admitted, first because they will not respect the vows and because the 'habits and customs' of the Hindus and Muhammadans are repugnant to one another. He says some Muhammadans are fit to be members but then proceeds :-'If it so happens that all Musulmans grow violent against the Hindus or if they join with the English and if the parents and relatives of the Musulmans who have joined our band stand against us, then what course will all those Musalman members adopt, is to be considered by both sides. If at that time they leave our side, then there will be very great chance of injury to us. For this reason, those who will once join our band will have to remain in our band for ever. It will not, therefore, be of any good to us if two or four Musulmans come and play lathi with us and then go away; they will simply go away with a knowledge of some of our mantras."

"He then goes on to say that he believes that within a year or two the entire Musulman nation will become submissive to the Hindus.

"Endeavours are to be made to get zamindars to form 'bands' of low castes; these are to be made to take a special vow, they are to play separately, but they are not to work separately.

"This then is the paridarshak. It is a very long document, but I have tried, as far as possible, to give the principal points of

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it. The document appears to me to completely dispose of the defence story of the objects of the Samiti, and to corroborate to the fullest possible extent the prosecution contention and the evidence of the witness as to the real object of the Samiti."

Mr. Justice Mookerjee commented in the following terms on the contents of this document as indicating the true character of the Samiti :-

"The third official document which requires examination is the paridarshak or the visitor. This is an elaborate statement of the method to be pursued for the establishment of new samitis in new places. The visitor who was to be entrusted with this responsible duty, was furnished with a series of plausible and captivating arguments to be used by him for inducing people to inaugurate societies. To take one illustration, people who might object to take vows were to be told that otherwise only an undisciplined body would be formed. But we need only confine our attention to the more striking passages of this remarkable document: in the first place all factions were to be avoided, and strenuous effort was to be made to have the different samitis under a central authority. If the object of the movement was merely to improve physical culture and to afford self-protection against the Muhammadans, it is difficult to appreciate why a central association with its branches spread over the whole province was essential. It was a fundamental part of the scheme that no associations were to be tolerated even for the purposes of promotion of physical development, unless they consented to be affiliated to the parent association and adopted its vows, rules and methods of work. In the second place, strict measures were to be adopted to prevent any entrance into the society by persons who had not taken the vows and yet by deception attempted to learn lathi-play. Such a person when detected, was to be prresed to take the vows and if he refused, arrangements were to be made for the complete destruction of his knowledge. This provision has an undoubtedly sinister look, and I am not much impressed with the interpretation suggested by the learned Counsel for the appellants. In the third place, there is a lengthy discussion as to why Musulmans should not be admitted as members of the society. As the avowed object of the society is assumed by the accused to have been self-protection of the Hindus against the Muhammadans, it is difficult to appreciate how any occasion could really arise for the consideration of this question. At the same time, there is a significant sentence that it would not be proper to show hostile feelings against or to deal unjustly with the Musulmans as a nation. This document

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taken as a whole, clearly indicates, in my opinion, that systematic effort was to be made to have a net-work of samitis throughout the length and breadth of the land, that independent samitis even for physical culture were not to be tolerated, that any attempt to learn he secrets of the society without a vow was to be frustrated by complete destruction of knowledge, and that Muhammadans were to be excluded from the Samiti, but no hostile feelings were to be shown towards them as a nation. I have not referred to a somewhat ambiguous sentence which appears only in one copy of this document and which might be interpreted to mean that foreign kings were to be driven out. The learned Judge has treated the passage as capable of a harmless meaning and I shall not consequently draw from it any adverse inference. The same remark, however, does not apply to the passage where reference is made to a possible combination between the British Government and the Muhammandans; this is only consistent with the theory of a revolutionary conflict between the members of the Samiti and their followers on the one hand, and the established Government of the country on the other."

Parwanas, or appointment certificates of Paridarshaks

A NUMBER of these papers were found at the Samiti. They were printed forms with a blank space for the name of the paridarshak which was filled in and the whole signed by Pulin. The necessity for issuing stereo-typed forms showed that the branches of the Samiti were very numerous. The parwana contained an injunction that the paridarshak or Inspector was not to be suspected of being a detective as detectives could not teach lathi-play.

The Sampadakganer Karttabya, or duties of Secretaries.

This document is almost equally important as the paridarshak. Its contents were summarized by the Sessions Judge as follows :—

"Endeavours are to be made to get new members. The antecedents of new members are to be ascertained and then they are to be bound by vows before admission. After admission full particulars under 10 heads about the new members are to be entered in the admission register. The Secretary is to see that the members observe all the rules. If a member does wrong, he is to be corrected by 'sweet words,' then by advice, then by intimidation and then by corporal

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punishment. If all these methods fail, the matter is to be reported to the Chief Secretary, but in no circumstances is the delinquent to be allowed to leave the Samiti or his name struck off the roll. Members are to be inspired and stirred up with patriotism, a daily routine of duties is to be fixed, proper arrangements for lathis, 'gulails,' boats, horses, arenas for wrestling and other apparatus is to be made, habits of endurance are to be taught, members are to be divided into batches of 10 under Captains, copies of vows are to be made and stuck up in a prominent place in the akhra and the attention of members is to be drawn to them. Members are to keep their own lathi-play books and each is to keep a copy of the vows. Members who have only taken the Adya vow are to be taught only up to certain stages in big lathi, little lathi (sword) play and dagger play. Boys under 12 years of age are not to be allowed to take vows but are to be taught certain physical exercises. Arrangements are to be made for the collection of 'musti bhiksha' (handful of rice) and orders are given for the remittance of money to the central Samiti.

"These are shortly the rules called 'Duties of Secretaries.' They aim at maintaining the same strict discipline as at the Anushilan Samiti at Dacca, and complete control over the branches is kept in the hands of the Chief Secretary. They denote an extremely well-organised association, doing all in its power to increase its membership, but guarding carefully against secrets leaking out by either admitting any one undesirable into the Samiti or allowing any one to leave."

It is noticeable that even boys under 12 were to be recruited; they are designated "Samitir Bahiranga," or the external limbs of the Samiti. This is the policy of catching boys young. They are to be thoroughly familarized with the Adya Pratijna, made to conform to it, and trained to "stand up to an opponent fearlessly;" but at the same time they must not be admitted to the secrets of the organization. Each stage in vow-taking is accompanied with progress in instruction up to a certain point, but this limit cannot be exceeded.

Notice about organizing Samitis

This is a form of notice for the organizing of new samitis and no less than 123 copies were found in the Samiti. The organization had evidently become too large for Pulin to manage by himself, so he contemplated a regular system of government.

The Sessions Judge recorded the following observations regarding this document :

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"The object of this circular was also evidently to extend the scope of the Samiti, and the wording of the circular makes it appear that it is an attempt to put into practical application the advice of 'Mukti Kon Pathe' in regard to the formation of 'bands.' In regard to this at page 52 we find the following :-'But the formation of a central band in the district and connection with it, always and everywhere, should, as a chief aim, form an object of endeavour. With the constitution of these district bands, the real foundations and the field of activity for the chief central band for all Bengal will be in the course of preparation. This principal band will take up the duty of holding the branch bands together and keeping them under control.' For what these district bands and the chief central band were to be used 'Mukti Kon Pathe' makes no secret. It frankly says that it is revolution. 'Mukti Kon Pathe' is one of the books of the samiti library and there is no reasonable doubt that Pulin borrowed his idea from it. The significance of this in connection with the prosecution contention in regard to the object is obvious."

Village notes

These are printed forms evidently intended to be filled up by paridarshaks. They give 21 headings under which complete information is to be given about villages, and there are headings under which information about the local Samiti is to be given, and finally a space for the preparation of a map of the village.

Regarding this document Mr. Justice Mookerjee remarked as follows :—

"The fifth document which requires consideration is what has been described as the village note. The society was to send out inspectors to every village throughout the length and breadth of the province and information was to be collected and entered under various heads about all conceivable topics relating to each village and its condition. The learned Counsel for the appellants has contended that the information sought to be collected was of a perfectly harmless character. This may be conceded. But the question obviously arises, what was the object with which all this statistical information was to be collected on an extensive scale. It was unquestionably needless for the purposes of the physical improvement of the Bengali race; but it would indubitably be of great assistance if a revolution was to be ultimately achieved or even if dacoities were to be committed to procure funds for a revolutionary society. It is worthy of remark that

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to each village note was to be attached a map to indicate the roads and rivers, meadows and canals, houses and gardens, and the specimens on the record indicate fairly with what minuteness the information had been collected and depicted on the map. In my opinion, although the village note by itself may be a harmless document, it furnishes some indication of the ultimate ends of the society; and the defence has not been able to suggest even a plausible explanation of the purpose for which the information contained in a document of this character might be needed for the accomplishment of the objects of a society for the physical and moral improvement of the Bengali race."

The Independence leaflet or Essay on Unity

Of these no less than 1,463 copies were found. The leaflet was admittedly the work of Pulin.

Mr. Justice Mookerjee thus described it:-

"The last document to which attention need be directed is what has been described as the unity leaflet or the independence leaflet. This was printed and circulated publicly. It may be described as full of patriotic sentiments. But its central idea is that there is no possibility of unity unless subordination to one leader is accepted. The object of Pulin Behari Das plainly was to be this leader, a leader into whose hands, as he puts it, individual freedom was to be totally surrendered in order that national and social freedom might be achieved. The full significance of this may be appreciated when taken in conjunction with the passage in the paridarshak where reference are made to the career of Napoleon."

Summary

This description of the official documents may be concluded with the following extract from the judgement of the Sessions Court, as establishing the fact that revolution, and revolution alone, was the object of the Dacca Anushilan:

"These then are the official documents of the Samiti. In themselves and without reference to any other evidence they show that the Anushilan Samiti was a wide-spread secret society formed neither for self-protection against Muhammandans nor for the regeneration of the Bengalis. These official documents are carefully worded, the object is kept secret and is generally only alluded to as the 'object,' 'our work' or 'our cherished end,' but its nature appears more clearly in the unity or independence leaflet and in the

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> paridarshak. It is independence, and independence it cannot be doubted to be obtained by driving out the English. In no other way can this secret society, the Anushilan Samiti, be explained. It was organised on military lines with the strictest discipline, practising assiduously the use of arms, providing for secrecy by the administration of vows and ensuring it where necessary by the surest of all methods, namely, death. Nowhere in these documents do we find any reference to that mental culture which is referred to by the defence and on a consideration of these documents alone I think there can be no reasonable doubt that the object of the Anushilan Samiti was indepence to be achieved by revolution."

Lathi-play

It will be convenient at this point to describe as briefly as possible the different kinds of exercises or training which were included in the broad but misleading term "Lathi-play," the pursuit of which, as we have seen, took a prominent place among the activities of the Samiti, for it was with religion and the sword that India was to be regenerated.

Pulin Behari Das, as has been mentioned before, was a pupil of Murtaza, of Calcutta, the fencing master employed by Miss Sarala Devi Ghosal to help her to popularize the Sivaji cult. When the Samiti was searched no less than 180 books on lathi-play were found, and this was to be expected, as according to the rules of the Samiti every one was bound to keep his book of lathi-play. In most of these there was a copy of vows, which also had to be kept under the rules, and in general there is found inscribed the "Invocation to the Sword." The extra-ordinary connection between the oath and lathi-play is shown by the repetition of the word "pratijna" on every page of the lathi-play books. Under article 21 of the Sampadakganer Karttabya progress in lathi-play is regulated according to the kind of vow taken.

The Invocation to the Sword

"Om Bande Mataram."

"Invocation to the Sword.

"Hail Sword that moves about in the hands of heroes, that gives forth loud shrieks, that tears the enemy to pieces, that remedies oppression and that wanders about the battlefield.

"Begging is ever his sole stay, lifelong slavery is his lot, who cannot hold the sword. The wielder of the sword can remove slavery. Fortune resides in commerce, and that with your help, O Sword. Tinged with the blood of the enemy you sever

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> slavery. You are the protector of science, knowledge, work, religion, wealth, paddy, house, son, wife, bravery, heroism and glory. Leaving aside the flute, Krishna freed his mother Debaki in chains in prison, with your help, O Sword, the destroyer of sin."

Another from of the invocation is found in combination with Sakti Puja, thus :—

> "I bow down to Thee, Sword; Thou crown of all weapons, the symbol of death. With much respect I take Thee from the hands of Adya Sakti. In this vicious Kaliyug when Vistu (religion) has been so much attenuated, when weapons have been the order of the day, weapon incarnation. Thou art the only arbiter of truth.

Systems of training

In the paridarshak there was list of the terms used to denote the different branches of training, including lathi-play, danger and sword exercises, boxing, riding, drill, rowing, shooting at a target and Jiu-jitsu.

"Chhoto Lathi-play" or sword exercise

Of these exercises, however, lathi-play received by far the greatest attention, as was proved by the time table, showing distribution of lathi-play, found at the Samiti. The Samiti authorities were perhaps prepossessed in favour of the big lathi by the praise bestowed upon it by Bankim Chandra Chatterji in "Debi Chaudhurani," but at its best the big lathi could hardly be expected to drive out the English from India and for that purpose real weapons were required. In the meantime the young revolutionaries must be trained with a view to handling those weapons when the time came. Neither guns nor swords could be openly used during the course of training, and in these circumstances the adoption of "chhoto lathi-play" was most wise. In the search of Jyotirmay's premises in September 1907 there were found a set of introductions (upakramanika) to the dagger, sword and big lathi exercises. In the search in November 1908, however, only one kind of upakramanika was found and that the most important-the introduction to the sword exercises, but with this difference that "lathi" replaces "sword" throughout though such expressions as "sharp side," "wrong side," "piercing the enemy's body" are still retained. Clearly, therefore, "chhoto lathi-play" was in reality sword exercise, as is also unmistakably shown by a consideration of the elaborate exercises prescribed, and the fact that the "chhoto lathi" was exactly 38 inches long-a bit too long for a walking stick, but just the right size for sword exercise.

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The significance of "chhoto lathi-play," therefore, is very obvious, and wherever practised it indicated a band of conspirators.

Drill

The Anushilan drill (Chalan Pranali) included squad drill, and bayonet and firing exercises, also the duties of sentries-all exclusively military exercises. Some War Office Manuals were also found in the Samiti and were included in its catalogue of books.

First Aid to the Injured

The Samiti members were also instructed in the treatment of injured persons. At the end of a book on lathi-play there was found a list of first aids for some significant injuries, such as concussions, sprains, fractures, stab and cut wounds haemorrhages, etc., and three copies of the standard "First Aid to the Injured" published by the St. John Ambulance Association were also found at the Samiti. Clearly, the military side of physical training was the more important and was pursued with earnestness and with a view to real military exploits and their natural consequences.

The Samiti military text-book

It should be mentioned here that the book "Barttaman Rana Niti" (which will be discussed later) was obviously the military text-book of the Samiti and brought the Dacca Anushilan Samiti directly under the teaching of the Calcutta anarchists. It was published in October 1907 by Abinash Chandra Bhattacharjya of Arbalia, who was convicted in the Alipur bomb case, and is a complete treatise on the art of war, with special reference to the methods of guerilla or "unequal" warfare, which the author thinks best adapted to the conditions of India. A considerable number of copies were actually seized in Dacca town on the 20th February 1908 and it formed the subject of proceedings under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, that were taken against two persons. Three copies were found in the Samiti and both from their condition and the entries in the Samiti Library Issue Book, it was quite evident the books were in great demand and were actually being studied.

Rowing

The management of boats (nauka) was amongst the most important of the accomplishments enjoined, and necessarily so in a country where rivers are the great means of communication. The many dacoities in

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which boats have been used show that considerable skill has been acquired in this respect.

Signalling

The Samiti also seem to have had a system of signalling for use in times of danger or when engaged in some dangerous enterprise.

Target practice

Target-shooting has been mentioned as one of the exercises prescribed in the Paridarshak. The words used literally mean "piercing the mark." There was nothing to prove that archery was practised either in Dacca or at any of the branch samitis, but from the contents of a certain letter it seemed probable that this was done. The writer undertakes to raise a "Hindu Volunteer Corps" each of whom would be "expert in lathi, sword-playing, dagger-playing, boxing and in shooting arrows." Apparently real target practice was for the future, and meanwhile archery would train the eye, just as "chhoto lathi-play" would be preparation for the real swordsmanship when the day should come. As a matter of fact, however, we now know, on the best authority, that members of the Dacca Anushilan take every opportunity of acquiring proficiency in the use of fire-arms. Both Girindra Mohan Das and Priya Nath Acharji have deposed that the Samiti retreat at Agartala in Hill Tippera was used for target practice. We learn from another source that a place on the canal near Calcutta was also used for this purpose. It is said that the blood-thirsty Krista Lal Saha alias Kanai, one of the most dangerous assassins the revolutionary society has yet produced, used to practise at Ananga Sirkar's place at Korpai with a licensed gun belonging to a panchayat—a statement which there is no reason to doubt and which affords a commentary on the persistent demand for the repeal of the Arms Act. The names of various men are received from time to time as being specially proficient in the use of fire-arms, and this skill certainly could not be acquired without frequent practice.

The Samiti Library

A large number of books were found at the search of the Samiti headquarters in November 1908. At the same time a complete catalogue of the Anushilan Library was also found, together with a Library issue-book; the latter was a very important document as it contained numerous signatures of those members to whom books were issued, and revealed in a remarkable manner the favourite authors, thus furnishing

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incontestable evidence of what occupied the mind of the members of the Samiti.

There were a number of school and college text-books belonging to Pulin and other who joined the Samiti, but there was no evidence they were ever read. On the other hand, it was shown the seditious and revolutionary books were in great request and were actually studied. The following are a few of the books most read:-"Jaliat Clive," "Pratab Singh," "Maharaj Nand Kumar," "Sikher Balidan," Bankim Chatarji's "Ananda Math" and "Debi Chaudhurani," "Ananda Bai," "Chhatrapati Sivaji." There were many others of the same type.

"Clive the forger" was easily the first favourite with the Anushilan readers. The moral obviously is to excite feelings of hatred and contempt against the English and English rule in India, the very foundation of which is alleged to be a forgery.

"Pratab Singh" is a historical novel praising the Rajputs as heroes and patriots in their fight against Akbar. The dedication is to the student community of Bengal with a hope that they would emulate the example of Pratab Singh in respect of his heroism in adhering to the vow he had taken in fighting for his motherland against Akbar.

"Maharaj Nand Kumar" charges the East India Company with oppression. Here too the moral is obvious.

"Sikher Balidan" written by Miss Kumudini Mitra, B.A., a cousin of Arabinda Ghosh, contains short sketches of the lives of Sikh heroes and martyrs and inculcates the duty of self-sacrifice in the cause of religion and country. The purpose of the book has been described in a review by Surendra Nath Banarji printed at the end of the book. The review was published in the "Bengalee" in August 1906, and doubtless had its pernicious effect on the "boy-martyrs."

"Chhatrapati Sivaji." — The Sivaji cult has already been referred to. It is to be expected, therefore, that this book would be a very favourite one with the revolutionaries. We have seen that the war-cry of the Maharattas-"Hara Hara Bom Bom" - was used by the Samiti at their mock fights and it has been regularly raised on the occasions of the various dacoities committed by them, even down to the most recent. Sivaji, who recovered the Maharatta country from the Mlechhas, is obviously the exact type of hero to be imitated by those who, in their view, are engaged in freeing their country from a similar curse. The following passages only need be noted :-

> "There is absolutely no sin in killing with great cruelty that base born man, who, being a native of the soil, throws obstacles in the way of the establishment of the freedom of his native

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land. . . . . To expect one's own country to prosper without a revolution (lit. uprising) is as unreal as the flowers of the sky. It is for this reason that prominent politicians say that there is nothing so sacred as a revolution. . . . . . Sivaji is firmly convinced that it is the primary duty of every man to protect his faith and his country from the oppression of foreigners. He who fails to perform his duty goes to hell and becomes infamous."

Bankim Chatarji's works have had a very considerable influence on the nationalist movement, or the cult of the Mother, as it has been described. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal assigns to him the foremost place :-

"It was, however, left to Bankim Chandra Chatarji to complete this new process of the apotheosis of the Motherland, which so clearly distinguishes the nationalist cult in Hindustan from the nationalist movements in Europe or even in other Asiatic countries. Bankim Chandra was not a politician in the usual sense of the term. He was all his life an official in the subordinate executive service of the British Government in Bengal. He never appeared upon any political platform in his life. But still it can hardly be denied that Bengal has not had as yet a more far-sighted and keen-witted politician than this capable Deputy Magistrate. Judging from his published works, it is impossible to ignore that Bankim Chandra was the most sensitive patriot of his generation. No one in Bengal in those days seemed to have felt so keenly the political position of his country as Bankim Chandra seemed to have done. His quiet humour, his cutting satire, his firm grasp of actualities, all these have contributed to make his political writings a thing of permanent value to the Indian nationalist. The ordinary reader would perhaps stagger at this assertion, for to the ordinary reader Bankim Chandra was only a great novelist and satirist who never played with politics, which indeed his official position prevented him from doing. But no one can read his satirical essays—Kamala Kanter Daftar—without realizing the wise and far-sighted politician in this humorous Bengali writer. To Mr. Ashutosh Chaudhuri (at present one of His Majesty's Judges in the Calcutta High Court) belongs the credit of Christening the popular methods of.prayers and petitions as 'political mendicancy;' but long before Mr. Chaudhuri, Bankim Chandra had made the same discovery . . . . He is the 'rishi' or seer to whom was revealed the great mantram of our new patriotism-the inspired cry of Bande Mataram." (Indian Nationalism and the British Empire—Chapter XII.)

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In this connection the following passage from Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's "The Awakening of India" is instructive:-

> "Until one has grasped the significance of this deification of India one has not mastered the psychology of the unconstitutional or force movement. The 'Swaraj' of April 1, 1909 (edited by Bepin Chandra Pal) wrote:-'This motherland is a good deal more to us than what might be usually regarded by even astute European students as a mere apotheosis of a geographical entity. It is the symbol of our nation-idea..... . the Divine Idea, the Logos, which has been revealing itself through the entire course of our past historic evolution and is the soul of it. This Divine Idea, this Logos, is the Deity whom we salute with the cry 'Bande Matram.' The Motherland is really a synthesis of all the goddesses that have been, and are still being, worshipped by Hindus. This may sound rubbish to the West, which has no form in which it embodies its idea of God: to India it is the simplest and most ordinary idea. It transcends patriotism as far as religious fervour transcends egotistical emotion. It is this connection between the stormy strife of to-day and the calm decrees of the Eternal that makes the Hindu nationalist feel that the day of glory is not far off for his country."

"Om Bande Mataram."— The Bengali national anthem, "Bande Mataram," comes, of course, direct from "Ananda Math". There is scarcely ever a revolutionary document that is not headed with "Om Bande Mataram." The words "Bande Mataram"-Hail Motherland-acquire a very special sacredness to the Hindu when conjoined with the greatest and holiest of all mantras, the "Word of Power," AUM, or OM, which is the word-symbol of Brahman the Absolute, and in its esoteric significance sums up all creation and eternity as conceived in the Vedanta.

It is interesting to find Arabinda Ghose delivering a lecture at Amraoti in January 1908 on the national song "Bande Mataram," its origin and significance.

"Ananda Math," probably Bankim Chatarji's most popular novel, deals with the revolt of the Sannyasis in 1773 which was only quelled by the troops of the East India Company with considerable difficulty, and after the Sannyasis had organized themselves into a formidable army and had gained many minor successes. The reading of Bankim's works was recommended by the "Jugantar" as embodying the spirit of independence in the heroic form of his characters. Besides "Bande Mataram," another song in the book very popular with the Samiti members was the invocation to Vishnu to slay all the Mlechhas. The

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continued influence of this book is again seen in the "questions" letter found in the box of Girindra Mohan Das (son of the late Rai Jamini Mohan Das Bahadur, Additional District Magistrate) in November 1912, in which occurs the following passage:- "Centres must be established in the hills as is found in Ananda Math, or otherwise how can there be training?" Great importance was attached to this letter in the trial of the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case in 1915, as revealing the objects of the Samiti. The Judge held that "the subversion of British rule, the military training of the members of the Samiti and war against England are openly mentioned and discussed. The letter also shows that the seduction of troops and a wholesale massacre of Europeans are part of the programme."

The use of the word "Santans"—taken from "Ananda Math"—in the paridarshak is significant. It is a stock phrase in revolutionary literature to denote those who, in their view, are serving the Mother.

"Debi Chaudhurani" is another of Bankim Chatarji's novels that is much read by the revolutionaries. The idea of "political dacoities," or raising funds by dacoity and spending the money upon what is considered a good cause, is found well expressed in this book.

Bhabani Pathak, the leader of the dacoits, declares that he is the only Raja, or ruling power, who punishes oppression and vice and rewards virtue. The Muhammadan power is gone and the English do not understand administration or how to govern. He gives a long account of the terrible forms of oppression and outrage practised and declares he is the benevolent Raja who really administers justice. Dacoity is justified for these reasons and called the profession of gentlemen.

In "Debi Chaudhurani" Bankim Chandra writes an entertaining passage upon the apotheosis of the lathi, which doubtless helped to fire the imagination of Bengali youths and popularize lathi-play. The following is a translated quotation, from which an idea will be obtained of the sort of appeal it was likely to make and the significance underlying it:-

> "...... These warriors were called Barkandazes. It is said that on many occasions the Company's sepoys had to take to flight before the lathis of these Barkandazes. Alas! Lathi, you have had your day. True it is that you are a piece of vile bamboo, but there is nothing which you cannot accomplish if you be in trained hands. How many swords you have broken into twain; how many shields and swords you have shattered to pieces ! Alas, owing to your blows guns and bayonets have dropped from the hands of soldiers. They fled with broken hands. Lathi, you used to protect the modesty of

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women in Bengal; you used to protect honour, paddy, wealth, men; you used to please all. The Musulmans were afraid of you; dacoits were put to serious trouble by you; the indigo planters desisted (from committing oppression) through fear of you; you were the Penal Code of that day. Like the Penal Code, you suppressed the wicked; like the Penal Code you suppressed the good as well; and like the Penal code, you used to break Shyam's head for Ram's guilt. But you had this superiority over the Penal Code that no appeal lay against you. Alas! that glory of yours is now gone. The Penal code has ousted you and taken your place; the charge of governing society has shifted into its hands from yours. You, lathi, you are no longer lathi now—only a piece of bamboo. Being metamorphosed into a dandy stick you adorn the hands of the Babu class afraid of dogs and jackals, and drop from those hands of butter even when a dog barks. That glory of your is no more. We hear that in those days you were a very good specific. We hear from the mouth of good doctors of mental diseases-lathi is the medicine for fools. The medicine for fools now-a-days is 'father,' 'darling' (and other terms of endearment), and yet the disease is not cured. The virtues of many from amongst your Sagotras and Sapindas shine with effulgence in this world. From a beam, a lathi, a post, etc., to the bewitching flute of Krishna, I realise the virtues of all, but, lathi, no one is like you. You are no more-you are gone. I hope that you have attained eternal haven, that going to the religion of India you have become a prop keeping up the branches bent under the weight of the Parijat tree in the garden of Nandana (Eden), that the daughters of the gods are plucking fruits, such as religion, riches, desire and emancipation, from the Kalpa tree (the tree of plenty yielding whatever is desired of it), striking them with you. May a fruit of half of it roll down to this earth.

"Ananda Bai" by the late Pandit Sakha Ram Ganesh Deosker (a Maharatta gentleman who wrote in Bengali and who was also author of the seditious work "Desher Katha") is an account of Anandi Bai Joshi, a Maharatta lady who went to America, cultivated athletics and educated herself in spite of enormous difficulties, the while living as a strict Hindu and eschewing the use of articles of foreign manufacture. The book was held up as a stirring appeal to women, just as Pratab Singh's sons were to be emulated by boys and young men.

It may be mentioned here that the appearance of women at seditious meetings and their participation in the proceedings by singing or contributing their ornaments to swadeshi funds was by no means rare.

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Bengali ladies regularly attended the political meetings held during 1906-07-08 in Dacca, and at the swadeshi boycott meetings in 1908 they sang songs.

There is, of course, the example of Sarala Debi Ghosal, and it is known that Sarada Chakravarti started a women's samiti with the idea of teaching lathi-play and physical exercises in the manner of Bankim Chatarji's heroines, Santi and Prafulla.

Two books in particular, however, stand by themselves, both by reason of the hatred and open revolution they preached and their bearing on the Dacca Anushilan in its aspect of a military organization. These books are the "Barttaman Rana Niti" and "Mukti Kon Pathe," and they were both proscribed in May 1910.

The "Barttaman Rana Niti," or the Modern Art of War, has already been referred to. It is a masterly handling of religion and revolutionary ideas, and reduces the teachings of the Gita and Chandi to the one great command "Destroy;" at the same time it describes in great detail the practical steps to be taken for accomplishing the work of destruction. The book is so important for the light it throws on the religious aspect and the practical working of the Anushilan Samiti that a proper appreciation of its contents is necessary. The following is taken from the judgement of the Sessions Court and is the briefest possible description of a work that breathed revolution in every line:-

> "This book 'Bartaman Rana Niti' which, from its name, would appear to be a treatise on modern warfare, is in fact nothing but an incitement to revolution and an exposition of the means for successfully carrying it out. In support of the writer's view as to the righteousness of revolution, he quotes the Gita and Chandi :- "War is inevitable when oppression cannot be stopped by any means whatever, when the leprosy of slavery corrupts the blood of the body of the nation and robs it of its vitality. It is for this reason that Sri Krishna, God himself, acted as charioteer, holding the reins in his hand at the battle of Kurukshetra. It is for this that Chandi, inspired with the powers of 33 crores of gods, appeared to kill the Daityas, and for this reason the incarnation of Kali in this Kali-age—Kali holding two sword to destroy the Mlechhas-has passed into a saying of the Shastras."

> "Action is wanted:—'India, the worshipper of Mahasakti, cannot afford to forget this principle of action. Pious and holy India is indeed to-day dead on the dust of the bodies of divine saints and sages in the person of Brahmins and Rajas and the dust of the bodies of the Kshetrayas. She is indeed a decomposed body on account of the offensive odour of degradation. But

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a Tantrik (worshipper of Sakti) cannot practise his 'sadhana' (worship) without a corpse. The worshipper of Sakti (power) when successful becomes the initiation of a righteous kingdom and his seat. The decomposed corpse revives. History bears testimony to this.'

"Action is wanted:-Fame is the reward of action, but the price of fame is very high; fame cannot be obtained unless you offer all your bones and ribs by counting them like Dadhichi (a celebrated sage who offered his bones to the Gods, with which was made a thunderbolt for killing Britrasura). In wandering about in the market of the world under the influence of opium what did Kamala Kanta see in the shop of fame? 'I saw deep darkness in the shop, nothing could be seen.' I called 'shop-keeper,' but no one responded. I heard only infinite roars striking horror in the heart of all-in faint light I read on the signboard at the door-

Shop of Fame.

Things sold:—Eternal fame.
Price:—Life.

"Again the writer says:-'We Indians are disarmed under orders of the King. The foreign King being afraid of his life, lest the subjects being driven mad with oppression should strike him on the head, has disarmed all the subjects of the country. However, the English employ the Sikhs, the Maharattas, the Rajputs, and the Tailongis as soldiers and teach them the power of the military art, but the intelligent Bengalis and the Brahmins of Poona are not even allowed to use a long stick. For who can say that the all-destroying force which may result from a combination of intelligence and strength of arms will not, in the twinkling of an eye, demolish the British Kingdom. . . . . .True, we may not have opportunities of openly learning warlike exploits and drill. If now the Bengalis take the system of instruction in their own heads, they can, through self-exertion, become expert in horsemanship and gain courage, strength of arm, power of endurance and such other heroic qualities, and they can master all the underlying principles of the science of war by study and by circulation. If Bengalis can do so much through diligence, the want of a few insignificant weapons will never remain. This book is published to lay the foundation of this new system of instruction. As a result of it, if even one of the fetters drops off from the red tubes like foot of the captive mother, then her wretched son will consider himself fortunate."

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"The book then goes on to explain how the English are to be driven out, first by irregular fighting, guerilla warfare, and finally regular warfare. It is unnecessary to comment further on this book, the quotations I have made sufficiently show its nature, I will only remark that like the 'Jugantar' its revolutionary doctrines are the more peculiarly pernicious in that in support of them it involves the aid of religion by a perverted use of the teachings of sacred Hindu books."

In another passage which does not appear in the extract quoted above the example of Japan is appealed to. Reference is made to the Japanese Okakura who was strongly suspected of being associated with thataa Debi Ghosal, as early as 1900, in their plans for a terroristic campaign directed against officials and the supporters of Government.

"Mukti Kon Pathe" — Which way is salvation — is a collection of a series of articles from the "Jugantar" newspaper and has been described as the Revolutionists' Manual for India. It was summarized as follows by Mr. Coutts in his judgment in the Dacca conspiracy case:

"The first and most important book referred to is 'Mukti Kon Pathe,' a series of articles from the 'Jugantar' newspaper collected and printed in the form of a book, the first edition of which appeared in January 1907. The book is frankly revolutionary. As is said by Mr. Beachcroft in the Alipur bomb case in regard to 'Jugantar' articles, 'they exhibit a burning hatred of the British race, they breathe revolution in every line, they point out how revolution is to be effected, no calumny and no artifice is left out which is likely to instil the people of the country with the same idea, or to catch the impressionable minds of youth.' The book 'Mukti Kon Pathe' lays stress on the maxim that 'the strength of the youth is the power of a nation,' and says"- 'Say, who except the young men, have even by placing their breasts in front of the scepter of death of the oppressors awakened religion by means of their own life-blood and have preserved the peculiar ways of the country. ..... It is true the politician Cavour developed new Italy, but before that how many thousands were the young men who under Mazzini and Garibaldi had by the blood from their bodies effected the destruction of the demoniacal power of Austria. Exactly this happened in France and America and even Japan, the rising sun of Asia.......

'...... God is the cause and the young men are the means..... A young man is the infallible arrow to strike the mark and does not know on being shot from a bow how to return without hitting the mark.'

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"I have already referred to the formation of bands as advocated by the 'Mukti Kon Pathe' which then goes on to explain how revolution is to be achieved. To quote from the book itself:- 'There are two stages (lit. strata) in the revolution,building up popular opinion and collecting brute force.' In order to build up popular opinion the following means are advocated:-(1) newspaper, (2) music (by which is meant songs), (3) literature, (4) secret meetings and secret associations. The next stage is the collecting of brute force; in other words, arms, which are to be purchased with money obtained by robbery. Further the book advocates the preparation of bombs and the attainment of physical strength by the youth of the country for the future struggle."

It is noteworthy how the means here advocated for building up public opinion coincide with the methods laid down in the propaganda department of the Russian revolutionaries.

There was, as has been stated, a large number of quite excellent books in the Anushilan Library, mostly old school and college text-books belonging to Pulin, his brothers and father, to Ashutosh Das Gupta who was expelled from the collegiate school, and to several others, and they were merely brought by each new-comer to the Samiti and served to swell the library. But as the issue-book conclusively proved, it was just these books that were never read. There were, on the other hand, books on Yoga, books and Chicago orations of Vivekananda, books of his master Ram Krishna, lives of the mutiny heroes and famous Indian dacoits, accounts of the Russo-Japanese and Boer wars, books on how revolution is managed in other countries, France, Ireland and by the Nihilists.

Seditious songs.—In conformity with these methods and as advocated by Bepin Chandra Pal in the "New Spirit," seditious songs took a very important place in the Samiti and a number of manuscript songs and "stotras" were found. From its written songs alone, sedition, armed rebellion and murder, could be shown to be the aims of the Dacca Anushilan.

The "Mlechha" stotra was evidently a great favourite. One portion of it ran as follows:—"O, Keshab, having assumed the form of Kalki, you take in hand a sword as portentous as the comet, to extirpate the host of Mlechhas, victory to you, O Hari, the Lord of creation." There was more of this stotra to the same effect, and the trying Judge in the Dacca conspiracy case held that in this, as in so many other poems, the "Mlechhas" were the English—the demon-English as they were so often called—and the object of the "stotra" was to incite to kill the English.

No less than 3,674 copies of Sarada Charan Chakravarti's collection of poems entitled "Gan" were seized, and also songs in praise of the

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assassins Khudiram Bose, Profulla Chaki, Kanai Lal. Another highly seditious collection of poems was "Kabya Kusum" (Poetical blossoms) by Dinesh Chandra Sen.

Both "Gan" and "Kabya Kusum" were definite and direct incitements to murder and revolt. Both these works are long, but a few quotations may be given :

> "Oh, ye Hindus, O ye Muhammadans, be of one mind, draw out the sword from the scabbard and advance forward in the sports of war to extirpate the enemies root and all, with the blood of your enemy fertilize the earth."
>
> "Sacrifice your frail lives to maintain the freedom of your country; then and then only will you get rid of these shackles which you have been wearing so long."
>
> "Hark it is being said 'you will have to sacrifice your lives in the service of your mother'"
>
> "Look at Japan, O ye Hindus, Oh ye Muhammadans, let us all embrace one another."
>
> "Come forward, O ye Aryan, men and women, shouting, Bande Mataram courageously, taking up the sword hardening your heart."

The following are a few extracts from "Kabya Kusum" :—

> "Those who could govern the world with terrible prowess and with just and moral and religious laws are being burnt by the fire of dreadful oppression and hundred acts of injustice.
>
> "The time is come to quench the fire which is always burning the heart. Deluge India with blood, destroying the hosts of the Jabans. What is the use of living in this slavery? Make the vow, though it may cost you your lives, that you will gain the treasure of liberty or else sacrifice your lives.
>
> "The English are a very dreadful race of cannibals. They seek their own interests, outraging the honour of equity. Ram Chandra returned from the forests killing the Lord of Ceylon with the help of monkeys, all the wives of the demons became the companions of the monkeys when the war was over. From an intercourse between the two the English were born. It is why they have all become dreadful and ferocious."

The pictures and drawings with which the Anushilan Samiti adorned its walls were equally eloquent of the character of the organization. Photographs of Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki, of Arabinda Ghose, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Vivekananda. Sivaji and other national heroes, pictures of Durga in the ten forms assumed by her in destroying the demons, and of Kali in her most repulsive aspect. There was also a photograph of the Duke of Albany with an insult written across the face.

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Newspapers.— It hardly needs to be said the most seditious and violent newspapers were in great demand by members of the Samiti. The "Jugantar," the "Sandhya," the "Sonar Bharat," were all found on the Samiti premises. The "Jugantar," of course, took first place.

"Mukti Kon Pathe," a collection of "Jugantar" articles, and its place in the Samiti, have already been referred to. "Jugantar" leaflets and articles copied out in manuscript were also found at the Samiti. The "Jugantar" as is well known, was read everywhere by revolutionaries, and "Jugantar" readings and discussions were a favourite occupation of the members of the Samiti, as we have since been told.

It is interesting to note how closely the instructions contained in an article on revolution in the third part of "Mukti Kon Pathe," under the sub-heading "Building up public opinion" have been followed. The means recommended are (1) newspapers, (2) songs, (3) literature, (4) secret meetings and associations, all of which have been put into practice. A passage explaining the necessity for secret revolutionary societies is particularly interesting in the reference made to the methods of the Russian revolutionists and the Sannyasis of "Ananda Math:"—

> "Secret societies are necessary because it is impossible to talk of freedom openly because of bayonets and guns. If one wants to talk of freedom publicly he must necessarily do so in a roundabout way. It is precisely for this reason that a secret place is necessary where people may discuss 'what is truth?' without having recourse to hypocrisy. But it must be a place the tyrant cannot see. The Russian revolutionists used to meet at dead of night in secret places to discuss what they ought to do, and they still do so. It is precisely this state of things that has been described by Bankim Babu in his 'Ananda Math.' In the dead of night the Sannayasis used to collect weapons for freedom in the dense forest. . . . . When revolution is absolutely necessary for freedom it must be preached by all possible means. all means, great or small, important or unimportant, should be adopted, but firmness and tact are important."

This very brief review of the "classics" and literature of the Anushilan must suffice to indicate the nature of the revolutionists' library. The book "Chandi" has already been briefly described at page 18. Part I.

The Gita will be separately dealt with later in this note.

Circulation of seditious literature.

The importance of a circulating library composed of works suitable for their purpose and the wide distribution of seditious leaflets, etc., are,

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of course, very obvious methods and such as would naturally suggest themselves to a people like the Bengalis, even if it were not that they had the example of the Russian revolutionaries before them. The idea of maintaining a library, therefore, was not abandoned with the breaking up of the Samiti headquarters at Dacca, but is retained and strongly insisted on to the present day when the Samiti is essentially a secret society, and must find it correspondingly difficult to carry it into effect. Both in the "District Organization Scheme" and the "Rules for Membership," which represent the most recent "official" documents of the Samiti, great stress is laid on the necessity of a library and a list is given of the books members are enjoined to read. In Amulya Sarkar's scheme the subject is still further developed and receives the most elaborate treatment. Here a regular course of study is prescribed, divided into groups of elementary and advanced text-books, marking the different stages of the revolutionary's progress until his education may be said to be complete.

It is well known now that the reading of seditious literatue is generally the very first step taken by the recruit towards the goal marked out for him by the "organizer." We have much very precise information as to this. To take just one instance, Girindra Mohan Das begins his revolutionary career with reading the lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi, then later "Desherkatha."

We are told that in 1912 there was a Samiti Library at Dacca of five to six hundred books, at first located in Madan Bhaumik's house and later taken to the house of Srish Chatarji, the pleader of Dacca, who has so consistently befriended and sheltered revolutionists from the earliest days.

It is known that Suresh Chakrabarti, a dangerous revolutionary and assassin, presented two volumes of Nand Kumar's trial to the Dacca Samiti Library. This was in 1915, and, we are told, that about this time propaganda by the circulation of seditious books and leaflets was receiving special attention. The informant was in charge of the library and speaks of the care and method observed in arranging the books.

It is said also that the dangerous revolutionary Sasanka alias Amrita Hazra, kept a good library at his house in Raja Bazar, Calcutta. In the Raja Bazar bomb case in November 1913 Amrita Hazra's connection with the Lok Nath Yantra Press at No. 11-1, Nawabdi Ostagar's Lane, Calcutta, was clearly established and it was proved also that the "Liberty" leaflets were printed at this press.

"It has always been held by the police that the dissemination of seditious literature was one of the most dangerous weapons that the

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terrorist party employed against Government. Such pamphlets have been the Jugantar and Swadhin Bharat, which would appear to have been published and circulated from Calcutta. The correctness of this view has gained strength by the arrest of Kali Pada Ghosh and the search of the Lok Nath Yantra Press, which affords reasonable grounds for the presumption that this press has been utilized for the issue of seditious literature in the past. There is definite proof in the Barisal case that packets of the Swadhin Bharat were received by an agent of the society in Barisal and widely circulated by him.

"The Sonar Bangla and Sonar Bharat appeared in 1905-06. Inflammatory leaflets were circulated by the Jugantar party in 1908 throughout Bengal. Copies of similar leaflets appeared in the years 1909, 1910 and the early part of 1911. Stray copies, chiefly hand-written appeared in 1912-13. The first edition of the Swadhin Bharat appeared in 1910 followed at once by the second and third edition. These leaflets were circulated in Calcutta and Eastern Bengal districts. In 1911 further editions issued at intervals, and these were distributed in Calcutta and the districts, especially in Eastern Bengal, and these have been distributed during 1912 and 1913, mainly in the Dacca Division.

"The 'Liberty' leaflet first appeared in May 1913 and was largely circulated through Eastern Bengal, a few stray copies being found in Calcutta. A fresh leaflet of a similar date appeared in July, followed in December by a further edition, all of which were largely circulated in Eastern Bengal. The third edition was also reported from Benares." (Note on the growth of the revolutionary movement in Bengal.)

The note from which this extract has been taken was written in 1914, but since then there have been other editions of the "Swadhin Bharat" and "Liberty" leaflets. Instances could be multiplied, but enough has been said to indicate the important part assigned to seditious literature in the revolutionary movement and how assiduously it is employed.

A sample leaflet is reproduced here as indicative of the blood-thirsty character of this type of literature.

"SWADHIN BHARAT" (INDEPENDENT INDIA)

"Arise, awake, and be enlightened, having received the boons."

The thunders of providence in view of India's good are being resounded throughout the whole world. That all-powerful force which can cause impossible events to take place is now prepared to destroy the conglomeration of adverse powers

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solely for the sake of working India's welfare. Oh children of India, who are trampled under foot, bound in chains of slavery, accept the kind gifts from the Mother or the world with your head bent low (in reverence),—sing her victory with millions of voices rending the skies—do not neglect this golden opportunity.

The fire that is raging in the great Kurukshetra of Europe will consume the entire force of the West. The goddess of Fortune will put the bright mark of fame and glory on the high forehead of the East. The tide has turned and there is none who can stand against it.

It is not the sole duty of Indians to collect true news of the battlefield. Stern duty is before (us). We shall never be able to call ourselves a nation, unless we show adequate respect to it. On the present occasion we have come with proposals for practical work, and not to enchant with false excitement.

We are to remember that, though under foreign subjection, we have still a separate existence—that Indian idea has not been destroyed by a thousand years of innumerable persecutions and hard grinding by the enemy—nay, there is not even a hope that it will be ever destroyed. Is not there any reason for this? Indeed, there is a reason. It is only because this Indian idea is indestructible that India will become independent again. Who will prevent this ? What should we say to you, ye secret police, who are bastards and lick the feet of others ? The best thing for you would be to live by begging. Don't you feel ashamed to exert yourselves for the extermination of the patriots who have consecrated their lives in this sacred mission ?

We shall speak about you later on. We want Independence. Poets, men of letters, pleaders, doctors, clerks, traders—even the secret police—cannot refute this. The difficulty is about the means to be adopted. Let us now see which method, if adopted, will make us fit for getting independence.

To attain independence we must form our character in a new way. First, the character of the youths of our country should be such that they would think of death as a mere play—they would be eager to accomplish cheerfully any dangerous act. Secondly, thousands of youths should act in unison under the direction of one leader—they must not entertain any low idea, but shall perform their duty standing on the play-ground of death with a liberal and free mind.

Organisations that are necessary in order that we may be able to act in the way mentioned above, are utterly impossible in the present state of things. All the efforts of Barindra, Pulin Das

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and others in this direction have failed, but the experience they have left us is invaluable. We shall always be ready to kill the enemy—no matter however great he may be or within whatever impregnable fortress he may conceal himself—we will hang his head around the neck of the goddess Kali. None of the youths shall hesitate in this act—this is the only means of acquiring of fearless character under the present circumstances. Then, again, it is not that we have no opportunity of working under the direction of a single leader. Out of considerations of humanity, the formidable Government did not dare to hinder us in our efforts during the "Ardhodayayoga" and the floods. If it hinders (us) in future, the remedy also will be thought of. The strength of our character shall increase in proportion to the severity of the Government. This is an axiomatic truth.

A few young and cowardly servants of the country are ready to go to distant Europe, with a view to acquiring such character—to carry dead bodies! Is there no work to be done in the country? Where else will you get such opportunities of dying as in this country?

We have been forming such a combination for all this time—we have never in the past, nor shall we ever in the future, pay any heed to the incoherent talks of the pleasure-seeking, luxury-loving leaders. What have they, who do not know how to make self-sacrifice? Their advice never did any good to any country in any time. To them our humble request is that they may look on silently at what we do. (Even) if the flood of loyalty be made to spread over the whole country, Bhavi (or the Government) will not be deceived thereby; on the contrary, the guilt of one will be fastened on another. We are not to blame in this.

Now one word about the secret police. We can play at balls with your heads if we like; but we ruin you not before we have endured a great deal. Just shirk your duty a little and the country will be quiet; the sacred land will no longer be stained with the blood of the children of the soil. (Then) we also may advance in the path of devotion to the mother silently and without any anxiety. What will Tegart, Denham and Buller do to us?

Now about the Government. We fully understand the Hardinge policy. It was because we understand it that we turned the festive occasion at Delhi into one of sadness. Those that are satisfied with sweet words will not save you. They are nothing better than dogs grown fat with their master's food. Hear, Hardinge! your crooked intelligence won't do in this

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country. We shall not be deceived by sweet words. The policy of administration which aims at slowly striking at our very root, has been found out. It is the pressure of the burden which makes one groan. There is no longer any escape. Providence is against (you). Listen to our advice under these circumstances; it may do you some good in times of danger.

We want independence. We may attain this independence even without quarrelling with you. For we do not at all like that some other nation should come and rule us in your place.

It is useless to conceal any longer. Your condition is very miserable. You may keep us down, but your future is hemmed in and entangled in the meshes of distress, even if you succeed in defeating the Teutonic races. There can be no doubt that you will be utterly ruined in this great war. Will then your old enemy, Russia, let slip that opportunity of invading India, on which she has all along set her heart? Will it be necessary to explain that to you, who are versed in politics? On the other hand, if Germany wins, the case will be still worse. Turkey has drawn her sword against you after much deliberation. Italy also may no longer remain quiet.

There is still a remedy for the situation. Make India supreme in strength and capacity. Of course, when that supremacy and strength will be established, India shall no longer remain under your feet, but she will regard you as her permanent friend; there is no other way for your salvation.

Remedy all this at once. We will strike you even with a view to attaining manliness ourselves. There is no other remedy—no other remedy.

Lastly, Oh India, shake off your sleep of infatuation—you lament at the murder of a single man. Just cast a look on these from whose teachings you have obtained this divine knowledge and keep silent hereafter. We are devoting ourselves for the culture of force. Human sacrifices there will be, not one but thousands. Oh youths of the country, be united. We want independence. We want freedom.

I salute the Mother

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The District Organization Scheme, and Rules for Membership.

These two documents are of great importance as marking the transition of the Samity from an organization conducting an open propaganda, with an ostensibly benevolent purpose, to its present character of an essentially secret society with revolution as its avowed object.

In these altered conditions it was obviously impossible to continue working on the complex and elaborate lines of its early organization. It became impertive to concentrate on essentials, to simplify the machinery and the rules, and to decentralize authority, without, however, weakening effective control from the directing centre. It was realized that the original Paridarshak and Sampadakganer Karttabya were out of date, and that it was now essential to reduce all writing to a minimum, and at the same time so arrange that the schools and colleges, "the depositaries of enthusiastic zeal"—which remain the chief recruiting grounds of the Samiti—should be exploited to the greatest possible extent. And it must be allowed that in the District Organization Scheme and the Rules for Membership these requirements, and in fact the essential features of the entire revolutionary propaganda have been condensed and summed up with remarkable skill. Nothing of any value is omitted and the instructions are terse and to the point.

Both these documents are reproduced below in extenso; it is impossible to summarize them without omitting something essential to a proper appreciation of the revolutionists methods. These particular copies were found on the person of Ramesh Acharji on the 27th February 1913 as a result of these searches made in connection with the enquiries which led up to the institution of the Barisal conspiracy case. Ramesh Acharji was the district organizer of the Barisal branch of the Dacca Anushilan and was convicted in the conspiracy trial and sentenced to twelve years' transportation. We have it on the best authority that these rules are observed at all the branches of the Samiti and the deponent who has told us of the Samiti's flourishing library at Dacca in 1915, also refers to these documents and the precautions taken to keep them from falling into unauthorized hands.

The revision of the Samiti documents was apparently begun in 1909, for Priya Nath Acharji has stated in his deposition in the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case that he was present in Dacca when the District Organization Scheme was drawn up by Naren Sen, Trailakhya Chakravarti and Digendra Mukhoti. It seems very probable, however,

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that both the District Organization Scheme and the Rules for Membership in the form in which they were finally issued, were drawn up by Pulin himself, or at any rate, recast and revised. Pulin returned in February 1910 on his release from deportation and immediately set about reorganizing his Samiti and adapting it to this new phase of its career. As will be shown presently, it can be said with certainty that clause 25 of the District Organization Scheme was framed under Pulin's orders. Between February 1910 and the following August when he was arrested in connection with the Dacca conspiracy case, Pulin spent most of his time in Calcutta in close association with the leaders of the revolutionary movement but at the same time in constant touch with Dacca, and he thus had ample opportunity for consulting his colleagues. The District Organization Scheme and the Rules for Membership must undoubtedly have received Pulin's personal attention during this time.

The District Organization Scheme

There shall be a person in charge of the headquarters. Under him there shall be a district organizer in charge of each district. The work of each such subordinate centre (district) shall be conducted by one person. But he shall be entirely responsible for all his work to the person in charge of the headquarters. If any work has to be got done by the headquarters through a subordinate centre, it shall be done with the knowledge of the officer in charge of it.

District Organization

1. All the work of a subordinate centre shall be conducted under the orders of the person in charge of it. He shall read the organization scheme five times before entering the arena.
2. The person in charge of a subordinate centre shall, again, divide his district into various parts according to the (territorial) divisions of the Government. An intelligent and warm-hearted man shall be vested with the charge of each such subdivision.
3. The district organizer shall realize from each member a monthly subscription. This income shall be spent on district organization.
4. The district organizer shall first ascertain the number of Entrance or middle English schools or colleges in his centre and then bring under his influence at least one student of each class in such schools or colleges (and) through him preach the propaganda (lit. bhab or sentiment) in that class or year. There shall be maintained a connection with a high class student under the master or professor of that school or college. There shall be

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maintained a connection by such high class or year student with the heads of other classes and years.

5. If it is not possible to assemble in a public manner in some public place to discuss or arrange about work, particular members shall assemble on the pretext of "Hari loot," or some other pretext.
6. The district organizer shall seize every opportunity of making acquaintance with all classes of people. They must pick up some knowledge of all objects, such as trade, medicine, engineering, etc.
7. Such secrecy and arrangement shall be maintained and made about work that no one can know anything that he ought not to know.
8. When sending a preacher to any place the district organizer shall make him read the organization scheme five times over and throughly explain this scheme to him and give him a good idea of the organization. He shall not allow any preacher to make out a copy of the organization scheme or these rules.
   (a) No one shall without the permission of the organizer, take a copy of the "Promise Rules and Rules for the Membership."
9. On the return of preachers from the mufassal, the person in charge shall take from them the balance of money left after expenditure, together with accounts. If a preacher sent from the chief centre goes to a subordinate centre and demands money for expenditure of the organizer of that district, the latter shall take accounts from him and then give money. This money shall be advanced as a loan and recovered at the end of the month from the chief centre by the making out of a bill.
10. To recruit a boy full particulars about him—name, father's name and occupation, whether parents are living or dead, the guardian's name, relationship and occupation, age, attainments and occupation, whether married or unmarried, (if married) whether there are any children, whether there are unmarried or widowed sisters, pecuniary condition, whether he is or is to be the bread-winner of the family, whether there is any Government officer, and particularly any Police officer among his relations and full particulars about and description of him, character, the "idea" of the public about him, etc., shall be communicated to the headquarters; and so long as the chief organizer does not pass any order the district organizer shall take the entire charge of his education. All work in this connection shall be done under the orders of the headquarters.

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11. Endeavours should be made to have a library in each division.
12. The local head shall observe every week whether the members are properly observing the "promise rules" and give orders and instructions for the rectification of "defects."
13. The district organizer shall take particular care of the education of students.
14. The district organizer shall care more for having the members well educated and giving them good idea than for having their number increased.
15. The district organizer shall arrange to spread the "idea" most in Entrance schools and colleges; for it is unmarried youths who are the depositaries of enthusiastic zeal, capability of doing work and self-sacrifice.
16. If the district organizer discovers any defect on a review of our "past incidents," he should arrange to have them "reformed."
17. Every work shall be undertaken after deliberation. If the work should produce any evil result, endeavours should be made to remedy it instead of regretting it.
18. If any responsible and important work has to be done, it shall be done with the permission of the chief organizer.
19. If a boy of the acquaintance of some member under the district organizer be in another district, his descriptive roll should be sent to that district through the headquarters. At the time of sending this descriptive-roll his name and residence, and conduct, zeal, enterprise, attainments, and skill in gymnastics shall be communicated in writing. People of one district shall not exercise authority over people of another.
20. The district organizer shall divide the members into two classes—Sannyasis (ascetics) and house-holders, and entrust every one with the work for which he is fit. He shall not entrust any work to any unfit person.
21. The district organizer shall take particular care that the thoughts (lit. heart) of any member are not diverted from the country to any undersirable object.
22. The district organizer shall not keep back anything from a man who is sent from the headquarters for any special work and shall help him as far as possible in the work he has to do. Beyond this one shall not reveal anything to the other. Failure to observe secrecy in connection with this, even in small matters, shall involve a violation of the law of discipline.

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23. Several places shall be provided where members may meet from time to time and discuss that matter.
24. Every district organizer shall procure a new settlement or Surveyor-General's office map of his district.
25. If, in any district, another party have arms and if harm is found to be done to the country by them, then, with the permission of the headquarters, such arms should be anyhow secured. This work should be done very cautiously, so that they may know nothing of it.
26. Without an autograph letter of the head organizer or organizer in charge, no district organizer shall give arms to anybody.
27. If a district organizer wants to post any man in any school or at any other post, he shall communicate the following particulars about that man, in writing, to the headquarters:—Caste, age, qualifications, the salary to be paid, the condition of the place,whether the man under whom he will have to work is a man of our party, whether, if posted there, it will be of any special advantage to our work, etc.
28. If any member make any accusation against another, instead of relying solely upon that report, he shall first of all ask the accused person about it; if the man confesses he shall point out his fault and tell him to reform himself, if the man denies it, he shall make a private enquiry on the point and do what is proper to be done under the circumstances. In short, nothing shall be done after hearing one party alone.
29. No one shall be made a member all of a sudden. If one appears to be fit, one should be made to promise and to observe the rules of membership.
30. Admission fees shall be sent to the headquarters with name, residence, etc.
31. No confidential member shall, without the special permission of the head organizer write a letter to relations, kinsfolk or friends. If necessary, it should be sent through the had officer. Without the permission of the superior officer no one shall send directly any letter to any place.
32. Every organizer shall have an assistant for each department, so that, even in his absence, the assistant can carry on all local work efficiently.
33. The organizer and his assistant shall not, on any important business, leave their stations, at one and the same time, for any other place.

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34. The names of those who will have in their custody arms or papers shall not be mentioned in this report. A personal visit shall be paid to the headquarters and full information obtained as to their names, residence, character, etc. Those who will have arms or confidential papers in their custody shall not take part in any "violent work" or "organization" or ordinary affray, that is to say, shall not take part in any work, or go to any place in which he runs any risk.

35. The district organizer shall submit to the headquarters quarterly reports under the following headings :—
    1. The respective number of the members of the different castes inhabiting the locality.
    2. Approximate numbers and description of the literate, the illiterate, the rich, the poor, beggars, labourers, cultivators and tradesmen.
    3. The number of local members, the number of boys of exceptional enthusiasm and their names, age, fathers' names, whether parents are living or dead, married or unmarried, residence, pecuniary condition (by what means the family is maintained), whether there are in their families or among their relations any Police officers, and, if so, full particulars about and description of them, attainments and occupation whether they have any special aptitude or taste for any particular subject, such as "surveying, engineering, farming and other agricultural works, etc., power of writing, press work, mechanical works, e.g., repairing and fitting arms, loading and preparing ammunition, chemistry, physics, carpentry, and blacksmithship, rowing, shooting, i.e., aiming, poling and hauling boats and driving railway and steamer engines."
    4. Full description of the natural scenery—length and breadth, houses, trees, gardens, woods, ways and paths, meadows, land and water of the locality.
    5. Convenience or inconvenience of communication with places outside, the number and description of landways and waterways, such as which path or waterway leads which way, etc.
    6. Full description of fairs and markets.
    7. The articles which are produced and available in abundance as well as those that are scarce, with prices thereof.

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8. Whether there are in any place educational institutions (primary, middle english, middle Bengali, English school, college, tol, etc.), dispensaries and hospitals, libraries, associations, insurance companies, jute officers, hotels, gymnasiums, and, if so, how many of them are there. The situation and distance of post and telegraph office and police-station.
9. The physical and mental condition of the members and the local people and of their "dealings."
10. At which places of that district (or centre) there are men of our party and the distance of such places from each other.
11. Historical and Geographical description of any ancient temple, mosque or any other ancient monument, such as tanks, roads, houses and trees, whether there are any secluded places, if so, where.
12. Accounts of receipts and disbursements.
13. The number of mischievous, hostile, characterless and backsliding men and parties, with full particulars about and description of them.
14. Whether there is any rival party, their arms and ammunition, with full particulars about and description of their strength.
15. Wants and grievances.
16. Whether the "Promise Rules and Rules for the membership" are being properly observed or which of them are being violated and for what reason and to what extent.

Rules for Membership

1. At the time of admission one shall make a promise and pay an admission fee of one rupee. Every member shall pay a monthly subscription under the directions of the local head.
2. Every member shall be an ideal character to the public.
3. Every member shall observe the rules of Brahmacharyya (celibacy and chastity)(framed by us). The use of unclean food, such as fowl's flesh, onion, garlic, etc., and of any kind of intoxicant, is strictly prohibited.
4. Each shall be a man of character, extraordinarily industrious, capable of bearing privations, persevering and untiringly self-sacrificing.
5. One shall read the Gita every day.
6. One shall, if need be, assist to the best of one's abilities in nursing the sick, disposing of dead bodies, helping the lame, the

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blind, etc., relieving the distressed and protecting the chastity of chaste women.

7. (a) Each member shall read Vaishnav books, the Koran, the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, the Bible and other religious books and assimilate their essence.
   (b) Shall read the lives of great men of different religious persuasions, as well as the following books:—(By Vivekananda)—(1) "Bharate Vivekananda" (Vivekananda in India), (2) "Karmayoga," (3) "Bartaman Bharat" (India of the present day), (4) "Prachya-o-Pratichya" (The East and the West), (5) "Patravali" (Letters). (By Durgadas Lahiri)—"Swadhinatar Itihas" (History of Independence). (By Sakharam Deoskar)—"Deser Katha" (Topics relating to the country). (By Kaliprasanna and Dakshinaranjan)—"Aryanari" (Aryan women). (By Rajani Gupta)— "Aryakirti" (Achievements of the Aryans). (By Bankim Chandra)—"Ananda Math" and "Pratap Singha." (By Sastri)—"Sivaji," "Pratapaditya," and "Jaliat Clive" (Clive the Forger). (By Vidyabhusan)—"Matsini-o-Garibaldir Jivancharit" (Lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi). (By Durgacharan)—"Napoleoner, Washingtoner Prabhitir Jivani" (Lives of Napoleon, Washington, etc.).
8. Each shall regularly read newspapers and keep himself posted up with the news of each country and think over them.
9. Each member shall know a little of homeopathic, biochemic, or other cheap systems of medical treatment and shall learn veterinary medicine.
10. Every member shall act in obedience to the orders of the authority (person in charge) of the place where he may be. No one shall do, without the permission of the authority, any work other than that with which he is entrusted for the time being.
11. The subordinates shall strictly obey the order of a particular person who is entrusted with any particular work.
12. Except for weighty reasons, no member shall leave his place without informing his superior. If compelled to go away without leave, he shall afterwards inform his superiod of particulars with his address.
13. Letters shall always be sent enclosed in envelopes and shall contain an account of the writer, the date and the place, and shall be burnt as soon as they have been read.

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14. Before sending any correspondence referring to any matter connected with the organization to any place, a member shall give it to the head and he shall arrange to have it sent to its destination.
15. No "marked" man shall publicly proselytise (lit. be active) in any school or place or spend his time in such school or place.
16. Every member may get entrusted with responsible work if displaying a self-sacrificing spirit, and no distinction is made between old and new members. The opinion of every member is taken, and, if found suitable after discussion, is acted upon.
17. Each shall look upon this as a military organization, and any violation of its rules shall make one liable to punishment in proportion.
18. Every member shall have the idea present in his mind that he is bringing about a revolution with a view to the establishment of righteousness, and not for enjoyment. He shall see that he does not fall back from this ideal.
19. If one looks at the history of Italy and France one finds that they missed their real aim. Every care shall be taken that we do not, like them, miss our real aim.
20. If a member has any enquiry to make, he shall make it of his superior. The latter shall, if need be, received instruction from his superior officer.
21. When a member gets into any scrape he shall first of all do his best to get out of it. If he sees any risk of falling into the hands of the enemy, he shall, up to the last moment, defend himself and try to flee away.
22. Any person included (in the organization) who does anything to "fraustrate" the "cause" shall be subjected to condign punishment.

(Frustrating Causes.)

Hypocrisy, falsehoold, gaining of one's personal ends by getting into this organization, "waste of public money, arms and ammunition," garrulousness and failure to observe secrecy—those who shall do these antagonistic acts shall be counted separately among the enemies of the country.

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"The District Organizer"

The supreme importance of the district organizer in this scheme is at once apparent, and in the many lengthy statements that have been made to us by active revolutionaries, there is abundant testimony to the ubiquity of the "organizer" and his unflagging activity. He is to be found everywhere—in schools and colleges, hostels and messes, now a private tutor, next a shop-keeper, arranging dacoities and assassinations, securing arms, controlling the Samiti funds, attending to the library and seditious literature, he expounds the Gita and incites to murder, his activities are unceasing, and next to the controlling head, he is without doubt the most essential link in the whole organization.

His vital importance is fully appreciated, and it is one of the rigid rules of the Samiti that the organizer shall not take part in an "action," for he is far too valuable to be allowed to incur avoidable risks. If his activities have attracted the undue attention of the police, he is promptly transferred elsewhere to continue his work. He arranges dacoities and murders, but, except on rare occasions, he takes no active part in their actual commission. This was well illustrated in the arrangements for the murder of the late Babu Basanta Kumar Chatarji, Deputy Superintendent of Police, of which we have the fullest details. The conspirators having assembled on the maidan in front of the Bengal Club, Nalini Ghosh gave his instructions, handed out the arms and then went away with the other organizing agents, Amrita Sarkar and Narendra Banarji, while the five assassins detailed for the work, under the leadership of Suresh Chakravarti, proceeded to Bhowanipore to await their victim and effect their murderous purpose. These men have said that the "organizers" were sent away as they were selected men and their arrest would have been a great loss to the Samiti.

The District Organization Scheme

Both these documents, the district organization scheme and the rules for membership, deserve to be read carefully for the flood of light they throw on the working of the revolutionary society, but a few points may be specially noticed here.

The "organizer" shall read over the scheme five times before "entering the arena"—this, as we have seen, was also enjoined as regards the paridarshak. In clauses 4, 13, 15, 27, 35 (8), special instructions are given regarding schools. Clause 8 prohibits the taking of unauthorized copies of the rules. The maintenance of a library is enjoined in clause 11. In the next rule we find the great importance still attached to the

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"promises" or vows. Clauses 2 and 19 provide for the territorial division of work. In clause 20 members are classed in two main divisions—"Sannyasis" and house-holders; the political "Sadhu" is apparently indispensable. In clause 25 instructions are given for the theft of arms from any other revolutionary party that may, in the opinion of the Dacca Anushilan, be working contrary to the interests of the country, and it is interesting to note a concrete example of its application; the occasion was in fact the direct cause of the framing of the rule, and enables us to fix the authorship and date of the District Organization Scheme with fair accuracy. It also throws a side light on the relationship between the Dacca Anushilan and the Jugantar and the place given to Arabinda Ghosh as the acknowledged head of both parties.

The incident was as follows:— During Pulin's deportation, the "Sadhana Sampraday" of Mymensingh, under Hemendra Kishore Acharji—it was an off-shoot of the Mymensingh "Surhid Samiti" in which Jugantar traditions were so strong and have persisted to the present day—temporarily coalesced with the Mymenshing branch of the Dacca Anushilan, and with some assistance from the Narayanganj branch of the Dacca Anushilan, committed the Rajendrapur train dacoity on the 11th October 1909, in which two men were killed and a considerable portion of the remittance of Rs. 23,000 which the men were taking up to Kharaid, carried off. At this time there was some friction between the Mymensingh branch of the Dacca Anushilan and the Central Samiti at Dacca, for the reason that Ashutosh Das Gupta, Pulin's lieutenant, declined to acknowledge the leadership of P. Mitter and Satish Bose of the Calcutta Anushilan, while the Mymensingh branch, now under the influence of the Sadhana Samaj, were inclined to allow the authority of the Calcutta Samiti on the ground that P. Mitter was Pulin's "guru." On his release from deportation, Pulin summoned Hemendra Acharji to Dacca and demanded an explanation and an account of the money looted. Hemendra Acharji, however, declined to answer unless Pulin could support his demand with a letter of authority from Arabinda Ghosh. Shortly after this Pulin invited the leaders of the Mymensingh branch to meet him in Calcutta at 123-2, Amherst Street. He there talked them over, and once more secured their allegiance, after taking them to P. Mitter, whose leadership Ashutosh Das now also acknowleged. The rule regarding the stealing of arms was now framed, and in due course, on the pretext of murdering a Muhammadan, three revolvers and some cartridges were obtained from Hemendra, and later a trunk full of other fire-arms from another member of Hemendra's party, and the whole lot were made over to Narendra Sen, whom Pulin had now sent to take

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charge of headquarters at Dacca. The box containing the arms was taken over by Narendra Sen and Ram Das (subsequently murdered) and booked to Dacca by rail. Three tickets were taken, on two of which the men travelled, but the box was booked on the third—a simple but most effective precaution against detection.

To return to the District Organization Scheme. In clause 34, it is strictly enjoined that the custodians of arms and papers shall take no risks whatsoever.

Clause 35 prescribes the submission to headquarters of a quarterly report containing the most detailed statistical information and takes the place of Pulin's original "village notes." In sub-clause (16) is again seen the great importance attached to the "Promise Rules and Rules for Membership." A perusal of clause 35 and its sixteen sub-clauses will show how comprehensive the items are and that the "organizer" should be required to submit a report on these lines once a quarter is sufficient indication of the great industry and energy of these men. That this rule is acted up to is a fact beyond dispute, for such a report, being the third quarterly report from the organizer at Durgapur in the Chittagong district, was actually found amongst the papers recovered at the search of Girindra Mohan Das' house at Dacca in November 1912.

The Durgapur third quarterly report

This document, "the third quarterly report" as it was called in the Barisal conspiracy case, is of considerable interest as a concrete example of their methods in actual practice and as throwing light on the internal organization in its various branches. The writer of the report, Priya Nath Acharji, was later convicted in the Barisal conspiracy case. At that time he was district organizer at Durgapur and held the appointment of a master in the High English school there, a position of which, needless to say, he took the fullest advantage. Masterships in schools are naturally much sought after by revolutionaries and we repeatedly find the "organizer" masquerading in this form. The following is just one passage showing the organizer at work:—"Most of the teachers of the school are religious-minded. Consequently most of the boys have become religious-minded. The 'idea' is not much in evidence among them. But the Head Master and Hemendra Mukhuti have it. Both of them are favourable to our work, particularly the latter. Two other teachers also know all these things and are very criticising and inquisitive. Of the students of the school, a student of the 2nd class has become our initiated member. It is hoped some two or three more will soon become so. . . ." In spite of the school's "religious-mindedness" and its running counter

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to the "Samiti religion" which presumably the organizer wished to substitute, his efforts were not without result, and in giving the "idea" to the Head Master, he certainly achieved a notable success and one full of promise.

In concluding his report the "organizer" gives some "notes on organization" from which it is clear that his activities were not confined to the school, but that he was administering the affairs of a fairly well-equipped branch organization. This portion of his report runs as follows :

"Notes on Organization."

1. Nalini Mitra.
2. Kalisankar Mazumdar.
3. ....(Eleven other names, which need not be reproduced making 13 in all.)
4. "On Sunday after next, that is to say, on the 20th Aswin, you will have to come here. On that day two or three persons have to be initiated. Perhaps after the Puja I may get two or three boys from the Nangalkandi School.

"Organization—

(iv) Medicine—Chintaharan.
(v) Spying— Ditto.
(vi) Asram—Subodh Bhaumik, Harendra Das, Upendra Ray, Hemanga Bhaumik, Kali Sarkar.
(vii) Press and writing—Nalini Mitra, Naba Chaudhuri, Rama Prasanna.

"Violence—

(i) Arms repairing and handling—Chintaharan, Triguna Sinha, Rajani Pal.
(ii) Actions—Chintaharan, Triguna Sinha, Rajani Pal.
(iii) Coining— Ditto ditto.
(iv) Farming—Harikumar."

Departments

The division of work into departments is interesting, and confirms the information received from other sources; it is also in accordance with rule 32 of the district organization scheme. It will be observed, however, that (i) and (ii) are not shown, and presumably, therefore, the list is incomplete. In a big district with a larger membership their activities would doubtless be still more varied.

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If only to secure efficiency and control over an organization so wide-spread as the Dacca Anushilan, administration by a system of departments would be very necessary. But its chief value to the revolutionaries lies in that it reduces to a minimum the risk of detection and automatically limits to a small section the effect of any untoward event or betrayal. In the Durgapur organization as detailed in the third quarterly report it will be noticed the affairs of three departments of the Violence branch were entrusted to the same men; but this was probably either because their activities were very limited or that the organizer was short-handed. The principle on which the revolutionaries work is to secure a maximum of efficiency with a minimum of risk to the Samiti as a whole; and with this object in view a system of self-contained departments is maintained as far as possible. A practical illustration will be given later showing the preparations and events leading up to the commission of a dacoity in which a number of persons took part, but no one of whom except the leader—who could be trusted to keep his counsel—would, in case of arrest or treachery, have been able to disclose the entire plan, whence it emanated, how it was arranged, or the real names of more than a very few of the persons engaged.

Great importance was attached to the quarterly reports, and the writer of this particular report has since told us that he went all the way to Dacca in order to deliver the report personally to Pratul Ganguli, at the time one of the most prominent leaders of the Samiti.

"The Rules for Membership"

The "Rules for Membership" is hardly less important than the District Organization Scheme. The first rule provides for a monthly subscription from each member and an admission fee. Rules 2 and 3 emphasize the necessity of every member being an ideal character and "observing the rules of 'Brahmacharjya' (celibacy and chastity);" text would imply they have framed their own particular rules of "Brahmacharjya." In rule 5 the daily reading of the Gita is insisted on. In rule 6 we again find the revolutionary in his aspect of public philanthropist. Rule 7 prescribes the complete revolutionists' library. Next, some knowledge of medicine, including veterinary, is to be acquired—presumably, as being necessary for persons engaged in dangerous enterprises. Rule 17 specifically emphasizes the military character of the organization, and in rule 18 revolution is definitely declared to be its object. Rule 19 warns the members against the mistakes of the French and Italian revolutionaries who, it is held, missed their real aim. Lastly, conduct like to "frustrate" the "cause" shall receive condign punishment.

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Modus operandi

Under this heading it will be convenient to discuss, as briefly as possible, a few of the more important of the methods and devices employed by the revolutionaries. They are merely developments of the principles laid down in their rules and regulations, but will serve to indicate how they are put into practice.

"Absconders":—In addition to the use of this term in its ordinary sense, it is specifically employed by the revolutionaries to indicate those of their members who have broken away from all family and social ties and have adopted, or have been compelled to adopt, what has been termed the "wandering habit." Such persons are regarded as being peculiarly useful for the purposes of the society, and obviously so, for by forcing a youth to cut himself adrift from all restraining influences, the leaders rightly count on turning out a desperado who will stick at nothing. This process of moral perversion is employed very successfully and the "absconders" are by far the most desperate characters.

Instances of this constantly come to notice, but by way of illustration the following passage from a certain statement may be taken :—"... .a day or so later, I and Probodh Das went to Noren Bijay's room, to see Girija Babu. He asked us what sort of life we wished to lead after the examination in July. I and Noren Bijay said nothing. Probodh said a life in which he would get much work for the party. Girija Babu and we all went out for a walk. Girija asked us all to abscond, when we would all get much work and preach the ideal of renunciation. Probodh at once agreed. Noren and I agreed after hesitation, but Girija wanted Noren to abscond immediately." The "Girija Babu" referred to is Nagendra Nath Datta, the revolutionary leader arrested at Nattore in October 1915 and later convicted in the Benares conspiracy case. Yet another instance may be cited in the deponent's own words :

> "I got plucked. I came to my brother in Calcutta at once hearing this. 'Chasma' came to the room and jeered at me for my failure and told me I must abscond and go to Comilla. I objected as I did not want to go and he abused me. Meantime my brother went home to see my father. My father was very angry at my failure and told me to go and get admission at Daulatpur College...... I told 'Chasma' about my father's orders. 'Chasma' got very angry and told me I must go to Comilla as the organizer of that place was wanted in the centre, i.e., Calcutta.......Chasma produced an automatic Colt pistol and threatened to shoot me if I refused to go. I

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> was very frightened, because I know that the party commit secret assassinations, which are never known to the public, so with sorrow and a broken heart I agreed. Several times about then I used to loiter near Lal Bazar police-station to try and get myself arrested."

"Chasma" who is here compelling the youth to abscond, is the elusive Nalini Ghosh, one of the most dangerous revolutionaries in India.

In February 1915 Anukul Chakrabarti alias Thakur, the most prominent leader at that time, estimated he had as many as fifty "flying-members" moving about from place to place.

Shelters :—Places of refuge are obviously very essential and are established from time to time at convenient centres. The opening of shops and messes is a favourite device. The "Bengal Boarding," and coal depot and "Binapani" Store, at Barisal, were good examples. Of the innumerable shelters in Calcutta, 296-1, Upper Circular Road, and 39, Pathuriaghatta Street, were amongst the most important.

Agartala in Hill Tippera has been frequently used by the revolutionists as a refuge when hard-pressed in Bengal, and has occupied an important place in their schemes. The farming operations undertaken here as elsewhere, were merely a cloak for its real purpose of a training ground and a safe retreat. It will have been noted that 'farming,' appears in the Durgapur third quarterly report as one of the activities of the organization; the mere fact of its being treated as one of the branches of the Violence Department sufficiently indicates the real nature of these ostensibly peaceful avocations.

"Post Boxes":—Rules 13 and 14 of the Rules for Membership prescribe definite instructions for the carrying on of correspondence, and everything points to the strict observance of these rules. We also find individuals, and sometimes fictitious addresses, constantly being used as post boxes by the leaders. Narendra Sen, for instance, is said to have had no less than eight such "post boxes".

It may be noted here incidentally that "Joyajuktesu" (=with success to you) is a form of salutation that members of the Dacca Anushilan frequently use in their letters to each other.

False names:—It has already been indicated that a false or Samiti name is given to each member at the time of administering the vows. This system of false names dates back to the earliest days of the Samiti, as the Samiti records very clearly established, and it is still invariably employed. Its uses are obvious. There are innumerable instances where members of the society have been constantly together without getting to know each other's identity, while in the case of casual acquaintances

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associated for the commission of particular crime, it is exceedingly effective as a precaution against possible disclosures in case of arrest. The leaders generally have many aliases, but every member has at least one, and except possibly within his own little group, his real name and antecedents remain effectually concealed. The Bengali system of names is already sufficiently intricate, but when skilfully manipulated as is done by the revolutionaries, the effect is perfectly bewildering and taxes the most tenacious memory.

Ciphers:—Cipher codes have been found to be in general use. Ciphers were employed in Pulin's original Samiti as was shown by the records, and have been constantly used since. Enciphered documents have been recovered at various searches, and successfully deciphered; valuable information on this subject has also been received from the revolutionaries themselves. The finds at 296-1, Upper Circular Road, in November 1913 and at 39, Pathuriaghatta Street, in 1916 are amongst the most important yet made. It is noteworthy that cipher codes are included in the "Conspirative" methods of the Russian revolutionaries (vide page 116 infra).

Sympathizers :— "Persons sympathizing with the party" are likewise given a very prominent place in the Russian scheme. It is obvious a society such as the Dacca Anushilan could not continue very long without such support and there are the strongest reasons for believing that it has sympathizers everywhere. Many instances could be quoted. Srish Chatarji, the Dacca pleader, has already been mentioned as a very active supporter. Another man who has done a great deal in a quiet way to help on the movement, is Rajani Bysack, the Mukhtear at Manikganj. His house was a regular rendezvous and open to any revolutionary who came along. The fact that they can always get lawyers to back them, has undoubtedly been of very great value to the revolutionaries. As regards Srish Chatarji, when interviewed in the Andamans by Mr. Tegart, Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta, convicted in the Rajendrapur train dacoity, admitted that Srish Chatarji was their legal adviser and custodian of the loot taken in dacoities. We have also been told by another source that Mr. C. R. Das, who appeared for the defence in the Dacca conspiracy case, was perfectly well aware the money he was getting from Srish Chatarji came from the proceeds of dacoities.

Asrams:—It will have been noted that Asrams are mentioned in the "third quarterly report" as one of the activities of the Samiti. Here again, as always, we see religion being exploited by the Samiti to further its own nefarious ends. The following is an extract from Mr. Tegart's most interesting note on the Ram Krishna Mission, to which reference

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should be made for fuller information on the subject:

> "At an early stage of this enquiry attention was directed to the procedure adopted in some cases by the leaders of this gang for attracting recruits to their ranks by suggesting that their society was the Ram Krishna Mission, a religious organization, and suppressing all reference to its revolutionary aims until the intended victims were ready to receive such teachings. Further, bogus Ram Krishna Asrams were opened by them in numerous villages in order to provide meeting places for the conspirators, where they might assemble without attracting undue attention from the police or the villagers."

"This procedure was difinitely laid down in the 'District Organization Scheme' ...... One of its rules ran as follows:

"'If the members cannot meet ordinarily in a common place for the discussion of business matters, they shall meet under the pretext of harir loot or some such ceremony.'

"Enquiries showed that Ram Krishna Asrams were opened in numerous villages throughout Eastern Bengal with this object in view."

Funds:—As regards the funds of the Samiti, it is hardly necessary to say that the great bulk of it is derived from dacoities. The subscriptions and admission fees required to be paid according to rule 1 of the "Rules for Membership" must amount to a negligible quantity in the Samiti budget.

The "Mushti Bhiksha" of the early days was shown, by an examination of the Samiti accounts, to be wholly inadequate for its needs. We have since been told by members of the Samiti that the bulk of the money came from public subscriptions, but that these fell of as soon as the Samiti was proscribed. It has been shown that the Barah dacoity was committed in order to replenish the Samiti exchequer, and that this method of "raising the wind" then became the deliberate policy of the Samiti. A consideration of the dacoities committed since and the large sums of money taken, give some idea of the money transactions of the Samiti. When we are told, therefore, by a reliable source that Anukul Chakravarti boasted that nearly a lakh of rupees had passed through his hands alone, it is very probably true. At the present time, when its operations are comparatively restricted in consequence of the measures taken under the Defence of India Act, it is learnt on good authority that the Samiti still require at least Rs.8,000 a month, or say a lakh a year, to carry on their business.

Coining and forgery: —In the "third quarterly report" "coining" is specifically mentioned as one of the activities of the Samiti. There are,

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as a matter of fact, good reasons for believing that traffic in counterfeit coins and currency notes is actually carried on. We have the testimony of the police head-constable who while living at the "Bengal Boarding," at Barisal, in the guise of an astrologer, was shown a newly manufactured counterfeit coin on one occasion. This is further confirmed by the entry in Amrita Hazra's cipher note-book where it is noted that the gang should always look out for forging and coining in the Bakarganj district for "our members are connected with these things." We also have it from a reliable source that in January 1912 it was proposed to murder a Muhammadan living in the Jessore district and take possession of the machine with which he was known to forge ten-rupee notes. The men deputed for the murder actually went to the place and only desisted from carrying their purpose into execution because they could not make sure the machine was in the house.

Miscellaneous:—The following are a few minor points relating to their methods, and it may be useful to note them here:

It is a rule of the society that a member must not mix with another member unless introduced by a third party.

When sending a member to a place where he is not known, some simple signal is prearranged. For instance, the man alights from the train or steamer holding a book in his right-hand, while the man come to meet him, waits at the station with a newspaper or a particular book in his hand—possibly one of Vivekananda's.

When a dacoity or murder is to be committed, members not taking part are required to stay at home lest their absence should creat suspicion and lead to their arrest, and thus unnecessarily injure the Samiti.

Hindu revolutionaries frequently disguise themselves as Muhammadans when it serves their purpose.

It is one of their strictest rules that a member should mind his own business and ask no questions of other members whom he may meet.

Thursday is considered an inauspicious day for "actions."

There is a certain well understood argot in use amongst the revolutionaries and is employed when the occassion requires it. The following are some of the terms used:

> "Food" or "type" = cartridges; "pustak" = revolver; "Marriage" = "utsab," "action," or "fraction" = dacoity; "raining hard" = vigorous police enquiry going on; "are being laid up with fever" = are being arrested.

Certain pass-words or countersigns are used during dcaoities to enable members to recognise each other in the dark. "Rastam—Khan," we are told, is one of them.

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Arms & Ammunition

There is a good deal of information on record as to the methods by which the Dacca Anushilan maintain their supply of arms and ammunition, but it is impossible here to do more than indicate generally how this department of the Samiti is managed.

We have seen in rule 34 of the District Organization Scheme that custodians of arms shall on no account incur any risks. Only the most tried and trustworthy men are allowed to know where exactly the arms are stored and a most elaborate procedure is adopted to limit this knowledge to a very few; the arms of a particular centre may have passed through the hands of a dozen persons, but probably only the organizer and the actual custodian will be able to say where they are kept.

As far as can be gathered, the Dacca Anushilan have no regular source of supply, but beg, borrow and steal, as opportunity offers. We learn from one deponent "when the Samiti was originally started we secured several old weapons from the houses of well-to-do people, some gave them willingly, others were stolen, unlicensed guns were given to us, and we had to steal licensed guns or pretend to do so."

The Dacca Anushilan has apparently always relied to a great extent on the Jugantar party at Calcutta to procure them arms. The Calcutta anarchists would naturally have infinitely better opportunities than the mufassal samitis, and since both organizations originated from the same source and have the same object, it would be strange if they did not co-operate and render mutual assistance in matters of special importance. As a matter of fact, we know the leaders always remain in close touch and consult on all questions of general policy. We learn, for instance, that Rs.2,000 of the proceeds of the Barah dacoity was remitted to Calcutta for the purchase of arms, and some 10 rifles, 3 revolvers and 1,000 rounds of ammuniton were obtained through Satish Bose of the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti.

But as we have seen, these good offices of the Calcutta Jugantar, did not prevent Pulin from defrauding the Mymensing Jugantar of their arms, and more recently an attempt was made to obtain the arms kept by the Jugantar at Bhanga.

It is said that in 1911 guns and ammunition were collected through the assistance of low class Europeans in Narayangaj, and this is not imporbable. The illicit traffic in arms carried on by Eurasians and low class Europeans in Calcutta is of course well known, and there have been several prosecutions.

It was known that some portion of the 50 Mausers stolen by the Calcutta Jugantar from Messrs. Rodda & Co. had been made over to the

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Dacca Anushilan, and we now learn that Jotin Mukharji made over 4 Mauser pistols. We are also told that for the murder of Basanta Kumar Chatarji, Deputy Superintendent of Police, a .450 revolver and a Mauser were borrowed from the Jugantar party. The munitions department of the Dacca Anushilan must at this time have been in bad case, for one of the assassins has stated that it was arranged that the two men armed with the less efficient weapons should cover the retreat, so as to enable the other three assassins who were carrying more modern weapons, to escape safely.

The Dacca Anushilan seem to have received considerable assistance in the matter of arms and ammunition from Mati Lal Ray of Chandernagore, who has always been their staunch friend and adviser.

Several reported cases of thefts of arms are known to have been committed by the Dacca Anushilan, and important seizures have been made from time to time.

There was at one time a plan to import machinery from Germany for the manufacture of revolvers, but it never materialized.

Sympathizers play an important part in facilitating concealment and transmission of weapons. Hostels are also considered good places for keeping arms. We are told that the hostels attached to the College and the Oxford Mission were the safest places they had at Dacca.

Perhaps the safest and most sample method employed by the revolutionaries when sending arms for special occasions, is to make up a parcel and book it by passenger train to a fictitious address. The same method is frequently used for sending such heavy impediment as flogging hammers, crow-bars, etc., required for the commission of dacoities when safes and boxes have to be broken open. These things are easily purchased in Calcutta and as easily sent, and so they are generally left at the scene of occurrence without any attempt being made to carry them away.

If their arms have not been very plentiful, so much at least can be said with certainty that the Dacca Anushilan has never lacked a sufficient supply to carry out the very many dacoities and murders that can be laid to their charge.

Bombs

For their bombs the Dacca Anushilan depend mainly on the Calcutta Jugantar party. Pulin, it was said, had some knowledge of explosives and this was probably so; he was a laboratory assistant in the Dacca College and was in close touch with the Calcutta anarchists. But the Dacca Anushilan, doubtless owing to their lacking proper facilities in the

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mufassal, do not seem to have specialized in explosives and have relied mainly on the Jugantar to provide them with bombs for particular occasions.

The bombs found at Munshiganj in September 1910 in possession of Lalit Chandra Chaudhuri and for which he was sentenced to ten years' transportation, were apparently a local effort, and although dangerous enough, were not of the quality turned out by the Cálcutta-Chandernagore experts. It is said, however, that Lalit Chaudhuri had acquired from the Jugantar party such knowledge as he had. Bomb formulae were, of course, in possession of all and sundry, but the successful manufacture of the finished bomb was a very different matter. Occasional attempts were made, but the idea was generally abandoned in favour of the revolver.

One serious effort, however, the Dacca Anushilan certainly did make to have their own source of supply. It was in accordance with the instructions of Pulin Das that Amrita Hazra alias Sasanka, entered the Bengal Technical Institution in 1909, which was a stronghold of revolutionaries, and acquired the mechanical skill which he subsequently applied to manufacturing bomb shells, as was fully proved in the Raja Bazar bomb case (1913); it is also said that Sasanka used to repair the fire-arms of the Samiti. Had Pulin remained free, he would doubtless have, with his characteristic thoroughness, placed this branch of the Samiti activities on a proper footing, though it is questionable if he could in any case have done without the Calcutta experts. It is clear that Amrita Hazra, Pratul Ganguli and Trailakhya Chakravarti, were in close touch with the Calcutta-Chandernagore gang, and especially with Srish Ghose of Chandernagore who has long been actively engaged in the manufacture of bombs and was probably the principal organizer of bomb outrages.

It is noteworthy that early in 1912 Srish Ghosh stayed a considerable time in Dacca and so got into direct touch with the Dacca Anushilan. He was in close association with Mati Lal Ray, who has always been an active friend of the Dacca Anushilan and is moreover in direct communication with Arabinda Ghose. It is known that Mati Lal Ray visited Arabinda at Pondicherry in November 1913 after the College Square and Mymensingh murders, and during this visit frequently referred to "Srish" and "Sasanka" as his "two arms." Sasanka alias Amrita Hazra was a Dacca Anushilan man and we here get a concrete example of the coalition of the two parties for purposes of violence and their common allegiance to Arabinda Ghose as head of the terrorist party. The importance of Amrita Hazra at this time is also indicated. At a farewell

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dinner given to Mati Lal on this occasion, Arabinda is reported to have made the remark, with reference to the recent assassinations, that it was no use killing mosquitoes and flies, but urged the destruction of elephants.

It is known the bomb used in the Musulmanpara Lane outrage in November 1914, came from Chandernagore, and the bomb intended for the assqssination of Mr. Gordon, the Subdivisional Officer at Maulvi Bazar, but which exploded and blew up the would-be assassin, Jogendra Chakravarti, also came from the Jugantar party in Calcutta. It is said this bomb was obtained from Suresh Chandra Datta, B.A., B.Sc., a Professor of the National College. The bomb with which Biren Chatarji murdered Inspector Bankim Chandra Chaudhuri at Mymensingh in September 1913 was likewise obtained in Calcutta, through Amrita Hazra.

However, there are signs that the Dacca Anushilan still hope to have their own bomb expert. We have been told Anukul Chakravarti was thinking of recruiting a B.Sc. student specially for this purpsoe, and the recent find of explosives at Naihati is a further indication of their activities in this respect.

Modus operandi in dacoities.—A special pamphlet has been published by the Intelligence Branch embodying the methods employed by "political" dacoits. The following brief summary, however, gives the essential feature and is here reproduced from "The growth of the revolutionary movement in Bengal":

"Previous to the actual commission of a dacoity, spies are sent to reconnoitre the proposed neightbourhood and the house to be looted. On approaching the selected site the dacoits mask their faces entirely with muslin masks, slits being made for the eyes, nose and mouth. They carry firearms, consisting of double-barrel breech-loaders, revolvers and automatic pistols, spears, daos and lathis also figuring in the armament.

"The house is rushed by the dacoits. The inmates, threatened with immediate death, are forced to deliver their keys. Safes, boxes, and chests are rapidly looted. Where keys are not forthcoming, safes are burst open with steel chisels and heavy hammers, and in every case the most wanton mischief is done to the property of the unfortunate inmates of the house. Women are deprived of their jewellery in the cause of the motherland, and the male members of the family have been in several instances severely maltreated.

"The attack is made in regular formation, and a fixed time is allowed for the commission of the dacoity, on the expirty of which a bugle or whistle is sounded, the dacoits gather to the rallying point and retreat in order, nothesitating to fire on the villagers who may collect to impede

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their retreat, and in several cases unfortunate villagers have been shot down by the dacoits.

"The whole action is carried out on military lines. Posts are assigned to each individual member of the band, as well as particular duties to be performed before, during and after the dacoity."

AN ILLUSTRATION

(The Sahildeo dacoity, 17th October 1916)

The following is an account of the dacoity committed at Sahildeo in the Mymensingh district in October 1916: The deponent took part in it and the narrative is exactly as he told it. The Sahildeo dacoity is only one of many of which we have equally full particulars, but it is given here as an illustration as it features most of the methods associated with these crimes, and being the most recent, it serves to show the vigour and cohesion that still characterize all the activities of this organization.

The dacoity is arranged at Calcutta and is committed hundreds of miles away; arms and men are picked up en route; sympathizers await the men; food and boats are provided; the usual equipment, such as masks, shirts, belts, haversacks, fire-arms, chisels, hammers, etc., are produced at the right time, nothing is forgotten, not even the balance wherewith to weigh the money taken and determine the exact amount against possible misappropriation by the receiver; the attack is delivered in quasi-military formation and the usual Maharatta war-cry is raised; persons resisting are shot; the money is looted and carried to the boat; the dacoits are then formed up, numbered off and marched back to the boat; the "delivery" boats turn up at appointed placed and receive the plunder and the arms; the men disperse and return to their various destinations; the deponent and another return to Calcutta, but take the precaution to get out at Dum Dum and then walk and drive in.

The deponent knew more of the facts than most of the other members, but even he was in ignorance of where the arms came from and where they went, where the money was deposited, and of the identity of many of the men. The one man on this occasion who perhaps could have divulged the entire plot, was Kanai alias Krista Lal Saha, who is at present untraced.

THE SAHILDEO DACOITY

"I heard about a proposed dacoity at Mymenshingh for the first time about 10 or 12 days before I started for this dacoity. At that time I was living at No. 10, Kripa Nath's Lane. On the day on which I first heard of

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the proposed dacoity, Gyan Chandra Bhaumik and I were sitting in the same room when, at about midday, either Jyoti or Rakhal visited me. He ordered Gyan to leave the room and when he had done so, he mentioned that there would be a dacoity in the Mymensingh district within three or four days, in which I should have to take part. After informing me that I would be told later when to start, Jyoti or Rakhal left. On the Shasthi day, i.e., the sixth day of the moon and the day prior to the commencement of the Durga Puja, Rakhal visited me again at No. 10, Kripa Nath's Lane, at about 2 p.m. Gyan was also present. Rakhal told me in the presence of Gyan that I should have to start that evening by the Darjeeling mail and paid me a ten-rupee note as passage money. At this time Srikanta alias Indu Bhusan Chakravarti arrived and Gyan was sent out to the bazar on some pretext. Rakhal and Srikanta then talked together privately for a few minutes and then Srikanta left. Rakhal then told me that I should not have to start that day and then left. The next day, i.e., Saptami, Rakhal again visited me at about 2 p.m. and told me that I should have to take the Darjeeling mail that evening and book to Begunbari via Teestamukh. I should be met at Sealdah station by Military Ghosh alias Kshirod Ghosh, a member of our party known to me from before. I was told that Military Ghosh and I would travel together up to Begunbari, where we should be met by Srikanta. I went to Sealdah station and met Military Ghosh there. I took a third class ticket to Begunbari via Teestamukh and travelled in the same compartment with Military Ghosh. At Santahar, Military Ghosh went up and talked to a man who was walking along the platform with a coolie who was carrying an ordinary steel trunk. On his return I asked him who the man was and was told that the man was a memebr of our party and the trunk contained arms. He had an inter-class ticket to Begunbari and Military Ghosh told me that he had come from Sealdah. His face was not known to me but I could recognise him again. We changed trains at Santahar and travelled to Teestamukh. At Teestamukh we boarded the steamer. Military Ghosh and the unknown man had a talk between themselves on board. At Bahadurabad Military Ghosh gave the unknown man some food. We arrived at Begunbari between 12 and 1 p.m. The train was late that day. I got out of the train and met Srikanta who was accompanied by another man who was unknown to me. Srikanta told me to give up my ticket and go outside. Military Ghosh went off to the inter-class compartment. Shortly after all four, i.e., Srikanta and his unknown companion and Military Ghosh and the unknown man with the tin trunk came outsdie. From their conversation it appeared that Srikanta and the man with the tin trunk were previously acquainted. From Begunbari station we all walked to

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Muktagacha, separately, two by two. The tin trunk was handed over to a Hindu up-country cooly by the unknown man, who walked to Muktagacha by himself. His hire was ten annas for the 4 miles. While at the station the ticket collector asked Srikanta and his companion for their tickets, but they said they had come to meet passengers and were not travellers. Srikanta and his companion went on to Muktagacha ahead saying that they were going to arrange a gharry and telling Military Ghosh who knew the locality to go up to the Municipal Office. When we arrived there we found they had arranged a gharry—a third class one driven by a Hindu up-country man. The trunk was placed inside the gharry. The unknown companion of Srikanta had purchased some 'chira' and 'gur' before we arrived. We arrived at Muktagacha at about 4 p.m. and left almost immediately for Mymensingh. About 6 miles from Muktagacha we stopped at a well and took water and bought 'pan' from one of the two shops (the one on the right side of the road), which were situated there. We arrived in Mymensingh which were situated there. We arrive in Mymensingh when it was dark. Near the European quarter Srikanta got out of the gharry and went away and I did not see him again for ten or twelve days. Srikanta's companion took us to a house which appeared to be on the outskirts of the town. The house or basha is off the high road and to get to it we had to pass two pucca houses, one of which I was told belonged to Kalishankar Babu who is probably a pleader of Mymensingh. There were Musalman bashas round about. On arrival at this basha I saw a boy called 'Dosta' who was known to me from before when I had visited Mymensingh. I can recognise him. He gave us a meal after which the trunk was left there while we four, Military Ghosh, myself and then with the trunk and Srikanta's companion went to another basha and passed the night there. Srikanta's companion took us there. This house is on the other side of the railway close to the station and was in charge of a servant who was a drunkard. Srikant's companion told us if he asked why we were coming there we were to say Chhatra Babu had put us up there. It was a tin erection. After taking us up to the house, Srikant's companion went away. In the early morning before sunrise, Military Ghosh took me and the man with the trunk to the first basha. At about 7 A.M. Srikanta's companion came to the first basha and told us all to start for Netrakona, but Military Ghosh objected as Kanai alias Jamai who was to lead in the dacoity had not arrived. Kanai was known to me previously. Srikanta's unknown companion then told me and the man with the tin trunk to take our meal and to go off to the ferry ghat where he would meet us and that a doctor with a cooly would come to the basha whom we were to follow with the trunk. We took our meal and

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at about 10 A.M. the doctor and the cooly arrived. This cooly, an up-country Hindu, took the trunk and we went off to the ferry ghat. At the ferry ghat we met Srikanta's unknown companion. We also met another member of our party unknown to me who was called Bairagi. We crossed the river and arranged with a gharrywala on the other side to take us to Netrakona for Rs. 22-8. (The usual fare is Rs. 8-12.) The fare was high as it was raining. 'Bairagi,' myself, the man with the trunk and Srikanta's companion went in the gharry. At the ghat we advanced Rs. 4 to the gharrywala. We started at about 1 p.m. I shall be able to recognise the gharry wala very probably. The 'doctor' did not accompany us. I saw him again later but I never learnt his proper name. He is aged about 30, medium build, very lean and thin. I heard he suffered from asthma. His face is pock-pitted. He wears small moustache but no beard. He appeared to be acquainted with Srikanta's companion but not with the man with the steel trunk.

"About 19 miles from Mymensingh, the driver refused to go any further on account of the weather and the mud. The place he stopped at was a small hut under a banian tree.

"The time was then 7 p.m. After some discussion it was agreed that Srikanta's companion and 'Bairagi' should go to Netrakona about 6 miles away and bring a strong fellow of our party to take the tin trunk into Netrakona that night. the reason why we did not take it ourselves was because it was heavy and none of us were powerful men.

"Srikanta's companion returned at about midnight with a young fellow about 20-22 years old, stronhly built. I was not acquainted with him, nor did I know his name. He went by the name of 'Morning.' Bairagi was left at Netrakona. I saw him again the next day in a boat at Netrakona. As the night was stormy we all decided not to go back to Netrakona but to sleep in the gharray. The driver slept in the small hut. About half an hour after Srikanta's companion and 'Morning' arrived. After some discussion we awakened the driver and told him to drive on further saying that if he did not so he would not be paid his fare. At this he commenced to drive us towards Netrakona. After going about 2 miles we arrived at a small bazar in which there was a school by the roadside on the left hand side. Here we had to stop as the candle went out.'Morning' and the man with the trunk slept in the school room and Srikanta's companion and I slept in the gharry with the trunk.

"The next morning before sunrise we started again and reached Toujidari Ghat at about 8 a.m. We went to Toujidari instead to Adalat Ghat at 'Morining's suggestion because it is less used than the other one.

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"We gave the gharrywala Rs. 13, i.e., Rs. 17 in all counting the Rs. 4 advanced to him the day before. An argument arose over this. Some coolies who were mending the ghat gathered round. We explained to the driver that our reason for not giving him the Rs.22-8 agreed upon was that he had not taken us straight that night to Netrakona as arranged. He said that he could not do so owing to the storm and his candles going out.

"At first we offered him only a ten-rupee note but at the suggestion of one of the coolies listening to the dispute we made the amount Rs. 13. The driver took this and went away grumbling. We crossed the river by the ferry and then 'Morning' guided us to a boat waiting in the khal. This place was to the north of the town near a big railed-in-tank and was close to the prostitutes' quarters. There were two manjhis in the boat, called Nim Chand and Kala Chand. They were members of our party, but I did not know their names nor was I acquainted with them. Here we met Bairagi again. I and the man with the trunk taking the trunk with us, entered the boat while 'Morning' and Srikanta's companion remained on the bank. The two manjhis then rowed the boat up to the bhil (half an hour's distance away) and took us up to a big boat (ghasi) which was lying there. 'Morning' and Srikants's companion did not accompany us. I saw there Prafulla Kumar Ray, a member of ours with whom I was previously acquainted. Other unknown men were in the boat but I did not see them at that time. Bairagi and the man with the trunk taking the trunk got up into the big boat, while Kala Chand, Nim Chand and I remained in the small boat. This boat was then taken to a place ten minutes distance from the big boat towards Netrakona. For two or three days we used to take our food from the big boat. Then we made our own arrangements, Kala Chand and Nim Chand used to make the purchases. They purchased a maund of rice and a maund of fuel from Netrakona Bazar. Srikanta's companion gave me Rs. 12 or Rs. 13 for expenses. Kala Chand and Nim Chand used to make purchases for the big boat also. These two men were dressed as manjhis, but appeared to be poorly educated bhadralok.

"We passed 7 or 8 days like this. In the afternoon from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. I used to go to Toujidari Ghat and also the ghat near the prostitutes' quarters and the ghat where we first moored the boat, in case any of our party arrived.

"The dacoity was to have been committed two days after our arrival at Netrakona. When Srikanta's companion left us he told us that without Kanai nothing could be done. One evening at about 7 or 8 p.m. srikanta and his companion visited us again. I took them to the big boat and moored my boat there. Srikanta and his companion had a private talk

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with Prafulla Ray and then came back to my boat. I asked them what had happened and they said that we should have to wait till Kanai arrived. I objected to living in the boat and suggested that we should go back to Mymensingh and live there till Kanai arrived. If Kanai did not turn up in two or three days I would go back to Calcutta. This was agreed to. Bairagi, the man with the trunk, Srikanta and his companion and myself early the next morning walked to Syamganj about 11 miles from Netrakona towards Mymensingh. I had better fix the dates more clearly. We left Calcutta as I have said on Saptami day. We got into the boat at Netrakona on the Bijaya Dasami (tenth) day. We lived in the boats for 7 or 8 days, so we must have left them about two days after Purnima (full moon).

"At Netrakona, Srikanta's companion purchased chira, dahi, gur, plantains for 12 annas and we all ate in the shop. The shop-keepr was a Bengali gowala. At Syamganj two roads meet, one runs from Netrakona to Mymensingh and the other branches off to the right (as you go towards Mymensingh). The shop is situated almost at the junction of the two on the right hand side of the road branching off to the right and is almost opposite the dak bungalow. We reached this shop at about 11-30 a.m. At Syamganj we hired a gharry to take us to Mymensingh at candle-light after stopping for a short time at Shambhuganj. We crossed in the ferry. Srikanta's companion paid all the expenses. At the other side, Srikanta's companion directed Bairagi to put up in some other place not known to me, while I and the man who had brought the tin trunk from Calcutta (this had been left inthe boat at Netrakona) were taken by Srikanta's companion to the first basha we had gone to when we had first arrived in Mymensingh from Calcutta. Srikanta had been left at the ferry ghat. I found Dosta and Military Ghosh present there. Srikanta's companion then left us. After taking our evening meal there, Military Ghosh, the man who had brought the trunk, and myself went to the basha on the other side of the railway line. It was on this day that I learnt that the name of the man who had brought the trunk was Bhattacharji. Early the next morning we went back to the other basha. In this way we passed two or three days in Mymensingh. One day the servant asked us who we were and we told him that Chhatra Babu had put us up there. The 'Doctor' used to do the bazar for us daily and Srikanta's companion used to visit us. We were not allowed to go out during the day. On the third or fourth day at about 9 a.m. Kanai arrived, and shortly after Srikanta turned up. Kanai asked me if Binay had come and I asked who Binay was and from his description I understood that was the name of Srikanta's companion. Shortly after, Srikanta's companion i.e., Binay, arrived on a bicycle.

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Then Kanai, Srikanta and Binay entered another house and talked privately for some time. At about 10 or 10-30 a.m. Kanai left the house on Binay's bicycle, telling Military Ghosh to meet him on the river side near a garden in the European quarter in the evening. That day Srikanta left for Calcutta by the midday train. Military Ghosh met Kanai as arranged and returned. Next morning Kanai came with a man named Kumar a member of our party known to me from before. They left after half an hour. That evening Binay sent 'Dosta' by train to some place beyond Teestamukh. The next morning Kanai came again and told us to take our food quickly as we should have to start for Netrakona that day. Chandra Kumar also turned up. Binay brought two Mausers, one .450 revolver, cartridges, one bugle, one steel trunk, match box, candle and haversacks. All these articles were put into the trunk. The 'Doctor' then came with a cooly at about 10 a.m. I went with the 'Doctor' and the trunk. Kanai told me that Kumar would meet me at the ferry ghat. The 'Doctor' left me at the ferry ghat and I paid off the cooly. Chandra Kumar arrived shortly after. We crossed the river with the trunk. I waited in the tin shed on the other other side of the ferry while Chandra Kumar went to find a gharry. We had to wait there for two or three hours as the gharrywalas were unwilling to go on hire owing to the midday heat and because the other members had not turned up. The other members finally arrived as follows :—First, Bhattacharji and Military Ghosh, then Bairagi Thakur, of Palong, and 'Star' alias Tarini Charan Mazumdar; last Mona arrived alone. I knew all of these men previously.

"Thakur, 'Star,' Bairagi and Kumar started first in a gharry with the steel trunk. Then I, Military Ghosh, Mona and Bhattacharji started in another gharry. Chandra Kumar hired one gharry and Military Ghosh the other. We stopped seprately at Shyamganj for about 2 hours. It was a hot day and we purchased some plantains and I subsequently heard that one of the men in the first gharry went to purchase some sweetmeats from a shop and there was a dispute. At Shyamganj Kanai passed us in another gharry. There was another man with him unknown to me. He was 23 or 24 years of age, tall, strongly built, flat face, incipient beard and moustache, fair complexion. If I saw him again I should probably be able to recognise him. At about 4-30 p.m. we left Shyamganj and reached Netrakona Adalat Ghat at about 7 p.m. As there was a jatra performance that day and there were many people about, we did not go to Toujidari ghat. 'Morning' and another boy called Gorachand unknown to me met us there. Gorachand took the trunk out of the first gharry and the occupants, i.e., Thakur, 'Star' and Bairagi followed 'Morning' and Gorachand into Netrakona town. Kumar remained behind with me,

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Military Ghosh, Mona and Bhattacharji. This arrangement was suggested by Kumar as he thought if we went in one batch it might appear suspicious. Half an hour later, the rest of us started. We crossed in the ferry and walked to the first mooring place I mentioned before, i.e., the place near the tank and the prostitutes' quarter. Kumar led us there. Here we saw the bigger boat. Kanai was standing on the bank of the tank. He ordered us to get inside the boat quietly. On entering the boat I saw Mamu alias Tipi or Tipu Sultan with whom I was previously acquainted. The occupants of the first gharry, i.e., Thakur, 'Star' and Bairagi and also 'Morning' and Gorachand were present. Kanai's companion and Prafulla Ray were also there. A little later Kanai entered the boat. The boat was then started. Mamu took the helm and Prafulla Ray and another man rowed. We then arrived at the bhil where we saw the smaller boat, which I have mentioned before, the majhis of which were Kalachand and Nimchand. Kanai ordered 'Morning' and Gorachand to get into the smaller boat and to go to some place and wait there till the next day in another boat. Kalachand and Nimchand were ordered to wait in a different place in their own boat till the bigger boat arrived. Then the bigger boat started again. We cooked our food on board and at 2 or 3 a.m. the next morning we moored the boat at the mouth of a river. I learnt subsequently that this place was about 20 miles from Netrakona and about 10 miles from Sahildeo. We went down stream. The river mouth was on the right bank of the khal. There were paddy fields on all sides and we saw a village about $^1/_2$ a mile away.

"Before sunrise we again started slowly entering the river. None of us was allowed to come outside the 'chai' except the two rowers and the helmsman. At about 1 p.m. we arrived at a place where we found 'Morning,' Gorachand and another boy, unknown to me and whom I shall probably not be able to recognise, in a small boat. This place would be about 6 miles from Sahildeo. We moored near a tree on the right bank. A little further on, on the left bank there was a large bhil. Kanai ordered 'Morning' to come into the big boat. Gorachand and the other boy were ordered to wait there in the small boat till the big boat returned. They were given some food and lines and hooks to catch fish in a net under the tree. We waited here until 4 p.m. and then started again entering the bhil. It took about $1^1/_2$ hours to cross the bhil and then we entered a khal. In the bhil we passed several boats the occupants of which questioned us in passing. Kumar replied to them saying that we were taking jute to same place. At about 7 p.m., we moored the boat at a place about 2 miles from Sahildeo. Here Kanai, Kumar and Mamu got on to the roof of the boat and ordered Military Ghosh to distribute pants, masks, shirts, haversacks, belts, arms, ammunition, and the bugle. The following were

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each supplied with pants, haversack, belt, shirts, black masks, etc.:

(1) Military Ghosh.
(2) 'Star.'
(3) Bhattacharji.
(4) Mona.
(5) Myself.
(6) Thakur.
(7) Kanai's companion.
(8) Prafulla Ray.
(9) Kanai.
(10) Kumar.
(11) 'Morning.'

"The arms were distributed as follows:

1 double-barrelled breech-loading .12 bore between 'Star' and Bhattacharji.

1 single-barrelled hammerless breech-loading .12 bore gun to Mamu who was to wait in the boat with Bairagi.

1 Mauser to Kanai.

1 Mauser and the bugle to Military Ghosh.

1 .450 and 1 hammer to Kumar.

1 kukri to Mona with candle and a big kerosene lamp.

1 kukri, candle, match box and chisels in a bag to me.

1 kukri to 'Morning.'

Chisels and lights to Thakur.

1 spade and hammer to Kanai's companion.

1 hammer to Prafulla Ray.

"The number of articles at our command were thus:

2 guns with about 300 cartridges.
2 Mausers with 360 cartridges.
1 .450 revolver with 6 cartridges.
3 kukris.
2 hammers.
20 chisels.
1 spade.
3 kupis (kerosene lamps).
6 candles.
1 dozen match boxes.
1 bugle.

"At about 8-30 we moored the boat in front of the complainant's house at Sahildeo. I, Military Ghosh, 'Morning' and Prafulla Ray landed

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first. The second batch contained Kanai, his companion, Thakur, Mona and Kumar. Lastly 'Star' and Bhattacharji. This arrangement was made by Kanai. Kanai ordered our batch to attack the house belonging to complainant's son. His batch attacked the complainant's house while 'Star' and Bhattacharji guarded the main door. Kanai also gave us the words 'Rustom Khan' as pass words. This was done to enable us to identify one another in the dark.

"After blowing the bugle, firing off our guns and pistols in the air and shouting 'Hara Hara, Bom Bom,' we attacked the house. Most of the time we kept our faces uncovered owing to the heat.

"My party first entered a tin shed and found no iron safe there. There were 3 or 4 women. We told them not to be frightened, Prafulla and 'Morning' then joined Kanai's batch leaving Military Ghosh and me to guard that portion of the bari. Kanai then cried out that he had found the safe. Military Ghosh was firing his pistol in order to frighten people standing at the door of the room facing outwards. While doing so, his pistol jumped and he accidentally hit a woman inside the room. The bullet penetrated the corrugated iron sheeting. Facing outwards, this would be on the right side of the door. Shortly after Kanai came to our room and challenged us with 'Rustom' to which we replied 'Khan.' He told us to follow him to the other room where the safe was. On arrival there we saw a big wooden chest in which was a broken iron safe which was full of rupees only. Kanai told us to carry the money to the boat. The money was being put into haversacks by Prafulla Ray and Kumar. We made five or six journeys to the boat when the safe was emptied. The people engaged on this were 'Morning,' Thakur, Kanai's companion and myself. Mona was holding up the lid of the wooden chest. In this room I saw an old Muhammadan lying dead on the floor in a pool of blood. He appeared to have been shot. I did not see him shot. I heard subsequently in the boat from Kanai that he had attacked Kanai with a spear and he (Kanai) had shot him. About 40 minutes elapsed before we had finished the affair. During that time no one came to the place. Besides the old man, three or four women and some babies, we saw no one else. We left a few chisels at the spot. Finally Kanai called us out and formed us up near where 'Star' and Bhatacharji were on guard. He counted us and finding the number correct marched us off to the boat. Manu took the helm. Kanai sat on the roof with a Mauser. Prafulla, Military Ghosh, Bairagi and 'Morning' propelled the boat with bamboos. When we reached the broader part of the khal we commenced to row the boat in turn. We reached the small boat, i.e., the boat in which Gorachand and the unknown boy were, at about 11 p.m. that night. On the way there,

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Kanai and Kumar weighed the money with a small pair of balances which was in the trunk. Kanai noted the total weight in his pocket book. None of us were told the exact weight. I guess that we got about 40,000 or 45,000 rupees. There were 17 bags or haversacks filled with rupees. The shirts, pants, hammers and chisels were thrown into the river.

"On arrival at the small (delivery) boat, Prafulla Ray got into it taking with him 5 large bags of rupees, the two guns and the kukris and some cartridges. He also took the steel trunk which was in the big boat. He left immediately with Gorachand and the unknown boy, going down stream. We proceeded up stream towards Gouripur. At about 2 or 3 a.m. we arrived at a spot where the boat could not proceed further. We all got out of the boat, which was left there. Each one of us took a bag of rupees. The following dressed themselves as Muhammadans with lungis and caps :

(1) 'Star,'
(2) Bairagi,
(3) Mamu,
(4) Myself, and
(5) Bhattacharji.

"We walked about 5 miles till we came to a ferry ghat. It was then about 4 a.m. Here we met the small boat occupied by Kalachand and Nimiachand.

"We crossed the river in this boat. We left ten bags of money in the boat and Kanai and Kumar remained with the boat, while the rest of us taking the two remaining bags of rupees started in batches for Gouripur, which is about 17 miles distant from the ferry. Mamu and I followed behind. In a bazar beyond Bhowanipore we met Military Ghosh and 'Morning' but we had no talk with them. This was about 12 midday. I and Mamu bought chira, sweets and plantain from a shop which I can point out. Military Ghosh and 'Morning' bought sweets from another shop. Mamu and I rested under a tree until about 3 p.m., when we started for Mymensingh town 12 miles away. Military Ghosh and 'Morning' had already left. We reached the ferry ghat at about 8 p.m. We saw Binay on the town side. He said that all except Militaiy Ghosh and 'Morning' had arrived at about 4 p.m. that afternoon. Mamu and I went to the first basha where we met Bhattacharji. Binay brought us some food and then Binay took us to the other basha across the railway line. At the first house, Binay made the following arrangements: 'Star' and Biragi would stay in Mymensingh; Thakur and Mamu would go to Dacca by the 5 o'clock train the next morning; Bhattacharji and I would go to Calcutta by the midday train next day.

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"Very early next morning Binay came to the basha across the railway line and took away Mamu. A little later Bhattacharji and I returned to the first basha and saw the 'Doctor' looking for us there. At about 7 a.m. Military Ghosh and 'Morning' turned up. Military Ghosh said that they had arrived last night and spent the night in the town at the house of a person who was known to 'Morning'. They had reached Mymensingh by train. Military Ghosh paid me and Bhattacharji Rs. 10 each. Binay arranged a gharry to go to Muktagacha and told 'Doctor' to take us both near the Town Hall where the carriage would be waiting. We left Military Ghosh in the basha. He told us he would be in Calcutta in 4 or 5 days. We went with the 'Doctor' up to the Town Hall where we met Binay with a bicycle. Binay went with us to Muktagacha placing the bicycle on the roof. We paid Rs. 1-8 as fare. We got down from the carriage near the Municipal Office. I cycled to Begunbari, while Binay and Bhattacharji walked there. We purchased third class tickets for Calcutta via Teestamukh separately. Binay cycled away. We caught the train which leaves Mymensingh about 11 a.m. We got into separate compartments. We got out at Dum Dum. We walked about a mile and a half from the station. Bhattacharji then hired a gharry to take us to Hedua, Cornwallis Square. Just before we got to Hedua, Bhattacharji left me. I got down at Hedua and walked up to Harrison Road where I took a tram and went to No. 10, Kripa Nath's Lane, where I met Gyan Bhaumik. The time was about 9 a.m. At about 1 p.m. Srikanta turned up and asked me how much money I had received and how much I had spent. I told him I had received Rs. 10 of which Rs. 3 remained. I handed this over. I gave him an account of the dacoity and told him that Military Ghosh would arrive in 3 or 4 days."

The Gita and religion in the Samiti

The Bhagavad-Gita, it needs hardly to be said, is the famous Sanskrit poem that occurs as an episode of the great Hindu epic, the Mahabharata; it is a dialogue between Sri Krishna and Arjuna on the battle-field of Kurukshetra and comprises the highest ethical teaching given in Hindu escoteric works. In reality, it is an occult treatise containing within it the most profound conceptions of the Universe and the nature of man.

"In plain but noble language it unfolds a philosophical system which remains to this day the prevailing Brahmanic belief, blending as it does the doctrines of Kapila, Patanjali, and the Vedas. . . . . and indeed, so striking are some of the moralities here inculcated, and so close the parallelism—ofttimes actually verbal—between its teachings and those

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of the New Testament, that a controversy has arisen between Pandits and missionaries on the point whether the author borrowed from Christan sources, or the Evangelists and Apostles from him." (Preface to Sir Edwin Arnold's translation, the "Song Celestial.")

There can be no doubt, however, certain passages of the Gita, taken crudely and literally, do provide a most excellent teaching for those who are embarking on a desperate enterprise. It will be sufficient to notice only one such passage :

> "Know that to be indestructible by whom all this is pervaded. Nor can any work the destruction of that imperishable One.
>
> "These bodies of the embodied One, who is eternal, indestructible and immeasurable, are known as finite. Therefore fight, O Bharata.
>
> "He who regardeth this (the dweller in the body) as a slayer, and he who thinketh he is slain, both of them are ignorant. He slayeth not, nor is he slain. He is not born, nor doth he die; nor having been, ceaseth he any more to be; unborn, perpetual, eternal and ancient, he is not slain when the body is slaughtered.
>
> "Who knoweth him indestructible, perpetual, unborn, undiminishing, how can that man slay, O Partha, or cause to be slain ?
>
> "As a man, casting off worn-out garments, taketh new ones, so the dweller in the body, casting off worn-out bodies, entereth into others that are new.
>
> "Weapons cleave him not, nor fire burneth him, nor waters wet him, nor wind drieth him away.
>
> "Uncleavable he, incombustible he, and indeed neither to be wetted, nor dried away; perpetual, all-pervasive, stable, immovable, ancient.
>
> "Unmanifest, unthinkable, immutable, he is called; therefore, knowing him as such, thou shouldst not grieve.
>
> "Or if thou thinkest of him as being constantly born and constantly dying, even then, O mighty-armed, thou shouldst not grieve.
>
> "For certain is death for the born, and certain is birth for the dead; therefore over the inevitable thou shouldst not grieve."

(Bhagavad-Gita—II, 17-27, Translation by Mrs. Annie Besant.)

"Slain, thou wilt obtain heaven; victorious, thou wilt enjoy the earth; therefore stand up, O Son of Kunti, resolute to fight" (Ibid II-37).

In this typical quotation from the Bhagavad-Gita, we can see at once how this great scripture of the Hindus has been used by the revolutionaries for their nefarious ends. Death, freed from its terrors, is a mere incident, a casting off of worn-out clothes, and the exhortation whereby Arjuna, the

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Kshattriya warrior, is finally persuaded to take up arms and slay his friends and relatives, because it had become his "dharma" (duty) so to do, is made to serve as sanction for assassination and murder.

The Vedantic doctrine of the essential divinity of the "Jivatma," the individualized Self, which, embodied as Man, unfolds, through experience gained in successive reincarnations, the divine attributes latent within it, attaining at length its ultimate destiny of conscious union with the Absolute—this conception of the nature of man is employed to induce an utter disregard of death, while the performance of duty is held up as the highest virtue. It is obvious how, by a clever manipulation, a reckless spirit is engendered, and school boys and young men, with no concern whatsoever with the duties of the Kshattriya, are made to arrogate to themselves the position of saviours of their country from the domination of the hated "Mlechhas."

There is no evidence to show that another teaching of the Bhagavad-Gita contained in the following sloka is ever expounded in the Samiti; "Better one's own duty though destitute of merit, than the duty of another well discharged. Better death in the discharge of one's own duty (dharma); the duty of another is full of danger." (III-35.) And so we find Pulin Das, by caste the most lowly of Kayasthas and at best an ill-educated school master, posing as a Kshattriya chief!

It is interesting to note the views still held by Upendra Nath Banerji—the chief Pandit of the original Jugantar gang—as to the supreme value of "religion" in the spreading of the "idea." The following is an extract from Mr. Tegart's note on the Andamans:—"I then again saw Upen Banarji. I first questioned him about political 'Sadhus.' He said that there were many of them in India spreading the 'idea.' Arabinda was very keen on this branch of the work. 'Men who join our work without convictions, I mean without being inspired to do so, are quite in a different class. I take a pleasure in examining the mental attitude of those who come here and I find most of the dacoits are in this latter class. They can easily be bought over and are not men with fixed ideals. . . . .'"

No less than thirteen copies of the Gita were found at the Samiti, and the library issue-book proved that the Gita was in great request, particularly by the senior members. In the Samiti premises a special place was reserved for the "Gita Class" to which access could only be gained through Pulin's chamber situated in the upper story. A notice near the staircase contained the warning that "none but the selected Bajri can go up and none except the especially selected Bajri of these Bajris can go to Pulin Babu's chamber." These words imply there was an inner and an

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innermost circle, the latter alone having the entree to the sanctum. It may safely be presumed, therefore, that Pulin himself was the teacher of the Gita class and that he carefully selected his pupils.

According to primitive and orthodox Hindu custom a religious book like the Gita could only be studied by a Brahmin, and no other Hindu could approach it except through the oral teaching of a Brahmin preceptor. Now, however,—thanks to the new spirit—any Hindu, be the Brahmin or Sudra, considers himself competent to interpret the Gita, and we find in the Dacca Anushilan the Gita being studied by young men and young boys. In leaflets and documents found in the Samiti the lesson of complete subordination to the leader was constantly expressed. In one of these leaflets, written by Pulin himself, the religious idea of a preceptor was introduced:—"In learning anything you should first of all consider yourself totally ignorant of it and surrender yourself totally to your preceptor in a spirit of reverence". When, therefore, it suited his purpose, Pulin remained faithful to the orthodox idea of reverence for a preceptor; but where the Gita was concerned, he rejected the idea of a preceptor and undertook the expounding of it himself. Pulin's best educational qualifications were only those of a failed B.A., but when the most highly educated leaders of the movement, men like Arabinda Ghose and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, make use of the Gita for revolutionary purposes, it becomes an instrument of great power.

In an article on "Patriotism in the Gita" which appeared in the magazine "Sarathi," a copy of which was found in the Samiti premises, an instructive extract was given from one of Bal Gangadhar's speeches:—"The most practical teaching of the Gita, and one for which it is of abiding interest and value to the men of the world, with whom life is a series of struggles, is not to give way to any morbid sentimentality when duty demands sternness and the boldness to face terrible things," and later in the same article it was stated that absolute Swaraj, and not Colonial Self-Government, is the goal in view. The "terrible things" now being faced by Hindus "for the love of their country," are the murders of Brahmins, such as Basanta Kumar Chatarji, Girindra Nath Banarji, Madhusudan Bhattacharji, and others, and the commission of every conceivable crime! We have been told an assassination acts as a great stimulus and brings in recruits.

That the Gita, as taught and interpreted in the revolutionary atmosphere of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, has fostered most successfully a spirit of frenzied fanaticism, which no consideration will check, is proved beyond all question by the writings and acts of the organization.

It will have been noticed that amongst the books recommended in rule 7 of the "Rules for Membership," the works of Swami Vivekandnda

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are given the chief place, and there is much evidence to show that they are very constantly read. The influence of Swami Vivekananda and his writings has been very fully dealt with by Mr. Tegart in his note on the Ram Krishan Mission to which reference should be made for fuller information. It is interesting to find that so early as 1904, that is, before he came to Bengal, Arabinda Ghose had taken up the teachings of Vivekananda, adding to them the element of "Sakti," or strength, in which, he thought, they were lacking. In the rise of Japan Arabinda finds the great exemplar, as illustrating what national "Sakti" may effect: "Strength then and again strength and yet more strength is the need of our race."

Arabinda's philosophical concept of "Sakti" would perhaps be beyond the comprehension of half-educated school boys, but a ferocious and less abstruse presentation of Adya Sakti is provided for them in "Chandi," to which reference has already been made at page 18, Part I.

Two other books, "Mukti Kon Pathe" and "Barttaman Rana Niti" have also been noticed (pages 48 and 46) and it will have been seen how the doctrines of the Gita and Chandi have therein been manipulated for the purposes of revolution. As Abinash Chandra Bhattacharji, the author of Barttaman Rana Niti, was a close friend and constant companion of Arabinda, the influence of the latter in the production of this book, cannot be doubted.

Again, Bankim Chatarji was himself a student of the Gita of which he brought out a special edition. A great deal of the Gita philosophy finds expression in Bankim's works, so that the connection of the Samiti vows with "Ananda Math" is really also an indirect connection with the Gita.

As may be expected, the revolutionists are actively hostile to any religious teaching which is contrary to their own particular militant faith; this, as we have seen is quite in accordance with the Dwitiya Bisesh Pratijna (vide page 32 supra). They, with their own interpretation of the doctrine of Sakti, have certainly nothing in common with the Hindu to whom all life is sacred and toleration a cardinal virtue. We have seen how the "organizer" at Durgapur viewed the "religious mindedness" of the school. We have it on the authority of the revolutionists themselves how purely religious associations are inimical to their aims and the pains they take to counteract their influence. We may just take one such instance by way of illustration and let the revolutionary speak for himself:—

> "Suresh Doctor is Suresh Chandra Banarji, M.B. He practises now at Faridpur. He has started a religious party at 58, Colootollah Street. This party is against political ideas. They

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sometimes convert our boys to their party. Hence we have a misunderstanding with them. When Suresh Doctor went to Faridpur, the members there were warned to see that Suresh could not approach any of our men. I know the following men of 58, Colootollah, who belong to Suresh Babu's party. ..... This mess was searched after Basanta Babu's murder and we were very glad to hear of the search, as these men were opposed to our views and tried to seduce our boys."

Clearly, therefore, religion for its own sake is quite outside the Samiti programme and is, in fact, to be combated, lest it should lead their men away from the path marked out by the revolutionaries. It is equally clear how susceptible the Hindu youth is to the religious appeal and how great its potentialities for good or evil, according as it is presented to his eager but ignorant mind.

As showing the subtle manner in which this appeal is made by the revolutionary leader, it will be sufficient to give the two instances contained in the extract below from the judgement delivered by the sessions Judge in the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case. Girindra Mohan Das and Rajani Kanta Das were the two approves in the Barisal conspiracy case, the former being the son of the late Rai Jamini Mohan Das Bahadur, Additional District Magistrate, who, at the first suspicion of his son's complicity with the revolutionaries, immediately communicated with the District Magistrate of Dacca and caused his son's box to be searched, with the result that Girindra Mohan Das was convicted under section 412, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment. Discussing the statements made by these two boys, the Sessions Judge wrote as follows :

"As regards the object of the Samiti he (Girindra Mohan Das) says it was to overthrow British rule and to make India independent. Before his initiation he was told that Sanatan Dharma, the religion of ancient India, should be established and that this could not be done under a Sovereign who was not of the Hindu faith. After his initiation he was openly told that the object was revolution.

"......Fega asked Rajani what was his object in life. Rajani said he wished to get on in life. Fega asked him if he did not wish to uphold the Hindu religion, and Rajani said he did. Fega then said that for the purpose of upholding the Hindu religion it was necessary to establish a Hindu kingdom. This sort of conversation passed between Fega and Rajani on two or three occasions, and one day Fega asked Rajani if he would join a Samiti that had for its purpose the establishment of Hindu rule and the expulsion of the British from India. Rajani

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> agreed to join the society. Shortly after the Durga Puja, Upendra one day took Rajani to the Manasha Mandir...... Fega was already there. Fega handed to Rajani a set of printed vows in two parts—Adya and Antya—and he directed Rajani to call to mind the God whom he venerated most and read the vows. Rajani read the vows as directed......"

We have seen how the Gita is employed in administering the vows. There is also every reason to believe, in fact it can be stated with certainty, that "Gita Classes," in the manner of Pulin's are still regularly held, and the discussion of cognate subjects bearing on the Samiti religion is a very favourite occupation with the members of the Samiti. Amrita Hazra alias Sasanka, the bomb expert, was, it would appear, fond of lecturing on the need of absolute surrender to God. Nalini Ghosh, the assassin and at present one of the most dangerous members of the Samiti, is seen reading the Gita and singing sacred songs, the revolutionaries discuss economics and the "drain of wealth," and Prafulla Biswas then preaches on religion and renunciation. At a gathering of revolutionaries at Brahmanberia, there is a reading from Vivekananda's works, followed by a discourse on the necessity of maintaining an equilibrium between religion and revolution. Nagendra Nath Datta alias "Girija Babu," who till his conviction in the Benares conspiracy case, was one of their most active and able leaders, would preach the vedanta and call himself a revolutionist. Amrita Sarkar, another very dangerous character, makes philosophy a hobby and discusses the Vedanta with the revolutionary leader Jogendra Das Bhattacharji alias "Jyoti Babu." We are also told that ordinary members, who are not engaged in active work, are at least expected to preach religion and patriotism, and thus get recruits from schools.

But whatever their convictions, nothing, so long as it serve their ends, is incompatible with the Samiti religion, and even apostasy may be pressed into service. Aditya Datta, while in Rangoon, formally embraced Islam and then Christianity, in quick succession, receiving the names of Abdul Gaffur Khan and Charles Michael. Amulya Sarkar's scheme (vide infra) opens with the passage "Salvation is not possible without the revival of the ancient Hindu spiritual culture," but apparently this pious aspiration is perfectly consistent with the methods prescribed under "Public Discipline" where in clause 8 it is enjoined the members should be taught all sorts of hypocrisy, treachery, dissimulation, falsehood, cunning and witty sayings, ready with, eluding, betraying, disguises, equivocation, deceiving, and cheating (within limited bounds)."

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Such, then, is the revolutionists' religion, and it has been shown that it colours and influences every action of their propaganda and is assigned the foremost place.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who has approached the subject of Indian nationalism with strong sympathy, writes of the Gita as follows in his book "The Awakening of India":—

> "Before one tries to understand the extremist movement of whatever degree one cannot do better than assimilate the spirit of the Bhagavad Gita, the most moving and haunting of all the sacred books of India. In its slokas, glowing with a divine light, the Indian discovers the way of self-sacrifice. It is the gospel of action, of action stern and terrible, done by the body and the passions, while the possessing soul is at peace in the presence of the Eternal. It is the divine manual of how duty is to be done, with no thought of consequences, except that it is the will and thought of the Eternal. . . . . .Bathed in this ocean of self-surrender and ever filled with the music of the Divine Voice, the Indian's heart beats with ecstasy, and he goes forth to do his work. There is no limit of the vernacular press, no uncontrolable 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' or 'Bande Mataram' so dangerous, so seditious as the 'Song of the Blessed One.'
>
> ". . . . . .The Indian assassin quotes his Bhagavad Gita just as the Scottish Covenanter quoted his Old Testament, but the Bhagavad-Gita is more cruel in the devotion and self-sacrifice it requires than the most awful of the Old Testament passages which have been brooded over by the austere fanatics of our own history.
>
> "It is this inspiration, dazzling human reason into blindness, that leads astray the youths who have cast constitutionalism to the four winds, and who have entered upon the dark ways of assassination, hoping thereby to reach emancipation."

In this appreciation of the Gita is very aptly expressed the spirit in which the revolutionary "organizer," when going forth to implant the "idea," interprets and teaches the "Yoga of Action." Taken in the toils and initiation, and perhaps committed to an "action" or two, the victim realize it is too late to retreat, and in due course arrives at the stage where assassination and robbery are all in the day's work and to be committed without compunction.

But here it may be pertinent to enquire how it comes "The Song Celestial," with its profound philosophy, the epitome of Hindu faith, is rendered capable of such perverse misapplication by Hindus, of all people ? Many Indians think the answer is to be found in the ignorance

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of the youth of the country, the great majority of whom are left without any religious instruction whatsoever, whether at school or in the home. It is thought that in India, where spirituality and religion were once so exalted and permeated every action of her family, social and political life, religious teaching and secular education cannot be dissociated, one from the other, without undermining the national character and bringing about, with disastrous result, ignorance of the philosophy and religious doctrine on which Hindu civilization and ethics rest. There are doubtless other contributing causes, but it is held that this ignorance and lack of discrimination are greatly responsible for the readiness with which the Bengali youth falls a prey to the revolutionaries and is enlisted within their ranks.

It would be rash to say there were no members of the revolutionary society who were impelled by other than purely anarchical and criminal motives, for there is evidence to the contrary. Girindra Mohan Das may be taken as an instance. The Sessions Judge trying the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case, said of him that he was a boy of principle and thoroughly in earnest in his belief in the cause of the Samiti, and that he had never met a witness who deposed so firmly and with so much dignity. And doubtless, amongst the active revolutionaries themselves, there are some who are actuated by similarly misconceived ideas of patriotism.

The argument, therefore, is not without force, that such youths would pause and successfully resist the insidious influence of the revolutionary emissary, if their character and convictions were built on a foundation of religious teaching, such as their own scriptures can provide, and which it was the duty of qualified "gurus" to inculcate. Such, at any rate, is the opinion of many thinking and loyal Indians.

We are not here concerned with the question of how far this union of education with religious instruction may now be possible; it is sufficient to indicate how the Bhagavad-Gita has come to be so successfully employed for the perversion of the Bengali youth, when if expounded and taught in its true bearing on life and the civic virtures, it may have operated as a powerful and restraining influence. "Therefore, fight, O Arjuna" is the constant refrain, the reiterated appeal—but it is to the Kshattriya, to the soldier, on the field of battle, for it is his "dharma" to fight—to perform the duty imposed by his position in life. But it is easy to understand how this doctrine of Action—of activity, if need be, of the most violent kind, wrenched from its proper place and setting in the relativity of Hindu ethics, and applied in perverted form to the moulding of enthusiastic but ignorant and immature minds, may be used to invest criminal acts with religious sanction, and how dangerous it may then become.

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Pederasty in the Samiti

It may possibly be thought that, however misguided and deeply criminal their actions in respect of "political" murders and dacoities, the strong religious element in their methods and organization has at least given the members of the Samiti some claim to purity of life, and that a serious endeavour is made to observe the vow of the Brahmachari—of chastity and continence, so insisted on in their "promise rules" and the "Rules for Membership." But there is unhappily only too good reason to think they lack even this saving grace, and moral perversion of the grossest kind is rife amongst the members of this pernicious society.

The Bisesh Pratigna contains a special clause against fornication, adultery, masturbation and unnatural offences. There was obviously great danger in bringing together in one building a large number of young men and boys, and it was a danger Pulin doubtless recognised as being peculiarly inimical to his great object, to achieve which, physical and moral strength were, above all else, most necessary. He was clever enough to see that nothing could so greatly help his purpose as the ideal of the perfect Brahmachari, and it was certainly his own ambition to appear in this light. He has been described as an "ascetic disciplinarian," and he undoubtedly took great pains to preserve this reputation. We have seen how he caused the boy Annada Prasad Ghose to be murdered because of the latter's knowledge of his criminal intimacy with Suresh Sen. He was prepared to go to any length to keep his name inviolate, for he knew nothing could so enhance his personal influence as a belief that he had attained, in some measure, to the state of the true Sannyasi who renounces all.

It is said that that very dangerous revolutionary Jotindra Mukharji, who was killed at Balasore in September 1915 in a skirmish with the police, owed his preeminent position in revolutionary circles, not only to his qualities of leadership, but in great measure to his reputation of being a Brahmachari with no thought beyond the revolutionary cause.

Pulin, however, lacked the moral fibre of this man. That his criminal intimacy with Suresh Sen was by no means an isolated instance of lapse from virtue, is shown by the fact that when 123-2, Amherst Street, Calcutta, the house in which he was living on his return from deportation, was searched in March 1910, Pulin was found with a boy named Promatha Nath Ghose, in circumstances that left little doubt as to the relationship between them. The care Pulin took, as has been indicated, to secure his private chamber in the Samiti against intrusion, is not without significance in this connection. But it is impossible that Pulin's

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delinquencies in this respect could have been entirely unknown to the members of the Samiti living the common life they did. Priya Nath Acharji mentions in his statement that Pulin Das was found in compromising circumstances with a certain boy, and yet, this same deponent in his evidence in the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case testifies to his admiration for Pulin Das in the following terms :—"I am a staunch admirer of Pulin Das and my feelings would be wounded if any one tells me anything against his character." Amongst the Samiti papers was found a written report regarding the commission of an unnatural offence; it seems to have been submitted by some one under the last clause of the Pratham Bisesh Pratijna which imposes the obligation to bring to notice any breach of the vow on the part of others. But clearly Pulin was not in a position to enforce a standard of morality which he did not observe himself, though he doubtless arranged to keep himself informed, for purposes of his own, of the relations existing between other members of the Samiti.

It would certainly not be fair to say that pederasty was openly countenanced in the Samiti, but there are indications that in some cases it did not carry with it the stigma that the prominent place given in their vow to purity of life, would lead one to expect.

On the other hand, Pulin seems to have been inflexible in his attitude towards members having any dealings with women. Sarada Chakravarti, to whom reference has already been made (page 4, Part I), had started a women's Samiti, but was thought to have misconducted himself and was consequently put to death in July 1912 by Biren Chatarji acting under orders of Noren Sen, who was Pulin's successor in the Samiti and was in this matter only carrying out the decision arrived at by Pulin some time previously, notwithstanding that Sarada had been a particular friend of Pulin and a very useful member. Evidence regarding this murder was produced in the trial of the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case. It seems probable that quite apart from the moral aspect of the question, it is recognised that undue intimacy with women is fraught with so great danger to the organization, that it needs to be sternly repressed. It has obvious objections—it tends to destroy discipline and cohesion within the Samiti; it cannot remain hidden for long and must prejudice the Samiti in the estimation of the public, whose sympathy with their cause they can only hope to enlist of "philanthropy" and at least an outward show of purity of life; and above all, it opens the way to the introduction of spies and the leakage of Samiti secrets.

To keep the Brahmachari vows is possibly still an aspiration with the revolutionaries, though there is little evidence that the brahmachari

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life is really practised, save in a very few exceptional cases. They are naturally very reticent about matter reflecting discreditably on their private life. There are indications to show that pederasty not only exists in the Dacca Samiti but also in the Calcutta Anushilan, Satish Bose, the captain of the Calcutta Samiti, being quite the worst offender.

Finally, it will be noticed that in the instructions regarding the organization of the military department as outlined in Amulya Sarkar's scheme, it is laid down that "strict discipline will be enforced in drilling and organizing his subordinates into a sacred military band like that of the Thebans in Boeotia." In view of what we already know, the fact is certainly significant that, out of all history, the revolutionaries should draw a parallel with the "sacred bands" of the Boeotians, "for Epaminodas, whose name is mentioned with three beloveds, established the Holy Regiment composed of mutual lovers, testifying the majesty of Eros and preferring to a discreditable life, a glorious, death *Sir Richard Burton*". As possibly explaining the revolutionists' view, we may again quote the same writer: "Socrates declared that 'a most valiant army might be compossed of boys and their lovers;' for that of all men they would be most ashamed to desert one another.'"

No account of the revolutionaries would be complete without some mention of the wide prevalence of the vice amongst them; it is, moreover, exceedingly important that it should be more generally known by officers who have to deal with the revolutionary movement in all its ramifications, for the knowledge may often served to throw light on situations otherwise inexplicable.

Birendra Chandra Chatarji, a specimen product of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti

We have now shown the constitution, organization and methods of the Dacca Anushilan. As a specimen product of this school of culture, Birendra Chatarji, whose history sheet is reproduced below, is a good example. He is by no means the only example of his kind; on the contrary, there are others even more blood-thirsty and desperate; but this is a typical case, and marks in an especial manner the baneful influence of this pernicious society, which will transform, in a very short while, a youth of even the Brahmana caste, into an assassin of the most desperate type.

Birendra Chandra Chatarji, son of Tarini Chatarji (deceased), of Fatehjangpur, police-station Palong, district Faridpur, age about 23 years, no occupation.

Birendra Chatarji was a member of the Fatehjangpur branch of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti since its inception. As early as

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April 1908 he gave an exhibition in dagger exercises to the members of the Anushilan Samiti during the Matri puja at Fatehjangpur. Biren was also connected with the Calcutta Anushilan headquarters at No. 49, Cornwallis street, and was undoubtedly an important connecting link between these two organizations. On information furnished by one Gabesh Chandra Chatarji (whose brother, Priya Nath, was eventually murdered by the members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti at Fatehjangpur, as detailed later on in this history), it appeared that Biren Chatarji was one of the members of the gang, who attempted to commit a dacoity at Bhojeswar, in the Faridpur district in April 1908. Gabesh's statement in this case was eventually judicially recorded, and on it Biren's house was searched, but he himself absconded. He was eventually traced in very suspicious circumstances at No. 92, Bechu Chatarji's Street, Calcutta, where he was living with his brother, Sarat Chatarji, also a leading member of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, and four others, including Mati Lal Sen, one of the Anushilan leaders, who gave a false name to the police on this occasion, and Nripendra Chakrabartti, of Fusail, another member of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, an absconder in the Bara dacoity case, who gave his name to the police as Lalit Kumar Chakrabartti. Biren was sent under arrest to Faridpur, but he was eventually discharged in the Bhojeswar case for want of evidence.

He was again suspected by the police in the Kalargaon political dacoity which occurred in November 1910. He returned home suddenly five days after the commission of the dacoity, and after a stay of two days, again disappeared. He suddenly reappeared at his home on the 2nd February 1911, two days before the commission of the Panditshar dacoity, another political dacoity which occurred in the vicinity. At midnight on the day of this dacoity he was seen arriving at the house of one Biswa Nath Barodi, of Masura, and on the following morning two unknown men visited him and took their meals in extremely suspicious circumstances. Four days after this dacoity Biren again absconded. A warrant was issued for his arrest, but this was eventually withdrawn.

In October 1911, a Bengal Special Branch officer received information from an informer, whom he believed to be reliable to the effect that Biren was a dangerous anarchist who was concerned in the murder of Srish Chandra Chakrabartti, of the Calcutta Police, who was shot in Calcutta on the 21st February 1911. This informant stated that Biren frequently came to Calcutta from Eastern Bengal and was probably

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concerned in the murder of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banarji, which occurred in Calcutta on the 9th November 1908.

All efforts to locate Biren Chatarji proved unavailing. In September 1913, the Dacca Police received information to the effect that he used to visit the house in Dacca town where Ramesh alias Paritosh Chaudhuri, a member of the Barisal conspiracy, was arrested with three other bhadraloks in very suspicious circumstances, which led to their conviction under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. Meanwhile, in October last, an officer of the Special Branch, who was attached to the staff of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, interviewed one of the leading members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti in an up-country jail (source No. 121-A). This convict referred to Biren Chatarji as one of the tenants of the Anushilan Samiti mess in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, with him at that time (1908), where Amrita Hazra alias Sasanka, who has since been arrested in the Raja Bazar bomb case, Ashutosh Das Gupta, Pulin Das's lieutenant in the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, now in jail, Sarat Chatarji, Biren's brother, Jogendra Das Gupta, one of the leading members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, and others used to live. Biren, according to this informant, was one of the inspectors of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti at Bhuterbari who took part in the Naria dacoity on the 30th October 1908.

At the same time an accused person, convicted in the Comilla attempted dacoity which occurred on the Ist November 1912, made a statement to the Deputy Inspector-General in charge of the Intelligence Branch in the Presidency Jail, in which he stated that Biren Chatarji was one of the persons who assembled for the commission of this dacoity. The name "Bira" which appeared on the deposition list showing how the members assembled were to act, was stated by this person to refer to Biren Chatarji, who is known among his associates as Bira. On this occasion Biren escaped when the police raided the Karmakar's house.

Basanta Bhattacharji, an informer, who was shot in Dacca town on the 16th November 1913, stated to an officer of the Special Branch that Biren took part in the Dhuldia dacoity which occurred on the 4th February 1913, and was closely associated with Naren Sen, Trailokhya Chakrabartti and other Dacca members of the Barisal gang.

In December 1913 a leading member of the revolutionary organization in East Bengal (known as source No. 400) made a statement to the Deputy Inspector-General in charge of the Intelligence Branch, in which he mentioned Biren as having

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taken part in the following dacoities :—Singhair in September 1911, Kuliarchar in October 1911, Beguntewari in January 1912 and Kedarpur in August 1913. He also stated that Biren murdered Inspector Man Mohan Ghosh in Barisal on the 11th December 1911, that he shot Head Constable Hari Pada Deb in College Square, Calcutta, on the 19th September 1913, and left the same night for Mymensingh by the Dacca mail where he bombed Inspector Bankim Chandra Chaudhury in his house at Mymensingh on the following evening, having obtained the bomb for this outrage from Calcutta. Biren also, according to this source, murdered Basanta Bhattacharji, the informant referred to above.

We again find him mentioned in connection with the murder of Inspector Nripendra Ghosh in Calcutta in January last.

One of the accused arrested in this case stated to a superior police officer that Biren took the Mymensingh bomb to Mymensingh from Calcutta for Inspector Bankim's murder and that he obtained this bomb from Amrita alias Sasanka Hazra. This informant stated that Biren is perhaps the most important worker of the terrorist gang.

More recently still, at the end of January 1914, another member of the East Bengal conspiracy (known as source No. 400-B) made a statement to the Deputy Inspector-General of the Intelligence Branch, in which he mentioned Biren as having taken part in the following dacoities:—Goadia, Singhair, Kuliarchar and Kedarpur.

The same source stated that Birendra was also concerned in two attempts which were made to commit dacoity in the house of Hemendra and Nagendra Ray, and to murder them, because they had given evidence for the Crown in the Dacca conspiracy case.

Lastly, we learn from this source that Biren was concerned in an attempt to murder Sub-Inspector Sasi Bhattacharji, of Comilla, whom he endeavoured to entice out of the thana by tapping at the door of his room. This officer took a prominent part in the investigation which led to the conviction of 12 persons in the attempted dacoity at Comilla referred to above. The incident referred to by this source was reported at the time, but it was not known then that it was an attempt to assassinate the Sub-Inspector.

In the subject of this history sheet we have a striking example of the extreme lengths to which members of the terrorist party can go without rendering themselves amenable to the law as it stands at present. Consistently untraced since 1911, Biren Chatarji has been wandering throughout Bengal continually

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committing crime, while it has been impossible for the police to exercise any surveillance over his movements. Since 1908, we have it on record that he took part in 14 dacoities and 11 murders. In almost every statement we find his name figuring as a man of action, who is chosen for the most desperate enterprise of the revolutionary party.

It is impossible to disbelieve the cumulative value of the evidence on record against him, coupled with the statements recorded at different times by reliable officers of the Criminal Investigation Department. At the same time, if now arrested, it would only be possible to proceed against him under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and even in that case his conviction would be by no menas certain. There is no doubt that he is a most expert and desperate criminal, whose presence at large is a continual menace to the police officers who are attempting to unravel the revolutionary organization in Bengal.

Since the above was written, confirmation has been obtained of the information given by source No. 399 to the effect that. Biren was concerned in the attempted dacoity at Comilla. Enquiries at Comilla show that at that time four or five young bhadraloks were seen in very suspicious circumstances in the vacant house of pleader Biseswar Chatarji, of Fatehjangpur, a connection of Biren Chatarji's, in the Sonarang compound, Comilla. The pleader's servant has stated that one of these persons was Biren Chatarji.

The above is an outline of the particulars we had on record against this man in March 1914. Since then further information, as noted below, has been obtained to show that up till the most recent times he has persisted in devoting his energies entirely to the furtherance of revolutionary work.

On the 19th June 1914, Satyendra Nath Sen was shot dead in Chittagong in mistake for Nagendra Ray, who was an accomplice witness in the Dacca conspiracy case. The actual assassins were Nalini Kanta Ghosh and Aditya Datta. The former was a medical student in Dacca, whose name appears in Madan Bhaumik's Cipher list. Madan and Biren were prominent members of Naren Sen's gang, and Madan's list has been admitted in evidence in the Barisal conspiracy case as a list showing the subscriptions paid month by month by members of the Samiti. Nalini absconded when his house was searched in Dacca in November 1913 in connection with the murder of Basanta Bhattacharji, referred to above, and was not located till the murder of Satyendra Sen, the following June. Aditya, the other assassin in the later case, was also previously connected with Biren Chatarji; both their

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names appear on the disposition list of the Comilla attempted dacoity, referred to above, and both were prominent members of Naren Sen's gang.

The enquiries into the Chittagong case fully corroborated our information regarding the connection of Biren Chatarji with Aditya and Nalini as well as Pratul Ganguli, the righthand man of Naren Sen, and Lal Mohan De, the absconder in the Maulvi Bazar bomb case.

Birendra first appeared in Chittagong in April 1912, when he was appointed a compositor in the Jyoti Press from April to June 1912. He was seen frequently associating with Chandra Shekhar De, who has since been convicted in the Raja Bazar bomb case. He next appeared in Chittagong between March and September 1913, when he was seen in company with Nagendra Datta, of Sylhet, and Manindra Sen, another political suspect, in the Tamakamandi house in Chittagong town. In December 1913 and January 1914 he was seen associating with Nalini Kanta Ghosh. He was then living with Nalini under the alias of Nani Gopal Chatarji. In February 1914 he was seen with Nalini Kanta Ghosh in the Pathuriaghatta mess, and the last occasion on which he was seen, to quote the words of a witness who knows him under the alias of Nani Gopal, was "up to the 20th day of the murder," i.e., the latter part of May or first week of June.

Further enquiries showed that Chittagong had been used as an Alsatia by the worst members of the revolutionary party. In addition to Nalini, Aditya and Biren, all of whom were masquerading under false names, were also Pratul Ganguli and Lal Mohan De, both of whom were associated in Chittagong under false names during the present year with the former three. No trace of any of these five desperate criminals could be found in Chittagong after the murder. Continuous efforts were made to locate them. Confidential information received in October last was to the effect that Biren Chatarji and Aditya were living together in concealment in Calcutta, and that Naren Sen was coming from Dacca to meet them and Trailokhya Chakrabartti to concert measures for further outrages.

Our information proved entirely accurate, Naren Sen arrived from Dacca on the morning of the 2nd November. He eluded his watchers and also a Sub-Inspector who noticed him on the street. Following up our confidential information we raided Greer Park in Calcutta that night after dark and arrested there six persons, four of whom were sitting together on a bench. These four were—

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(1) Naren Sen,
(2) Biren Chatarji,
(3) Aditya Datta, and
(4) Kshitish Banarji,

the last named being a member of the Agartola branch of the Samiti.

Birendra was sent up in a case under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code. He stated that he had arrived that day from Benares at the Howrah station about 11 a.m. in search of employment, that he had been in Benares at an asram in Bengalitola for about four or six months previously. He had no luggage with him. In the evening he went for a walk along Circular Road, where he was arrested at Greer Park. He stated he did not visit any one in Calcutta that day and that he did not know any of the persons who were arrested with him. He had never done any work and had for the last four years been living on Rs. 400, which he got as his share of his family property some four years before. He refused to answer further questions.

Birendra was charged as a habitual dacoit and a desperate and dangerous person. When under trial in this case, he was identified by the late Deputy Superintendent Basanta Kumar Chatarji of this department, whose life was attempted for the second time on the 25th November 1914 in the Mussalmanpara bomb outrage, and who finally fell a victim to the revolutionaries in June 1916, as the Bengali youth who had visited his house some six months previously, wearing blue spectacles. Biren on this occasion was obviously reconnoitring the Deputy Superintendent's house; he asked some youths of the house for a copy of the "Bengalee" newspaper for perusal, obviously as a pretext, and disappeared when the Deputy Superintendent himself arrived on the scene.

Priya Nath Acharji, convict witness in the supplementary Barisal conspiracy case, implicated Birendra as a most active and prominent member of Narendra Sen's party and as having taken part in the following crimes:

(1)	Naria dacoity	1908.
(2)	Kedarpur attempted dacoity	1910.
(3)	Haldia Hat dacoity	1910.
(4)	Kulargaon dacoity	1910.
(5)	Suakair dacoity	1911.
(6)	Panam dacoity	1912.
(7)	Dhuldia dacoity	1913.

He deposed in court against Birendra in the case under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code, on the 27th April. Birendra was bound down under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code, with two sureties for Rs.10,000 each by the Sessions Judge, Alipur.

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Amulya Sarkar's revolutionary scheme

This pamphlet, as has already been stated (page 14, Part I), was found in September 1916, in a search of Amulya Sarkar's house in Pabna. He is a member of the Pabna Jugantar party, but is known to have associated with Amrita Hazra and other leaders of the Dacca Anushilan who were working in Calcutta. The scheme is badly arranged and the methods not nearly so businesslike as those of the Dacca Anushilan contained in the "District Organization Scheme" and the "Rules for Membership." In these two documents, the Dacca Anushilan, with their characteristic thoroughness, have summed up the entire revolutionary propaganda in a set of clear instructions, eminently practical and to the point.

Amulya Sarkar's pamphlet, however, affords an interesting insight into the revolutionist's mind, and is important as being the most recent exposition of their views as to the "scope and province of the League." "Revival of the ancient Hindu spiritual culture," the Sanatan Dharma, is given the first place amongst the objects of the Liberating League, but political independence is a pre-requisite, and this is only to be got by "the expulsion of the greedy and selfish foreigners."

It is interesting to note that "communication with interned suspects" is included amongst the "rules for the guidance of the Foreign Department." The insertion of this clause indicates the recent authorship of the pamphlet, or at any rate its revision since the passing of the Defence of India Act.

Under "Rules and Regulations for Recruitment," it is definitely laid down that recruits of other organizations should not be tampered with, but on the contrary, should be encouraged to remain within their own party. We see here the co-operation and good-will existing between all sections of the revolutionaries. This policy is also clearly laid down in rule 13 of the "Rules for the guidance of the Intelligence Department," which says "the secrets of other parties found out by the external member, should not be divulged to anybody save and except the departmental head. He should take sufficient care not to hamper the interests of other parties."

Rules 10 and 11 of the "Rules for the guidance of the Finance Department" are particularly interesting as indicating the change in the views of the revolutionaries as to the expediency of collecting funds by violent methods. We have frequently heard it suggested that certain members of the revolutionary party were opposed to dacoities as a means of raising money for the propaganda. Here we have it clearly stated that

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violent methods should be prohibited and public subscriptions relied on. The latter method is obviously a very much more serious matter, for while it would preclude the possibility of tracking down the revolutionaries afforded by the commission of dacoities, it would necessarily imply the adhesion to the revolutionary cause of a wide circle of sympathizers and the diffusion of the "idea" among the masses.

The whole pamphlet is exceedingly interesting and is reproduced below in extenso. The importance given in this scheme to the maintenance of a circulating library, will be noticed:

AMULYA SARKAR'S REVOLUTIONARY PAMPHLET

1. Constitution of the organization (and its requirements).
2. Responsible functions of the heads of the organization.
3. Relation between the centre and sub-centre.
4. Foreign relations.
5. Foreign embassy.
6. Relation with the rival party, if any, in the centre town.
7. Finance.
8. Paper and pamphlets.
9. The scope and province of the League.

THE SCOPE AND PROVINCE OF THE LEAGUE

Salvation is the goal to which every member of the League wishes to proceed. Salvation is not possible without the revival of the ancient Hindu spiritual culture in all its spiritual phases. The spiritual idea and thought have for their set a healthy brain and a healthy mind in a healthy body. It demands formation of national character on the basis of natural education in indigenous institutions, under independent native managements. It requires first of all political independence in its entirety. To improve the resources of the country, to increase the material prosperity, to foster the causes of trade, commerce and indigenous industry, to improve cultivation by irrigation and subsidies. To manage local administrative affairs by themselves, to control proceeds and expenditure, to foster the cause of national education, full enjoyment of individual liberty,—these are the outcome of political independence. Political independence is not possible without the expulsion of the greedy and selfish foreigners from the country. They cannot be driven out without the subversion of the established Government by means of arms and munitions required for a national rising. Men and money are the two important requisites for a national rising. The whole thing in a nutshell is that the confederacy should vigorously work together men,

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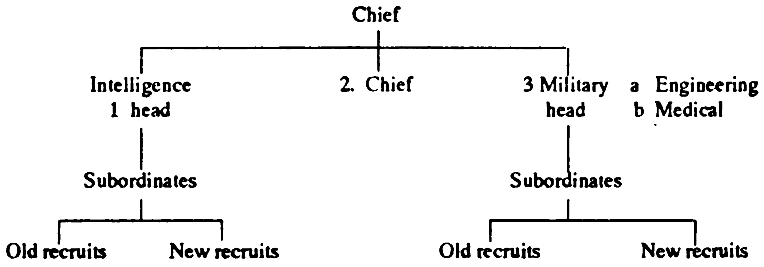
money, and arms, and to organise these people into a sacred military band for the future struggle. Therefore organization is the chief thing to which the confederacy must pay supreme attention.

EXECUTIVE BODY

1. At the head of the organization there should be a chief.
2. There will be an executive committee consisting of the chief and two other heads of two important departments, e.g., intelligence and military.

All important measures should be discussed in a meeting of the executives. The chief will have the veto power. None other than the executives should know what things are settled in the executive committee. All orders should proceed to the sub-ordinates through the respective heads of the various departments. One man of one department should not confer in his works with a man of another department. The order of the executive committee should be carried out by the subordinates at all hours and places. The subordinates should be very careful in disclosing the motives and programme of the whole organization. No subordinate should discuss anything with an unknown person, though he thinks him to be a confident one. Punctuality and implicit obedience to the commander will be strictly enfored.



The recruited members will form an organised body having rules and regulation for their guidance.

INDIAN LIBERATING LEAGUE

This **organization** should be divided into two sections—(a) the inner section, which is a secret one and is intended only for the purpose of concealed works, and (b) the outer one is intended for public organised works. These two organizations may work hand in hand, so that the public may take the entire body to be public philanthropists. But care should be taken not to divulge the existence of the inner section by a rash

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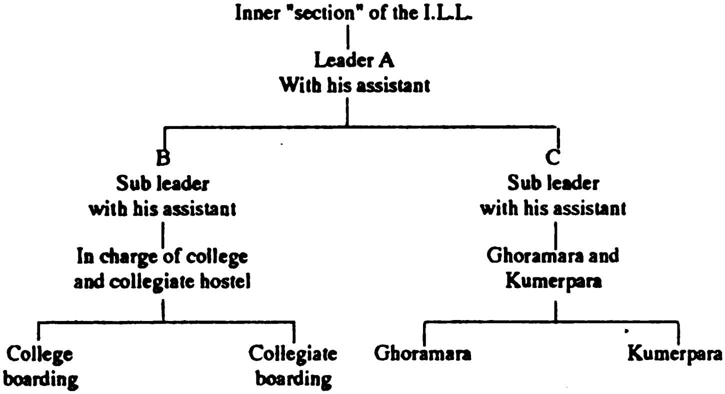
work or indiscreet remark. The inner section should be formed with the advanced members of the entire organization.



Leader : His duties and responsibilities. Section A.

1. That the leader should be a man of many-sided activities and should have experience of at least 5 years' standing. In cases where such a person is not available, the fittest and deserving one should be elected by B and C with assistant. The assistant to the leader may be elected if he be found active and experienced.
2. That the leader should not, if possible, marry or entangle himself with his family cords.
3. He should not show or exhibit his activities in such a way as to be recognised by other members of the same organization or of a different one. His sphere of work will be the "Secret chamber," the members of which are B and C with their respective assistants.
4. The leader should have relation or keep communication with other organization in the same locality or elsewhere. He should know the methods of work of other organizations.
5. He should always bear it in mind that what he will do will affect one day 30 crores of people, and at present he is guiding so many youths of rising generation.
6. The leader will be held responsible for everything done by his subordinates.
7. He should be versed in the following departments :
   (a) Recruiting.

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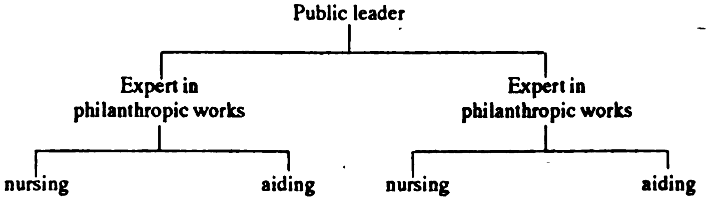
(b) Training (different process of culture).
(c) Military.
(d) Intelligence.
(e) Foreign Department.
(f) Financial.
(g) Schemes of organization.
(h) Public association (public works).

If he be unfit (in) any one of these departments, he should make up his deficiencies by suitable subordinates.

8. All business should be conducted by the joint consultation of the members of the "Secret chamber." Every decision will be subject to the approval of the leader.
9. The leader should see that the assistants of B A, B and C are getting themselves thoroughly prepared to step into the places of their superiors in times of their removal.
10. B and C of the S.C., with their assistants, should form the "Advisory Body" to assist the leader in the works of his organizations. They should be placed in charge of a jurisdiction for which they will be held entirely responsible. They may appoint their subordinates according to their capacity and merit.
11. The members of the advisory body should abide by the rules 1-7 (regarding leadership).
12. The S. C. is the inner circle and the rest should be considered as the members of the outer circle.
13. The inner circle should be kept in complete ignorance of the outer one. And their proceedings should in no way be published.
14. The leader should see that the rules of respective departments are strictly observed by any and every member of the entire organisation. The violation of these rules will be dealt with punishments as inflicted by the S.C.

The outer organization:—for public works of utility—



No strict rules should be followed, but in no case discipline should be broken.

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The recruited members should be mature workers, who will try their best to establish like institutions in their respective areas.

Members for the inner section should be chosen in some cases from the outside section.

Daily routine work.—Morning ablusions. One should leave his bed at 4-30 a.m. in summer and 5 a.m. in the winter. After easing himself, one should wash his face and body and, if possible, should take a bath. Cloth worn in the night should be changed. Prayer, as liked, should be made but prayers for gaining manliness and removing weakness are specially requested. At least 10 slokas of Gita should be read. The aforesaid works should be finished by 6 a.m. in the summer and 6-30 a.m. in the winter. If bath is not taken, one should walk at least for 10 minutes. Talking is forbidden. Light refreshment is required.

Reading.—One should read from 6 a.m. to 9-30 a.m. in the morning, but books should be read after studying the school lessons. At the time of reading, unnecessary talks and gossips are forbidden. Without any special reasons, one should go through his daily lesson even once.

Midday ablusion: Bath.—One should begin using oil from the lower part of his body to the upper. Oil should be applied on the head last of all. Using oil on Sunday is forbidden. One should apply water on his head before he merges his body into the water. Body should be perfectly cleaned, when accustomed, oil should not be used on Thursday. If possible, attempts should be made for a swimming race on Sunday.

Meals.—Gobbling is forbidden. At least one should take some minutes in taking his meal; one should masticate his food properly. Once a week or on Sunday fish should not be taken. Over-eating is forbidden. specially at night. Special care should be taken in an invitation or a feast, so that there may not be any over-eating—specially at night. Rest for at least 15 minutes should be taken after meals. One should fast on the 11th day of the moon (Ekadashi day) and take light refreshment in the night when accustomed. Fasting should be observed on the night of the new and full moon. Taking salt on the morning of Sunday and Thursday is forbidden. One should not drink water during meals,but should drink it 15 minutes after the meal is taken. Taking bazar sweets is strictly forbidden, but it can be taken in a very small quantity during invitation. Sweets should not be taken on bait or from other persons. Stale and rotten things should never be taken. On the whole, diet should be so taken, keeping in view the preservation of health. Over-eating is strictly forbidden immediately before or after hard labour. Betels, cigarettes, tobacco, and other spirituous articles should not be taken, but haritaki can be taken after meals.

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School.—So far as practicable the rules and regulations of the schools should be observed, discipline should not be neglected. Sleeping at day time is forbidden. Tiffin hours should be utilised in good association and talks. If possible, one should talk with good boys.

Afternoon.—After school hours one should come direct to his own house or boarding, if there be no urgent necessity for going elsewhere. After washing the face and body one should take some rest and then have some refreshment—but should not take sweets. If time allows, daily and monthly newspapers should be read. Every day **Bangali,**( ) a daily newspaper, or the like should be read to keep information of the country and the world.

It would be better to run every day for some time. It should be arranged to run at least twice a week. There may be no objection if this is done at the time for playing football. In other days football play is forbidden. This does not affect football matches. Exercise of "**Buk-don,**" "**Baithak,**" "Dumbell," "**Mugur,**" "Parallel Bar," "Inclined Bar," and others are recommended. Boat-rowing, riding, cycling and others should be practised when opportunity occurs. High jump and long jump should be practised.

Rest.—It is essentially necessary to take rest after physical exercise. To take a walk in the open air is specially recommended for rest.

It is forbidden to talk at the time of physical exercise, and so in the case of taking rest. After sufficient rest is taken, one should wash his hands and feet.

Evening ablusions.—One should wash his hands, feet and body. If be liked, the clothing should changed. After that prayers should be made and religious books( ) should be read. These should be done by 7-30 p.m. Then one should mind his own lesson. Rules regarding study are as before. One should go to his bed at least one hour after his night meal. Over-eating should always be avoided. One should read up to 10 p.m. in the night and go to his bed at 10-30 p.m. Before one goes to his bed he should wash his hands, feet and body and then walk a little. Prayers should also be made before going to bed or some religious books should be read. Before going to bed a man should think within himself if he was neglected any of his daily duties, and if so, prayers should be made to remove that weakness.

Pure character, Strong physique and strong will, belief in God, and self-sacrifice creat manliness. Self-gratification is not the way but self-sacrifice is the way. There is no other way except this.

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DEPT. E.—FOREIGN

RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

SEC. F.

1. The important duty of the head of this dept. will be to receive and send foreign embassies. He and he alone should have acquaintance with foreign matters, which of the following :
   (a) Negotiation with other organizations inside and outside the centre town.
   (b) News published daily in the newspapers.
   (c) Reports of political cases as to how they are conducted.
   (d) Communication with interened suspects.
   (e) Publication of useful books and their price.
   (f) Events that are taking place outside the town.
   (g) Contemporary events of other countries beyond India.
   (h) History of the Indian National Movement.
2. Systematic accounts of these items will have to be reported and circulated among the members in their tutorial sections.
3. This department will have close affinity with the Intelligence Committee of the Intelligence dept.

DEPARTMENT A

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR RECRUITMENT

SEC. B

1. The antecedents of the recruit should be gathered as far as practicable. If any injury is done to the League through a recruit, the recruiting agent shall be responsible and pay the penalty for wrong information about or misrepresentation of the recruited person.
2. Having known his antecedents, the agent should notice his present (1) environments, (2) his outward appearance. Then the recruit should be questioned and cross-questioned, so that his mental attitude can be fully known by the agent (e.g., what books has he read and which of them does he like and why, and so on).
3. If he be found fit he should be, in gradual course of time, initiated into the league; care should be taken to prevent the recruit to overstep his proper rank or circle.
4. The recruit, who belongs to other organization quite different from and contrary to that of the agent, and should not be meddled with.

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5. Such a recruit of other party should be discouraged to leave their own organization and join that of others.
6. The agent should be furnished with suitable information from the foreign Intelligence department regarding a recruit.
7. Two agents of the same party should in no case recruit one and the same person.
8. The recruit should know and will have communication only with his immediate superior.
9. A new recruit should be followed and espied by the agent to enquire about his movements. If anything objectionable be found, the agent should report to his immediate superior and the report should reach the "S.C." through the proper channel.
10. No recruit should be tempted with financial aid to join the league. They should rather be taught to be self-supporting.
11. In order to recruit a person, care should be taken not to brag of or tentacion (sic) exaggeration of the proceedings of the league.
12. The agent should appear before the recruit in such a light as to be attractive to and regarded by the latter at the first sight (for this special qualification).
13. The agent shall be held responsible for the public behaviour of the recruit. He should also see whether his recruitment is going through the proper course of training and doing his duty sincerely. Periodical Examinations of the recruit will bear testimony to the efficiency or inefficiency of the agent only.
14. A recruit who was formerly a member of the league if wish to secede from the organization should furnish sufficient reasonable grounds of his intention, and once seceded, he should be watched for his future movements.
15. A recruit who has completed his career in the centre town and is going elsewhere for his calling should keep communication only with the Inspector, who will have interview with him occasionally.

DEPARTMENT B.—TRAINING

RULES OF TRAINING. SEC. C.

1. The course of training will be prescribed by the "S.C." from time to time and will be subject to change and modifications.
2. For systematic diffusion of knowledge and information the recruits should be divided into tutorial classes which will have respective courses to master. (For course list vide "Culture Chart.")

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3. Scounting will form an essential part of the course which every one will have to know.
4. The recruits will be promoted to the next higher grades according to their efficiency.
5. No concession or privilege will be granted to any member to be exempted from the training.
6. Periodical examination will be taken to test the gradual progresses both moral, intellectual and physical of the recruit.
7. These trainings should be imparted in a chamber not frequented by the public.
8. The courses may be lessened according to pressure of business of the recruit.
9. The daily routine will also form a part of training.
10. The course will be divided into 3 sections—Physical, Moral, and Intellectual.

(For full particulars, vide "Culture Chart.")

Different processes and places of recruiting

1. **Process.**— By public oration, by press publications and by individual coaching.
2. **Places.**— Schools and colleges, places of public amusements, theatres, jatras, pujas, grand melas, bridal party excursions either by boat, or train (steamer), library halls, Zoological gardens, and Museums, in places of pilgrimages. Through private tutors, walking places, or places where public attention is not drawn, Gymnasium grounds. Football matches. In ceremonies where relatives are assembled and so on. Through philanthropic works.

Classes of recruits.—According to their place in life:

1st class— boys before they reach maturity.
2nd class— youths before their marriage.
3rd class— married young men.
4th class— aged and worldly men.

Next classes according to their activity and ability:

1st class— boys who are prosecuting their studies.
2nd class— young men who will venture anything, even at the risk of their lives.
3rd class— those who will help with money only.

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4th class—who was genuine sympathy only.

These classes should be grouped under respective circles.

What a recruit should know

1. Man : his existence, why does he exist, whence has he come, why has he come to this world, what is his relation with the world, what does he owe to the world, his environments, what is his relation with those environments, his family and the duties he owes to his family, his relation with the country and his duties and obligations to it.
2. Take up the case of an Indian :—
   What are the duties and obligations he owes to India, why will he think for India. Explain in this connection (1) India past. (2) India present, (3) India future in its three phases—political, religious and social. The future India will constitute our aims and ideals.
3. How to realise our aims and ideals or, in other words, how to bring about that "Future India." Find out the different methods and means of that realisation. What are the hindrances to those means and how should they be overcome. Discuss whether India should be liberated by forced institution or by constitutional agitation and grant of gradual concessions. Compare the results obtainable by both the means,—by terrorising methods and constitutional agitation.
   (a) In C.A. (Constitutional Agitation) find out and point out the difficulties of public agitations by means of public means or by the press. Refer to the several "Acts" that have been passed to counteract those means.
   (b) In terroristic methods—find out the risks of secret organised works, solve the money question and the question of men and arms and ammunitions. Difficulties of communication, withdrawal of public sympathy as the public is literally afraid of these things. How to unite a group of secret organizations. What should be the plan of that united organization. Compare and enumerate the counteracting methods and measures adopted gradually by the liberators on one hand and the Government on the other. Explain in this connection the gradual progress of the liberating movements from 1905 to 1916.
4. After discussing these things if the recruit wishes to be a member of the organization—whether of outward or of inward—admit him, having got him gone through the process of membership.

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Enlist him into the class in which he deserves enlistment.

(In the case of an unknown recruit, try to understand his hidden motives and intentions by casual remarks, follow him to the circle of his friends. Throw certain things—written or concrete before him and watch him—in what light he takes them, and what is his genuine attitude. Try to have him entrapped through proper channel, like a patient huntsman.)

(These are the summarised results of intellectual culture.)

Different process of recruiting

1. Through schoolmasters and professors of colleges. Through the drill and gymnastic masters.
2. Through the service circles, nursing associations, religious institutions and religious associations, e.g., Harisabha.
3. Through the riding, rowing, and hunting, excursions.
4. Through the reading clubs and librarians and newspaper agencies.
5. Through the messes and hostels, both private and public.
6. Through meritorious students and company with young boys, behaving with them as younger brothers, helping them when needed with material help.
7. Through musical associations such as theatres, jatra party and so on.
8. Through an influential man of public spirit.
9. Through public meetings and orations.
10. Through the different offices if possible.

Recruiting

The recruits should be divided into 3 classes according to their merit and capability of active works. They should be carefully distinguished from the regular members of the organization (or rather workers).

1st.—The 1st class recruits will be those who are eager enough to swallow the preachings of revolutionary gospels. They will be inquisitive enough, sincere, honest, of well-formed physique, unacquainted with any other associations or secret societies, grave but not morose, of strong moral character, daring, intelligent, respectful to their superiors, of philanthropic spirit, born of poor parents and having a very few relatives. (Boys should generally be admitted into this class.)

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2nd.—The 2nd class recruits will be those who have fully understood the situation of the country, can furnish most of the merits demanded from the Ist class recruits and are eager enough to be initiated into the organization and to work up heart and soul with the members of the organizations.

3rd.—The 3rd class recruits may be divided into 3 sub-classes:

(a) Sympathisers (dry sympathy, so to speak).

(b) Neutral public.

(c) Material helpers from different professions.

(Pleaders may plead your case, doctors may heal up your wounds, telegraph clerk may furnish you with important news and so on.

LIBRARY

1. A member of the league who has got library test should take charge of the library consisting of books, magazines, and newspapers.
2. For importation of books and papers he may be assisted by the head of the foreign department. Books old and new which will contribute to form an idea of Indian Nationality and National Movements, will have to be purchased at any cost.
3. The books in the library will be divided into the following classes:—(a) Historical, (b) Geographical, (c) Literature, (d) Biography, (e) Military, (f) Religious, (g) Newspapers, (h) Magazines, English, (i) Magazines, Bengali, (j) Maps of countries and district towns, (k) Postal and Railway guides, (l) Statistical accounts.
4. These books will be issued according to stages, as has been stated in the "Stage Series."
5. The books must be issued through proper channel, so that the existence and locality of the library may not be known to any individual subordinate members.
6. The books will be issued once a week—on Saturdays only—and should be returned on the next Saturday.
7. Any member failing to return the books on the appointed day will not be allowed books for the next week. But he will have to find out a certain book an ex-officio member and read that thoroughly for the sake of penalty.
8. Loss of or damage to the library books will subject the reader to the replacement of the same with a new copy at his own cost.

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9. None should issue or receive books save and except the librarian and his assistant.
10. The librarian should induce neutral persons or members to buy good books from their own pocket and try to bring those in the possession of the library.

FIRST STAGE

Literature

General books of primary stage.

1. Nigrojatir Karmabir.
2. Bharater Bartaman Abastha.
3. Raja o Proja.
4. Desher Katha.
5. Mebar Pathan.
6. Bhagya Chakra.
7. Chinta Tarangini.
8. Durgadas.
9. Hitopodesh.
10. Nanda Kumar.
11. Ganga Gobinda Singh.
12. Mir Kashim.
13. Guru Gobinda.
14. Shikh Jatir Itihash.
15. Maharastra Jiban Probhat.
16. Rajput " Sandhya.
17. Rush Darpahari Shikh.
18. Pratapaditya.
19. Jhansir Rani.
20. Bharatbarsher Itihash.
21. Charitrya Puja.
22.
23.
24.
25.

(Essays.)

Geography.

1. Geography of Bengal.
2. Communications—
   Railways.
   Steamer routes.
   District Board roads and those of Municipalities and local boards.
3. Thorough knowledge of the centre town.
4. Exist—Various ways.

(Entrance.)

5.
6.
7.
8.

(Examinations.)

Religious

1. Gita.
2. Patrabali.
3. Karmajog.
4. Bhaktijog.
5. Swami Shisya Sangbad.

Newspapers

1. "Bengali" (compulsory).
2. "Dainik Basumati."
3. "Prabashi."
4. "Grihastha."
5. "Upashana."

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6. Bibek Bani.
7.
8.

(Essays.)

6. "Prabartak."
("Basumati," "Bangabasi," "Hitabadi" —if time permits.)
7. "Bharatbarsha."

SECOND STAGE

Literature General

In addition to the books prescribed for the Primary Stage Course.

1. Ananda Math.
2. Debi Chaudhurani.
3. Sitaram.
4. Matsini to Nabya Itali.
5. Swadhinatar Itihash.
6. Sipahi Judder Itihash.
7. Pharashi Biplab (French Revolution).
8. William Wallacer Jibani (Life of William Wallace)
9. Kavur o Garibaldi.
10. Napoleoner Jibani (Napoleon's life).
11. Bartaman Mahajuddher Itihash.
12.
13.
14.

(Essays.)

Religious

1. Gita.
2. Anushilan.
3. Krishna Charitra.
4. Jiban Pariksha.
5. Kathamrita.
6. Lila Prashanga.
7. Naibedya.
8. Shankar Granthabali.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.

Geography

1. Railways routes with junction stations, fares of distances of places in touch.
(Plan sketch.)
2. A detailed Geography of Bengal and outlines of India.
(Examinations.)

Newspapers

1. "Bengalee."
2. "Amrita Bazar."
3. Discussions about the news and editorial columns.

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THIRD STAGE

Literature General

1. Duties of man.
2. Life of Mazzini.
3. Trial and speeches of B. G. Tilak.
4. Life and speeches of B.C. Pal.
5. Lajpat Ray.
6. Ajit Singh.
7. Dadabhai Nauarji.
8. Suniat Sen.
9. History of Belgian Republic.
10. " Dutch "
11. " Indian Unrest.
12. Indian Nation Builders.
13. Modern Germany.
14. Germany at the next war.
15. The new Barrnardi.
16. History of the Swiss Republic.
17. " of the Chinese "
18. " of the French "
19. History of the Marhattas and their confederacy.
20. Prince Bismark.
21. Prince of Destiny.
22. History of the Sikhs.
23. Causes of the failure of the Great Indian Nations in politics.

Religious

1. Life of Swamiji.
2. Systems of Hindu Spiritualism.
3. Gita Rahashya.
4. Dharma.
   (Essays.)

Geography.

1. A detailed Geography of the whole of India.
2. Railway and Steamer Routes, all stations, fare and time tables, distance.
3. Statistical accounts.
   (Examinations.)

Newspapers.

1. "Bengalee."
2. "Amrita Bazar."
3. "Statesman."
4. "Englishman."
5. "Empire."
6. English magazines.
7. History of the trials of conspiracy cases.

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PRELIMINARY STAGE

1. Arjun.
2. Vishma.
3. Rajputbahini.
4. Bidyashagar.
5. Amader Jatiya Bhasha.
6. Aitihashik Path.
7. Shikher Balidan.
8. Pratap Singha.
9. Jaliat Clive.
10. Gokhale.
11. Charit Katha.
12. Gibani Sangraha.

(Essays.)

Religious books.

1. Padya Gita (Bangla)
2. Patrabali.
3. Bhaktijog.
4. Mahabharat.
5. Ramayan.
6. Chhatrajiban Raghunandan.
7. Brahmacharjya Shiksha.

(Essays.)

Geography.

1. Bhugol Parichay.
2. Principal railways of North Bengal.
3. Town, principal roads, streets, several divisions of the town.
4. Public places of importance.
5. Places of worship.
6. Town boundary.

(Examination.)

Newspapers.

1. "Bengali" (compulsory).
2. "Dainik Bashumati."
3. "Sandesh."

CULTURE CHART

INTELLECTUAL

1. Preparation of mind.
2. Study of books.
3. Newspapers.
4. Experiences acquired from our daily life.
5. Individual coaching by.
6. Estimation of Philanthropic works.
7. —
8. —
9. —
10. —

(A) Formation of Character.

1. Struggle with the passions and senses.
2. Gravity and seriousness.
3. Sense of responsibility.
4. Avoidance of certain vicious habits.
5. To raise oneself higher from one's usual level.
6. Acquire good qualities which our character.

(B) Public Discipline

1. Restrictions with regard to circle association
2. Implicit obedience and prompt execution of orders in a punctual moment.
3. Secrecy.
4. Checking of inquisitive spirit when necessary.
5. Conducting of business by means of signs and signals.
6. Avoidance of unnecessary assembly in a frequently haunted place.
7. Espionage.
8. Falsehood.

MILITARY

1. General health.
2. Physical exercise.
3. Use of arms.
4. Explosives.
5. Machine repair works.
6. Distance. measurement
7. Private drill.
8. Mockfight in a retired place.

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INTELLECTUAL

Take up a recruit and make what course he should undergo at the very outset.

1. Determine his—
   (a) aims and ideals after having discussed India past, India present and what should India be in near future.
   (b) Let him understand his position in relation to his environments, the duty and responsibility he owes to himself, to his family and to his country.
   (c) Let him take up every work according to his capacity and natural inclination.
   (d) His aims and ideals fixed, let him understand that he cannot go on alone with his works, he requires help from others—hence the necessity of his being an active member of an organised body.
2. To further and ensure—
   (a) His aims and process of his works. Let him study books, historical, philosophical, religious, revolutionary histories of different countries.
   These books should be selected according to the gravity and importance of the subject matter therein.
3. Let him study newspapers—
   (a) both English and Bengali, weekly and monthly magazines, articles, manifests, and pamphlets. Let him
   (b) comment upon them where necessary.
4. Study of daily life—
   (a) Minute study of the incidents happening in our daily life. Rectify your mistakes and acquire experience from every trifles.
5. Individual coaching—
   (a) Have hot discussion with the new recruit.
   (b) Overwhelm him with arguments and arguments, so that he fails to get out of the meshes of your reasoning.
   (c) Take notice of his mistakes and bad habits if they are misguided.
   (d) A recruit must do some sort of work whether he joins your inner organization or not. Everybody must have something to do.
   (e) When discussion fails, try to persuade him by means of writing persuasions.

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6. Philanthropic works—
   (a) Let him do public works of utility, so far practicable. Let him estimate their merits and demerits.
   (b) Let them be convinced that these works constitute to self-knowledge and self-culture, public sympathy.
7. Religion—
   (a) Should be the goal and moral scruples should be the guiding principles.
   (b) Sometimes religious principles should be subordinate to politics.
   (c) We must rise as a religious nation.
   (d) Life is a mission. Duty is the highest law.
8. Each of us is bound to purify his own soul as a temple, free it from egotism, set before you with a religious sense of the importance of the study of the problem of his own life, to search out what is the most striking, the most urgent need of the men by whom he is surrounded. Then to interrogate his own faculties and capacities and resolutely apply them to the satisfaction of that need.

   Once you have determined your mission within your own soul, let nothing arrest your steps. Fulfil it with all your strength. Fulfil it whether blessed by love or visited by haste, whether strengthened by associations with others or in the sad solitude that almost always surrounds the martyrs of thought.

GENERAL CULTURE

A.—Formation of character

1. In matters of recruiting, importance should be given to a man of character, but should not disregard those who have been led astray by vicious company.

   Try to restrain passions and desires to enjoy pleasures which tell upon own health—and corrupt our mind (Opera, novel-reading, liquor and intoxication).
2. Mental gravity and seriousness by shaking off fickleness and bashfulness.
3. The undertakings should be emphasised with a sense of strict responsibility which enhances successful operation.
4. Vicious habits, such as overwit, fault-finding, hypocrisy, and want of sincerity and simplicity in dealing with the co-members of the same organization.

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5. Straightforwardness, impartiality, a high sense of dignity of character and person (in times when necessary).
6. Mental love, respect, sincerity, simplicity and honesty, a common feeling of mental attachment. Have one ideal, one thought, one hope and one ideal to reverence.
   Unflagging industry and constancy in sacrifice.
7. The yearning for unity, moral and political, founded upon some great organic authoritive idea, the love of country, the worship of India, the sublime vision of the destiny in store for her, leading the Indians in holiness and truth.

B.—Public Discipline

1. Rules and restrictions should be strictly observed in the circule associations; these rules should be laid down by the head of the organization for various associations (find the Constitutions Chart).
2. Each member should implicitly obey his immediate superior. He should be punctual and prompt in executing the orders of the head. His personal dejections should be explained away before the head.
3. **Secrecy.**—This should be strictly observed at any cost. The aims and ideals of the organization should be public, but the method of the work kept secret.
4. **Checking of inquisitive spirit.**—A member should try to learn everything, but in certain cases he should not want explanation or motive of the orders passed upon him. Nor should he know or try to know what passes between the members (by over-hearing them or by his unexpected presence).
5. The work of the organised body should be free from "humbug." All business so far practicable should be conducted by means of signs and signals, movements of body, paper signs and crude language.
6. Members should not unnecessarily meet in a frequently haunted place unless they are required by the head to do so. Assemblage and free-talking should so far as practicable be avoided.
7. **Espionage, (a) within (b).**—(a) Inspector who will remain in charge of the Intelligence Department should enquire whether every branch and sub-branch is working well. He will have to report about the conduct of business in those branches and sub-centres. A Sub-Inspector in each of the sub-centres should mark the particular movements of the members.

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(b) A second Inspector should keep a vigilant eye upon the various menas of eluding the police.

8. The members should be taught how to give statements before the Magistrate or a police officer. He should be taught all sorts of hypocrisy, treachery, dissimulation, falsehood, cunning and witty saying, ready wit, eluding, betraying, disguising in absconding, equivocation, deceiving, and cheating (within limited bounds).

DEPT. C.—MILITARY

Rules for the Guidance of Military Dept.

SECTION D.

1. At the head of this department there should be a member of the "S.C." who is subordinate to the leader.
2. He should be held entirely responsible for this department and will have to furnish explanation in cases of negligence.
3. He should be furnished with reports about the military training of the recruits.
4. He will have to supply materials for this department and should establish a fortified or safe custody for the same.
5. In cases of loss or damage of any article he will have to replace the same at his own cost.
6. In dealing with foreign organization regarding this department he should consult the full council of the "S.C."
7. The store or custody house must not be known to anybody else save and except the assistant of the departmental head.
8. This assistant must not be absent in the absence of the head.
9. Military discipline will have to be strictly observed. (For military training, vide Culture Chart.)

MILITARY

1. **General health.**—(a) The inspector should take particular care about the health of the recruited member. If their health declines day by day he should anyhow find out the cause thereof.
2. Physical exercise should be taken by every member—under compulsion—daily—
   (a) Running with and without loads.
   (b) Rowing.
   (c) Walking.
   (d) Cycling.

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(e) Motor driving.
(f) Boxing.
(g) Swimming.
(h) Riding.
(i) High jump, long jump.
(j) Patient endurance of all sorts of hardships.
(k) Wrestling. Bow and arrow.
according to prescribed text-books and rules.

3. Aiming, handling, cleaning, | air guns, pistols, Revolvers, Rifles, | dagger, practice
according to prescribed text-books and rules.
4. Explosive.—Every member should have scanty knowledge of explosive substances.
5. He should know perfectly well how to repair machines.
6. (a) Distance measurement.
   (b) Scounting.
   (c) Private drill.
   (d) Mock fight in a retired place.
   (e) Hunting excursions.
7. Removing an enemy and successful retreat if possible.
8. No weakness or effeminacy should be tolerated in this department.
9. Members should be bold and daring, prompt and quick.
10. Knowledge of routes and railways.
11. Particular members should be kept in reserve for this department. They should not mix freely with the subordinate members or show any public spirit by revealing themselves in public occasions.

Military.—Anybody expert in arms, of commanding voice and of strong and stout personality should be placed in charge of this department. He should have a fair knowledge of various kinds of rifles, revolvers, and pistols, bombs and dynamites and other highly explosive substances. He should know the various methods of preparing explosives and smuggling arms. He should teach his subordinates to handle and cleanse these instruments. He should practise them aiming. He should know fully the modern system of millitary drill—both German and foreign drills. Strict discipline will be enforced in drilling and organising his subordinates into a sacred military band like that

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of the Thebans in Boeotia. This sacred band will be organised as follows:—Over 4 men a Habildar; over four H, a Subadar; over 4 S, a Major; over 4 M, a Lieutenant; over 4 L, a Colonel; over 4 C, a Captain and over 4 Ca, a Commander-in-Chief who will be placed in charge of the military dept. Each individual of the sacred band should endure all sorts of hardships and should be taught to surmount any sort of danger and disasters through sheer fortitude and calm and serene ready wit. The individuals in time of an action should strictly obey the commander. Anybody breaking the rules of military discipline will be dealt with stringent measures. To carry out his military scheme he will have to depend to some extent upon the intelligent dept. and the engineering dept. connected with it. The Military head should see how far the medical dept. is doing his duty properly and sincerely. The efficiency and inefficiency of the medical dept. will affect the consequent interest of the military dept. For plans of forts, garrisons, magazines and other fortified places the Military chief should ask of the intelligent dept. The military man (head) should take notice where and when how much quantity of rations can be had. He should practise his subordinates, signalling (morose or semaphore), scouting, cycling, riding.

3. **Riding, rowing, jumping, measuring distances by guessing.**—The military head should show such efficiency as the whole volunteer regiment may be solicited by the general public for public is organised ceremonial works, and festivities.
4. **Engineering.**—The most scientific man and man of artistic knowledge should be placed in charge of this department. The man placed in charge should be expert in handling and working with various sorts of instruments. He will have some knowledge of electrical battery and magnets. He will have to break down bridges—both iron and wooden—to cut telegraphic wries, obstruct river passages, to derail trains and the various methods of doing so. He should purchase all sorts of instruments, including telescopes, lights and flags for signalling.
5. **Medical.**—The man placed in charge of this department should have the knowledge of a compounder, also should have some practical knowledge of surgical works. He should keep close intimacy with local Physicians and nursing association. To learn medical works he should find out proper places both safe and advantageous. He should be acquainted with various sorts of acids.

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6. **Finance.**—The honest and the man of most sacrificing spirit should be placed in charge of finance. A strict account should be kept in cipher list. The accounts are subject to chief's examination and inspection from time to time.

INSPECTORS

The duties and responsibilities of the inspector should be as follows :

1. The inspector should be a man of shrewdness and cunning and expert in screwing out what is curtained in the mind of other persons.
2. He should be calm and quiet and free from public association.
3. He should have sufficient presence of mind and calculation.
4. The inspector should have thorough knowledge of the district towns outside the centre town.
5. He should be acquainted with the heads of sub-centres and their assistants.
6. His business will be to go on errands and to receive foreign embassies through certain signals or signs.
7. When present at the centre town he will have to supervise the works of the subordinate members in the respective jurisdictions.
8. He should watch everybody like an indifferent onlooker.
9. The inspector should have thorough knowledge of the routes and places with which he will have to keep communication.
10. He must not live a public life.
11. In order to start a new sub-centre he will have to survey the place in all respects and report it to the head.
12. The heads of sub-centres will be directly responsible to the inspector and indirectly to the head.
13. The particular signal with which he will approach the sub-centres should not be made known to any other member at both the organizations. The inspector should neither proceed on errands or receive embassies without that particular sign or signal.

THE SCHEME FOR LOCAL ORGANIZATION

Th scheme is subject to modification and alteration in consideration of time and space, but the ultimate principles must not be ignored.

Departments.— (1) Special, (2) Intelligence, (3) Military, (4) Finance, (5) Medical.

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(1) **Special.**—At the head of the department there should be placed leading and guiding spirit of the whole organization. In fact the fittest man should take charge of this department; the success and failure of this department depend upon the chief and hence the gravity and responsibility of his work.

The chief will have to supervise the works of the whole organization consisting of several departments mentioned above with special interest and responsibility. To examine the reports (whether weekly, monthly or quarterly) of all the departments the chief should have a fair knowledge of the works to be done by each department e.g. He should be acquainted with the public of the locality in which he establishes his centre; he should have a fair knowledge of the whole district and should take care of every minute detail of the town concerned. He should be honest and an expert accountant in handling the finance of organization. He should know the handling of arms, preparation of ammunitions, and explosives in fact anything and everything concerning the military department. He should also have a little knowledge of the medical science and its practical application in some cases. For information he will have to depend upon the reports of the member placed in charge of Intelligence department. He should also have a psychological study of the different temperament of the general public. In fact he will have to exert such influence over the public that the latter's mind may be focussed to him wherever he will proceed to do any philanthropic works. This requires strong personal character.

In choosing men for the respective department he should have the capacity of placing the right man in the proper place. The chief should organise local associations both religious and social. Through these organization or rather association he will have to recruit member by his subordinates. About the secret or revolutionary organization or any political matter of importance, he should not discuss anything with the new recruit so far as it is practicable and adequate. The chief should alone discuss foreign matters and receive messengers and deputies sent be other revolutionary organization outside his own centre town. The Chief is liable to the calling of explanation by the higher authority if there by any, and he and he alone will be held responsible for anything good or bad, right or wrong done by any member of the organization. In fact the whole responsibility, the success and reverses of the whole organization rests with him.

(2) **Intelligence.**—The fittest man, intelligent, hardy, honest and the most responsible man should be placed in charge of this department. The working up of the whole organization will

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depend upon the reports submitted by him. He will be held responsible for any miscalculation or wrong reports submitted by him. The sphere of his work must for the first time be confined to the sadar town. Then he should expand his sphere up to the whole district. He should have a fair acquaintance with the locality in which the centre has been established. About the town he should be frequently acquainted with the principal roads, streets, lanes, bye-lanes, rivers and canals and bridges over them, tanks, wells, schools and colleges and the number of the students therein, railway routes stations, post office, police station, river jetty or port harbour, police clubs, churches—when and how many persons attend the church services, residence clubs, dak bungalow, circuit houses, police quarter and army barracks—number of the regiments and the number of the soldiers thereof. Number of Rifles, Pistols, Revolvers and quantity of ammunitions stored up. Position of the magazine.

He should prepare plans of forts, magazine, Police station, army barracks and maps shewing—District, Subdivision, Thanas, outposts, rivers, roads (metalled or non-metalled) large villages, inspection bungalows, dak bungalows, canals, Railways, strength and depth of the river; general feature of the district, areas of the town and Thanas, general description of rivers, pond, canals, description of district town subdivision and main villages with population Hindu and Mahomedan males and females. Description of Thanas number and name especially if there are other low classes, Hindu peoples, in each subdivision with population male and female, Hindu and other castes. Means of communication. Distance of railway station from any junction place [that place will always remain common Polymetical table of distances (as in B volume). Please write the XXX table of B volume]. Names of Telegraph and Post Offices, dispensaries and jails with accommodation and number of patients and prisoners thereof. Enquire if there be any political prisoner. Description of Thanas number of officers chowkidars, Duffadars and the station of volunteers with number of them. Places where provision can be had and the quantity. Bazaars and hats and the dates on which the hats assemble. Description of dak bungalow and Dharmachalas and public places for residence. Residing places of Rajas and zamindars, with their probable income and their tendency. Number of motors if they have any and the number of horses. Near districts the different ways of communication and relation with provinces. The tendency of general public—whether they are sympathetic, the number

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of arms they possess and the places where they keep it. Number of influential persons and their tendency. The number of notorious persons and intimacy with them. Existence of any other Secret Society and the knowledge thereof. Number and residence of the executive officers—native and European. Number of C.I.D. officers, spies, their residence and movements, and other information that will be required by the chief from time to time.

DEPARTMENT D.—INTELLIGENCE

Rules for the Guidance of the Intelligence Department

SECT. E.

1. This dept. is divided, for the sake of convenience, into two Sections—(a) internal, (b) external.
   The internal one is intended for the purpose of purifying the league from within by detecting the errors and deficiencies of the members of the league.
   The external one is necessary for competitive progress & efficiency in the dept. of surveillance & espying.
2. There will be a vigillance committee consisting of 2 or 3 members in this dept. who will have to supply all necessary secret informations to the head of this dept.
3. This committee in no case should reveal the connection with the league to anybody & should refrain from frequent association with other members of the league.
4. The members of this committee should come with their reports to the dept. head at nightfall in an appointed place or at any place or time not subject to the notice of the men of other parties.
5. Their duty they will not disclose to even his intimate member of the same league.
6. They should be keen-sighted & expert in all sorts of disguises.
7. Hypocrisy & treachery will form their essential external qualities & they should be versed in forgery, chikinary (sic) and perjury.
8. They should report everything simultaneously. If any injury is done to the league on account of their miscalculation or wrong & inaccurate information they are subject to penalty so as to redeem the injury.
9. They will have certain signals & turns of speech which they will use among themselves.

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10. The internal member should report everything occurring inside the organization regarding the movements & works of the members.
11. The external member should watch carefully & patiently what is going on outside the organization.
12. The external member should always bear it in mind that whatever he will do endanger his life and safety. His work should be like that of a Govt. spy.
13. The secrets of other parties found out by the external member should not be divulged to anybody save & except the departmental head. He should take sufficient care not to hamper the interests of other parties. He should respect the integrity of other parties.
14. .This committee should be master of verbal turns of speech and cross questioning and cross examinations so that they may skilfully extract out what there is in the mind of others.
15. The remaining members of this dept. should form themselves into an Intelligence Committee.
16. The duty of this I.C. should be to supply all necessary information as stated in the Intelligence chart.
17. Their reports should be thoroughly accurate and to the point.
18. For the purpose of convenience they will have statistical reports and Gazettes and other necessary books and maps of routes.

DEPART F.—FINANCE

Rules for the Guidance of the Finance Dept

SECT. G.

1. The treasurer of the league will be a member of the S.C. and he will have an assistant through whom the treasurer is entitled to transact all financial business.
2. The treasurer will have to sanction money by the head and every account of item by item should be checked by the head.
3. All proceeds should first come to the treasury & thence to be distributed elsewhere.
4. Subtreasuries of the sub-centres should furnish monthly or if possible fortnightly accounts of their receipts & expenditure to the head treasurer in the centre town.
5. If any amount be spent on some necessary account the same will have to be refunded by the person who had spent them.

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6. There will be surprise examination of the accounts for which the treasurer must keep himself ready.
7. If any member borrows any amount from the treasury of the league he will have to repay it with certain amount of interest in a fixed time. In default he will have to pay the compound interest.
8. No big amount should be stored up in one & same place.
9. The treasurer should control the sources of income, & heads of expenditure.
10. Money collection is prohibited by violent methods.
11. The chief source of income will be public subscription & subscription of the members of the league.
12. On necessary and responsible grounds & in cases of emergency the treasurer should forsake his parsimonious habits & is authorised to spend the responsible sums.
13. Money can be lent to an ex-officio member on the responsibility of the treasurer.
14. A pretty big amount should be kept as reserve fund & this fund should not be touched except in cases of extreme emergency.
15. The treasurers may borrow money on behalf of the league from the public provided that he will have to stand as security. In the case of the league's inability to pay the treasurer will have to clear off the debt from his own pocket.

"General Principles"

The pamphlet known as "General Principles," to which reference has been made at page 29, is here reproduced, together with the connected review of the Russian revolutionary methods. It will be noted how closely the methods and organization of the Dacca Anushilan follow the revolutionary propaganda herein outline :

"General Principles."

(EXHIBIT No. 34, DATED THE 18TH NOVEMBER 1909 — NANGLA DACOITY CASE.)

The history of the Russian revolutionary movement shows that those who organize the masses for a revolutionary outbreak ought to keep in mind the following principles :

I.—A solid organization of all revolutionary elements of the country, allowing the concentration of all forces of the party where they are most necessary.

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II.—A strict division of different branches or departments, i.e., persons working in one department ought not even to know that which is done in any other, and in no case should one control the direction of two branches.

III.— A severe discipline, especially in certain branches (military and terroristic), even of complete self-sacrificing members.

IV.— A strict keeping of secrecy, i.e., every member may only know what he ought to know, and talk about business matters with companions who ought to hear such matters, and not with them who are not fit to hear.

V.—A skilful use of all conspiring means, i.e. paroles, cyphers, and so on.

VI.— A gradual developing of the action, i.e., the party ought not at the beginning to grasp all branches but to work gradually; for instance: (1) organization of a nucleus recruited among educated people, (2) spreading ideas among the masses through that nucleus, (3) organization of technical means (military and terroristic), (4) agitation and (5) rebellion.

I.— A solid organization requires that in every considerable place, or any place important for the movement in strategical or other respects, ought be established a group of adherents of the party. All such groups are mutually connected and working accordingly one place prepared by the Central Committee directing the whole movement.

(2) If a group has more persons fit for working in a branch they ought to be transferred to other groups wanting such.

(3) A rational use of all menas, money, literature and so on, and a practical distribution thereof between the groups (or committees), the richer groups aiding the poorer.

II.— A strict division of branches.—The work of a revolutionary party is of two kinds—(a) general, and (b) special.

(a) The general work consists in—

(1) organization,

(2) propaganda, and

(3) agitation.

(1) Organization—consists in establishing groups of adherents, new committees, congresses (general and local) convoked by the Central Committee and local organization, respectively.

(2) Propaganda—supposes preparing of propagandists among (1) the masses, (2) educated people, Literature, legal and illegal

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(secretly printed), periodical and other papers, reviews, books, pamphlets and proclamations.

(3) Agitation—preparing of agitators (orators).

The special part is of seven kinds—

(1) printing,
(2) military branches,
(3) finances,
(4) transport,
(5) information,
(6) foreign department,
(7) terroristic department.

(1) Printing Department, which establishes presses, finds trustworthy persons in legal presses and foundries, prepares supplies of machines, characters and so on, prepares printers and persons working on cyclostyles, hectographs and so on.

(2) **Military branches (communicated).**—Its tasks are (a) to organize mobilization, (b) instruction, (c) chemistry (preparing of explosives and other matters for the rebellion), (d) preparing of victuals, (e) organization of officers and soldiers, (f) military education of persons extraneous to the troops.

(3) **Finances:**—This department obtains funds through (1) persons well off, (2) persons able to aid the party by establishing undertakings profitable to it (trade houses, philanthropical works and so on), (3) by imposing taxes on rich people (with the aid of the terroristic department). The financial department may be organized as a great real or fictitious trade house.

(4) **Transport :**—This department has to organize (a) the exterior, (b) the interior transport.

(a) Exterior transport has to organise (1) the smuggling from abroad of arms, ammunition, technical things of all kinds, necessary for the party, which cannot be obtained in the country itself, or brought into it openly; (2) preparing depots in the ports and in neutral territories; (3) preparing of places at the frontiers, where smugglers and illegal persons (to the police) may go into the country.

(b) Interior transport consists of (1) transporting of the smuggled wares to the places situated in the country; (2) establishing depots for such wares; (3) in some cases establishing of communications between several parts of the organization (concerning not very important matters). The two branches of that department have to prepare its

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members for the service in custom houses, post, telegraph, transport offices, railways and other services useful for the smuggling, introducing such persons thereinto, and finding there persons ready to serve the party.

(5) **Information:**—Observation of the deeds of the Government through own members serving in different offices. Observation of the conduct of the members.

(6) **Foreign Department.**—It should gain the sympathy of public opinion abroad by editing papers, pamphlets, organising meetings, observe foreign politics and inform the Central Committee of every important event, assist the transport department, spread the party's views among countrymen residing abroad.

(7) **Terroristic Department:**—It has to prepare terrorists, organize laboratories, secret quarters, depots, etc., to organize terroristic detachments attached to the Central Committee and provincial committees; to organize flying terroristic departments (for unimportant acts, chiefly for aiding the financial department). The terroristic organization admits only such members who are willing to an unconditional submission to all orders of their chiefs, and ready to risk their lives at any moment. The chief of the central terroristic organization attached to the Central Committee is a member of the latter, and directs all other terroristic organizations. The Central Committee gives him but general prescriptions, not interfering with their execution; but he is obliged to executive all orders of the Central Committee. The latter communicates with the flying detachments, but through the chief of the terroristic department. The flying departments stay under the orders of the latter, who appoints the chief of them.

A general rule of every revolutionary action is:—No person acting illegally should be active legally as a public man (that concerns not the Government service, civil and military). Members occupied in both are of very great use to the party.

III.—Party Discipline—Should be strictly maintained in the whole life of the party in the terroristic and military departments: no infractions should be tolerated. But no superior should abuse it. He has always to remember that he is treating with a companion, and not only with an inferior, whose person ought to be respected.

All infractions are tried by a tribunal of companions. The assessors are appointed by the respective committees.

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All transgressions are divided into four categories—
(1) unimportant, (2) important, (3) serious, (4) very serious.

1. **The first category embraces**—Not accurate accomplishing of little tasks, not exact coming to the places of business, meetings, etc. Such transgressions are punished (1) by a blame of a superior, (2) blame before the tribunal, and (3) blame before companions.
2. **The second category.**—Transgressions of the conspiration not followed by serious harm for the party, etc. Punishments—a temporal retreat from a post, transferring to an inferior post, and even a temporal exclusion from the party.
3. **The third category.**—Abuse of the discipline in unimportant cases, talkativeness followed by unpleasant results to the party, leaving of a task unaccomplished (terroristic and military organization excepted), spending of the party's means for private use, abuse of things belonging to the party and neglect of such cases are punished by perpetual exclusion from the party connected with the boycott of the person.
4. **The fourth category.**—Very serious infractions, for instance, leaving party's ranks for that of the enemy, treason, provocation, serious despoliation of the party's funds or property, refusal of a member of the terroristic or military organization to execute superior's orders, are punished by death. A member guilty of such crimes, discovered in flagrante delicto, or with undesirable proofs in hand, may be put to death by companions without trial. In such a case all documents are immediately sent to the Central Committee, which pronounces its judgement about the conduct of the executioners.

IV.— Conspirations (keeping of secrets).—A member should only talk about party matters with those persons who are required by the character of his special task. If he lets transpire some details about the task imposed on him, or anything he might eventually know, to persons extraneous to the party, he ought to be considered guilty of a transgression of third category and punished accordingly. If a member talks about his task with other members who have nothing to do with it, he is guilty of a transgressing of second category. Letting Government agents know anything about party matters constitutes a very serious transgression (some special cases excepted of discipline) and is punished by death.

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V.— Conspirative Means.—(a) A parole is a secret word or phrase used for the sake of distinguishing members or non-members. There is a general one party—parole known to all members acting in a certain locality, paroles for every category of committees, and a private parole of Central Committee serving for communications of the latter with provincial committees. The paroles are to be changed after every serious arrest (of many members). The organization of each department may have paroles of its own and change them often enough.

(b) Ciphers.—Every department and every committee ought to possess a cipher (code) of its own (methods, books, way of writing with lemon juice, milk, etc.). Blotting paper should not be used in any case. General rule—To write as little as possible; not to possess lists of members or depots; the whole correspondence is to be burnt as soon as read.

The organization is of two kinds, general and special, which are central and local. The Central Committee of the first manages the whole organization.

CENTRAL ORGANIZATION

1. The Central Committee consists of the founders of the party, whose names are unknown to all persons extraneous to the Central Committee. Their number is never more than 10. The vacant places are occupied by the persons chosen by the Central Committee. The work is distributed between the members of it by the Central Committee so that every department should be directed by one of its members.

   Note 1. At the beginning of the rebellion, the Central Committee appoints a Dictator, chosing for that function a person well-known for his qualities and popularity.

   Note 2. In the case of an arrest or death of at least six members of the Central Committee, the vacant posts are occupied par interim by the delegates of the Central Committee in the Provincial committees of the next province. As soon as possible the Central Committee holds a conference, to which every Provincial Committee sends one delegate who elects the wanted number of members.

2. The power of the Central Committee is unlimited and extends over all departments, i.e., the Central Committee directs the

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propaganda and agitation, supplies the Provincial Committees with persons, means, arms, books and papers, and everything necessary for their activity.

3. The funds of the Central Committee come from—
   (1) obligatory payment of the Provincial Committee;
   (2) payment directed to the Central Committee; and
   (3) undertakings of the Central Committee.
4. The Central Committee establishes Provincial Committees and communicates with them through its delegates or agents of the second degree.
5. The Central Committee is the highest instance without further application in settling misunderstandings between all organizations and in all questions concerning the propaganda or the tactics.
6. The Central Committee publishes the neutral organ of the party.
7. The Central Committee gives its account in the organ at least once a month. The secret part of its is communicated privately to Provincial Committees.
8. The Central Committee has its own seal. Documents emanating from the Central Committee without that seal are not valid.
9. Members of the Central Committee, guilty of treason or evident abuses, are tried by the conference of the delegates of Provincial Committees.

II.—Local Organizations

A.—PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. A provincial organization is managed by the Provincial Committee which, submitting itself unconditionally to the Central Committee has all its rights and duties in the limits of a province.
2. Every Provincial Committee counts among its numbers 1-3 persons appointed by the Central Committee. These delegates have the right of votes, in exceptional cases referring without delay to the Central Committee. Their acts may be objects of complaint before the Central Committee, but their resolutions remain valid until the Central Committee rejects them.
3. The Provincial Committee is composed of the members who (the delegates of the Central Committee excepted) are representatives of local organizations.
4. The funds of the Provincial Committee consist—

(1) in obligatory payments of district organization;
(2) in payment directed to the Provincial Committee;
(3) in funds coming from private understandings of Provincial Committees.

Note: A Provincial Committee give 50 per cent of all its revenues to the Central Committee, as all organizations of an inferior degree are subordinate to those of the superior degree.

5. A Provincial Committee communicates with the Central Committee through the latter's delegates; members of Provincial Committees in cases of conflicts with these delegates through Central Committee's agents; for that purpose at least two elected members of the Provincial Committee possess a parole to the Central Committee's agent.
6. A Provincial Committee communicates with district organizations through its own agents (of the third degree).
7. A Provincial Committee may publish a paper.
8. A Provincial Committee presents its accounts to the Central Committee and District Committees of the province every month.
9. A Provincial Committee possess a seal which is to be affixed to all documents emanating from it.
10. Members of a Provincial Committee are tried by the Central committee if there is a complaint of the district organization.

B.—DISTRICT COMMITTEES

1. Provincial Committees are composed on the same principle as the Provincial Committee. One to three members of a District Committee are appointed by the Provincial Committee.
2. District Committees may publish pamphlets. They have seals of their own. In important places they may edit their organs if authorised by the Provincial Committee.
3. District Committees give 50 per cent. of their revenue to the Provincial Committee. Their funds are composed on the same principles as those of Provincial Committees.

C.—TOWN COMMITTEES

1. A Town Committee is composed on the same principle as the District Committee.
2. A Town Committee is composed of ten members, of whom 1-3 are appointed by the District Committee. The rest are elected by delegates of local (rural) organizations, and representatives of

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local active members.

3. Some towns may be made by the Central Committee equal to districts or even provinces. In such cases the towns may be divided into regions, each of which possess the rights of a town.

D.—RURAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. Rural Committees are composed of five members of the party.
General Note.—Every Local Committee may be dissolved by the Central Committee in cases of inability, dishonest conduct, and infractions of discipline.

E.—MEMBERS

1. Members of the party may be everybody affiliated by a party organization adopting the programme and tactics of the party and wishing to assist it.
Note. An organization ought not to force its members to do that which they are not inclined to do.
2. An organization recruits such (members) persons known for their mental and moral qualities—firm, brave, and able to keep a secret. A candidate ought to be recommended by three members who are responsible for his doings.
3. Every member ought to execute the task undertaken, submitting himself to all directions of the Committee, except the latter being evidently harmful for the party.
4. Every member of the party has to keep all secrets which have been trusted to him, and not to communicate them to persons known to be members of the party, if not required by the character of his task.
5. Everything concerning the action of the party is a secret, not to be divulged even after leaving it.
6. Every member has to inform his superior, i.e., the person by whom he has been introduced to the party, of all cases of treason infraction of the statutes, and so on, and also of all things which may be useful for the party.
7. A member (except in cases of complete indigence) has to pay his fees to his organization in limits established by it, and do his best for supplying it with funds.
8. A member has to affiliate new members, though being very circumspect in their choice.
9. A member may leave the party, but with the consent of the Local Committee, not before having accomplished all tasks imposed on him.

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10. Every member has a right to special protection and assistance of the party.
11. A member is tried for small infractions by his respective committee, for serious crimes by the Town Committee. The right of appeal to the District Committee is reserved.
12. Treason and acts consciously aiming at the danger of the party are punished by death.
13. No member ought to give explanations of whatever nature they might be to a Coroner or to Judges, if trie as a political criminal; certain special cases excepted when such explanation is sanctioned at least by a District Committee.
14. Every member guilty of a common crime ought to be excluded.

F.—PERSONS SYMPATHIZING WITH THE PARTY

1. Besides regular members, the party is supported by persons sympathizing with it, who serve it materially or in any other way. They do not take any delegation besides that of keeping secrets, and are, so far as possible, protected by the party.

Some branches require special quarters, the so-called conspirative quarters. Such are to be established in the following way :—Persons are found, who are above all suspicion in the eyes of the police (and of course in those of their friends too). They offer their houses or lodging to their companions, or if they have none, a suitable house or lodging is hired in their names in a part of the town least observed. In these conspirative quarters persons who have to talk business meet, and meetings (no crowds) are held. The visitors conform themselves with the official, social position or occupation of their "hosts." Every organization ought to be provided with a stock of such quarters, Meetings and place, but, when necessary, as seldom as possible. During a meeting special guards are to be appointed to observe everything occurring in the neighbourhood of conspirative quarters. (The hosts have to find out whether they themselves or their houses are observed in the interval between meetings. All conspirative quarters ought to have as many issues as possible—no less than two at any rate.)

(Only the most necessary papers are brought to a meeting, and there should be taken measures to facilitate their destruction in case of a disturbance.)

(A reasonable pretext ought to be at hand to cover the real aim of a meeting when many persons have to meet.)

It is of great use to have certain signs to show to all persons competent that conspirative quarters are safe as a position of the curtains

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on the windows, or plants there, visiting cards on the doors, and so on. Such signs ought to be changeable without difficulty in case of danger. Besides such special conspirative quarters, there ought to be places where the new-coming members might meet with their local companions, or where local members of the general organization (propagandists, agitators, etc.) might come to take instructions of a committee or give their accounts. Such quarters are established in a house visited naturally every day (or even night) in all hours (if possible) by many persons, such as a physician's house, a trade house, etc. The addresses are to be communicated to the visitors in all their details, in order that they might find their way without asking anybody.

Concluding remarks.—The statutes of the party are secret, and known by the members only in those points which concern members of the respective degree.

The terroristic organization is composed of a central detachment to the Central Committee and flying terroristic detachment. The action of the terroristic organization comprehends—

(1) Preparation of terroristic acts—

(a) Instruction of terroristics (a very cautious choice of members),

(b) Establishing of laboratories.

(c) Establishing of conspirative quarters.

(d) Observation.

(e) Preparation of means of escape of terrorist and a place where he might be concealed.

(2) The execution of an act.

An exposition of Russian revolutionary methods

(EXHIBIT NO. 36, DATED THE 18TH NOVEMBER 1909—
NANGLA DACOITY CASE)

For about fifty years a political revolution has been going on in Russia. Now-a-days about two to three hundred people are dying every month in these affairs. Thousands of roubles are being looted. Hundreds of people are being sent to Siberia and banished to other countries. The revolutionists there are still divided into many sections. Of the diverse sections (namely), anarchists, nihilists, black hand, sociologists, etc., the black hand section act most hostilely to the other sections. They are not much inferior in power to the other revolutionists. However that may be, the sociologists section is in all respects the best, and gradually the other sections are being amalgamated with that section. Even in the midst of

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these dreadful obstacles, this section is daily advancing along the path of progress.

Some particulars of what I heard from one or two leading persons of that section, and what I witnessed of the proceedings of a body belonging to that section in a foreign country, are briefly related.

To be admitted into their ranks in a general way, one has to go to the place of any business or trade publicly carried on by that community. There are no terms or conditions of first admission. They do not ask for any information, such as name and address. An imaginary name is given. No one sees another in one's home. There are separate rendezvous assigned for the purpose of meeting for the purpose of consultation.

Places of business where everyone has free access and yet where one may without the knowledge of any other person talk, as necessary, with any particular person, such as bathing establishments, eating houses, drinking houses, restaurants, etc., dispensaries, schools are maintained and managed with that view by the community. Such a signal is kept at these places as would show to a person from afar, before entering, that the coast is clear (literally, the place is free from danger) for the time, that is to say, that no suspicious person is there, or that nobody is watching there at the time. Then if the man entering so wishes, he may assist the community by doing gratuitous work as long as he wishes every day at the aforesaid place of business. While thus frequenting (the place) his feelings and tendencies are watched by the community. If as a result thereof they do not consider the man entering a businesslike man, they do nothing further in regard to him. So long as he does not leave of his own accord or does not do anything unsatisfactory, he remains as a sympathizer. The sole object of doing so is to increase the number of the supporters of the revolutionary doctrine. Of the 80,000 Russian residents in the city of Paris, there are 50,000 or 60,000 of such supporters.

But if they consider the man entering a businesslike man, then if three among these who had been shadowing him to observe his nature, character, feelings and tendencies recommend, he is admitted into the business department of the community. After this he has to remain for some time in the committee for training workers and to learn and practise revolutionary procedure. In that committee there are many sub-committees, composed of different persons for learning particular subjects. One has to remain in touch for a while with every sub-committee. The arrangement is somewhat like the discipline extending over five years enjoined in "Devi Chaudhurani."

During the course of such training one is subjected to trials from time to time. If unsuccessful in passing the test, one has to suffer the

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severest penalty. For instance, at the time of learning to keep secrets the novice is told for a truth now a common thing, now a thing most surprising and most dangerous, and now an imaginary news of a nature, that the human heart is most eager to divulge, and an expert in the work is appointed to elicit the secret by any means. If the secret ooze out, then the severest penalty has to be suffered. If thus repeatedly unsuccessful in passing tests, he is expelled from the business department of the community, and has to remain under surveillance for some time.

But if one is successful in all departments, he is admitted into that department in whose work he is most proficient. Two of that department remain sponsors for him. In a special case if one can show special aptitude and can produce the recommendation of three noted sociologists belonging to any country he may, without being subjected to training, obtain admission to any desired place in the business department of the community.

Several departments of their own have been specially formed, capable of competing with those departments of the sovereign power that are employed for the suppression of revolution, after enquiries had been made and special experience gained about every procedure, place of business, and officers thereof. That is to say, in order to compete with the police, specially with the detective police, a body of revolutionary detectives has been formed, composed of particularly intelligent and businesslike men. There the number of revolutionary officers and that of Government spies are about equal. It would be no exaggeration to say that it is almost impossible to ascertain which of them will have turned or may turn a spy, under the inducement of obtaining reward from the master, and when. Many themselves form a revolutionary party, and get revolutionary work accomplished and then themselves betray the whole party; and, having obtained reward from the master, leave the country and flee to some convenient foreign land and pass the rest of their lives happily there. Induced by this prospect of obtaining reward, many a poor man afflicted all through life by poverty has adopted the hated occupation of a detective as the only means of earning a livelihood. The revolutionists are shadowed day and night by revolutionary detectives, just as they are shadowed by Government spies. In this work both parties are ready to give life and take life, and to bear all the many unbearable hardships of life. But the detective stories and nihilistic mysteries that we read appear extremely fanciful and unnatural in comparison with the above affair.

It would be no exaggeration to say that there does not appear to be any such word as confidence in their vocabulary (lit. among them).

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Workers deal with one another with this impression or suspicion constntly present in their minds, that even the most faithful, devoted, selfless and old worker may by a combination of circumstances become unfaithful and turn an enemy to the cause.

The keeping of secrets is as the life of the revolutionary party. The learning and practising of this constitutes the main element of training in secret revolutionary procedure. Unless extremely necessary, it is forbidden to pronounce any word relating to revolution. No member of any department but the propaganda or literary department engages in political discussion, criticism or conversation. For the decision of, or consultation on, any particular point, a number of members not exceeding ten assemble in meeting in accordance with the prescribed rules. Otherwise it is permissible to say anything only to that member of the party by its withholding from whom the interest of the party may suffer, and only so much on a subject by the withholding of which the work may suffer. Excepting the leader of the party, nothing, though comparatively less secret, is said, merely to satisfy curiosity or to afford pleasure, or because it is fit to be heard, even to a particularly faithful worker or to one granting pecuniary aid by the saying of which there is no immediate prospect of aid to the accomplishment of any special revolutionary work.

Unless extremely necessary, no worker ever gets an opportunity of knowing or hearing of another worker. If for the sake of business it becomes necessary for two workers to know each other or to meet, it is forbidden to ask or speak about any personal matter outside the business in view. If either of the two violate this rule, the other is bound to report it to the judicial department and have him punished. If one member hide the fault of another, he is awarded a penalty equal to that of a traitor. Everybody in Russia, be he a native of the country or a foreigner, has to keep a passport. It contains a statement of name, residence, and character. The police may inspect it at any time, and, if one fails to produce it he is at once arrested. For this reason every member of the revolutionary party keeps one or two passports under assumed names. One member of the party cannot see the genuine passport of another.

Nothing about the revolution is put in black and white. Where absolutely necessary it is written out in code. The name and address of any leading member of the party, in particular, is never put in black and white. Nay, even blotting paper is not used. The Government Postal Department is never trusted. There are arrangements for the transmission of letters by their own men. They never have their photographs taken from a fear of being marked. They form many styles of signature and handwriting.

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In Russia there is a department organized by very able men to read out the cyphers of the revolutionary party. Their work is very extraordinary. They can read very easily any ordinary cyphers. For instance, they have determined how many times is any particular letter used, on an average, in any particular language. On receipt of a letter written out in code they make out a list of the cyphers. According to the comparative frequency of any particular cypher they assume it to be a particular letter. It may not, of course, tally exactly. But if a part tally it is easy for them to decipher the rest. For example, the letter "e" is the oftenest used in the English language. Among the cyphers the one that most frequently occurs is assumed to be "e". In this way they make comparisons with every letter in a language. They decipher (letters) by the employment of many such devices and means.

If any letter be written in sympathetic ink they make it visible by some means or other, and in place of it forge another letter in the same kind of sympathetic ink and handwriting and send it to its proper destination. Thus there is nothing to arouse suspicion except a little delay in the transmission of the letter.

They can at once make an exact copy in similar ink and with a similar pen of any handwriting which they have seen but once. The process of opening envelopes so as to leave no trace is also known to them. They are also able to read even a completely new language. I have heard that those codes are the best under which a large number of different cyphers can be used for a single letter at pleasure, and which may be easily forged and which have not to be learnt by heart at a cost of trouble or which have not to be written out. In another letter several forms of cyphers are given. In fine, they write with the impression firmly fixed in their minds that whatever is once written is most likely to fall into the hands of the enemy.

The course which is to be adopted, and what is to be said and how, are taught specially to each beforehand according to the department and to the nature of such work. This is a principal lesson to be taught by the department for the teaching of revolutionary work. He who is arrested by the police is bound to do and say things without any regard to his own interests but with sole regard to the interests of the public cause. Any violation of this (rule) is punished by the community with severe penalty, and even with death.

If any revolutionist be arrested by the police while actually engaged in the doing of revolutionary work, then, as a rule, he does or says nothing that would show to what part of a country he belongs. In such cases they conceal their real names, addresses, and nationality and give imaginary

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names and addresses. Even if he may have had good proof that the police have arrested him with a full knowledge of everything about him, it is forbidden to him to utter a single word with his own lips. Only he among the revolutionists who has ordinarily the faculty of giving well thought out and cautious answers has permission to deceive the police by giving false names and addresses or by making false statements. Otherwise to the generality (of revolutionists) it is forbidden to open their lips when caught in the act. For whatever is said in such cases to exculpate oneself is not accepted by the police and does no good. Moreover, if the police get anything in the statements made by the accused person that is in the least advantageous to themselves they accept it. The fact of an arrested person giving no answers to questions put by the police or shutting one's mouth is in no way disadvantageous to his proving innocence. The police cannot in such cases compel (the arrested person) by any lawful means to answer questions. Besides, a human being is not omnipotent. Be a man ever so intelligent, if he falls into the hands of one more intelligent than himself, he unwillingly says many things against himself. If, however, instead of being caught in the act a man be arrested by the police on suspicion, he is then at liberty to give names and addresses as directed by the community beforehand.

Those revolutionists who are supposed to be incapable of enduring oppression have, with the approval of the community, always to keep arms fit for the commission of suicide or hold themselves always ready to commit suicide by poison. But Russians are remarkably capable of enduring oppression.

There are men of various religious persuasions in the Russian revolutionary party. There are strong religious differences between the Protestants, the Roman Catholics, the members of the Greek Church, the Jews, the Armenians, and the Mussalmans. There is also no union between the inhabitants of the different provinces of Russia. The Caucasians and the Poles have occupied the foremost place in revolutionary work. This want of union is an obstacle to the achievement of revolutionary aims. But there is gradually much progress even in this respect. Under the Russian law marriage between members of two different religious persuasions is forbidden. A strong endeavour is made to perpetuate differences between different religious persuasions by the employment of many such improper means. To the members of the revolutionary party it is forbidden to discuss or argue on religion, nationality or sect. Liberty, equality, and fraternity are their sole aim.

At first there were in their country many parties holding diverse views. Gradually they are coming under one (common) centre. They

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have a central association under which there are several provincial associations, each of which has under it several divisional associations, each of which latter has under it district, subdivisional and village associations. Each association is not to have more than from three to ten members. In the central association there are seven to nine members, and this number diminishes by degrees, so that the number admitted to a village association is three.

The central association is composed of nine persons. The members of this association are elected by the votes of the elected members of each provincial association. Thus the members of each association except the village association are elected by the association immediately under it, while the President and the Secretary are elected by the members of the Committee itself. The members of the village association are elected exclusively by the followers of the revolutionary principles in each quarter of the village or the town. But if any member, President or Secretary do anything that is unsatisfactory to the public, he may be deposed by votes. If it be (for) any specially secret reason, he is deposed with the approval of the central association.

Each association guides itself in obedience to the rules of the association immediately above it. For a petty fault every one from the President to an ordinary member is accused before the revolutionary tribunal by any member or members and are punished by jury trial. They have a Penal Code of their own like our Penal Code. The trial is only conducted by men versed in the revolutionary law of the type of pleaders and mukhtears. There are penalties and due provisions prescribed for each offence. Special care is taken to give practical effect to the penalty that is awarded. By a particular department of this tribunal the acts of particular individuals in the ranks of the enemy are also reviewed and penalty awarded, and strenuous efforts are made to carry it out to the letter.

As the punishment of death is awarded for capital offences like treachery on the part of (members of) the revolutionary party, so do those who display capital virtues like selflessness and fearlessness in the revolutionary cause establish prior claims to the office of President, and their relations received donations or monthly aid, are transferred or promoted to convenient place, or posts. As according to one's faults one is punished with different penalties, such as transfer to a bad place, degradation to an inferior post, suspension or dismissal, fine or employment in work involving hard bodily labour, so is one according to one's merits encouraged with reward, promotion and (mark of) honour.

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Revolutionary works are divided into the six following categories. In all associations, from the central one down to village ones, the remaining five works, excluding the sixth, are entrusted separately to (different) members. Where the number of members is in excess, the work of each department is entrusted to more than one member. Where the number of members is deficient, the work of more than one department is entrusted to a single member:

(1) **The legislative department:**—The function of this department is deliberation, legislation, dispensation of justice, administration, inspection and enquiry, appointment, transfer, dismissal, etc.

(2) **The propaganda department:**—The function of this department is to introduce among the public, openly or secretly, the following subjects for consideration, namely, the real distress of the country; its cause; a political revolution; its only cure (lit. preventive); the justice, usefulness, and necessity of a political revolution; a balancing of its advantages and disadvantages; madness in consequence of a longing for that happiness; man's consciousness of his own rights; the injustice and unnaturalness of man's domination over man; the duties of man; liberty, equality, and fraternity; every kind undesirable; democracy as sanctioned by socialism; its relative excellence; its procedure; its possibility for the country; the future progress and happiness of the country (to be expected) from it; the necessity, possibility and means of fighting the enemy of the country; future advantages and disadvantages of fighting, etc.

With a view to making these things subjects of consideration in the public mind, recourse has been mainly had to literature, music, and painting—literature, such as journals, secret leaflets, books, and pamphlets, conversation, discussion, etc.; music, such as songs, theatres, gramophones, etc.; painting, such as pictures, likenesses, magic lanterns, bioscopes, etc. With this object translations from many languages of books written by wise men have been collected, and reading rooms and libraries have been established at places. Very cheap editions of valuable books on the above subjects are brought out and sold. Books and pamphlets breathing the above sentiments are being published every day. Music and painting are specially fitted to kindle the above sentiments among the unlettered masses. The kindling of this sentiment among the public is one of the main objects of the revolutionary party. With that object songs and pictures calculated to kindle ever new sentiments are being published every day. Theatres and picture galleries have been

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established at places. Besides these, acts calculated to awaken the sympathy of the public are every day being done.

3. **The finance department:**—Well-off members of the associations, members of the party, and sympathizers pay subscriptions according to their means. Some income is also derived from trades, factories, and agricultural operations conducted with the capital of the revolutionary associations. But the major portion of the money is obtained by dacoity and by the imposition of a cess on the zamindars and (other) rich people. Money is also often obtained by forging receipts, cheques, drafts, etc., of unpopular banks, of businesses conducted by unpopular wealthy men, and of Government treasuries.

All accounts of the incomes of all associations from the central one down to village ones are submitted to the central association. With the approval of the central association, the moneys are very safely deposited at different places (country). Money is chiefly deposited with some foreign bank. It is kept in foreign countries from a fear that, if kept within the country, the enemy may come to know of it and rob the booty. An advance estimate of local expenditure is submitted to the central association for being laid before it. When approved by the central association, the money is paid to the district and lower associations from the district treasury. Associations higher than the district ones received money for such expenditure from the provincial treasury, while the central association receives it from its own treasury. Special precaution is adopted with regard to money. They have realized from long experience that public fund, though collected for a very good object and by great efforts, is generally misappropriated by some one among the managers. The management of this department is, therefore, entrusted to particularly trustworthy person, and (they) are changed from time to time. Severe penalties are prescribed for light offences committed by men in this department. Detectives are employed by the association to detect improper expenditure and embezzlement.

There are several rules relating to expenditure according to which money is credited and debited. If the money collected by local associations do not exceed a prescribed amount, half of it may be spent at the pleasure of the local association. If the money obtained by dacoity be within the prescribed amount, a prescribed portion of it is spent at the pleasure of the gang of dacoits. Thus in regard to trades, etc., also they guide themselves in obedience to rules. The Russian revolutionary party is greatly in want of money. The country is very poor one. Unless extremely necessary, no member is aided with money for his own

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maintenance. Every one defrays his own expenses as best he may by labouring and, besides, aids the association to the best of his means. In the course of a conversation with a leading worker I asked him how it was that, though such an important and able worker, he yet passed his days in such distress. He replied, "The cause of my country and association is in still greater distress for want of money. If we have taken the serving of our great common cause as the sole object of our lives, and if we have taken that to be our one duty in life, we ought not take a single farthing for ourselves from such a poor association. Rather we should try to give as much as we can. You are so much surprised at seeing me, probably because your country has not yet become alive to the duty of achieving the end in such a spirit. But the great bulk of our people are dutiful in that respect, and that is why we do not so much wonder at it. We think that we have the right to spend only so much for ourselves as the poorest man in our country obtains to defray his own expenses. If we spend more, we feel that we are doing something wrong." Saying this, he referred to the chronic semi-starvation of a third of the population of our India, and put me really to shame. Before that I was proud of the thought that I had not come to do the work of my country at my country's expense, and that I was defraying my expenses out of money earned by myself.

4. **Terroristic department:**—This department is the main organ of the revolution. It is divided into two sections—(1) a deliberative and (2) an executive section. The deliberative section is divided into two branches—(a) conspiring, (b) detective. The executive section also is divided into two branches—assassins and assailants, and preparers of means of assassination and terrorism.

The function of this department is to kill or otherwise punish unpopular Government officers, policemen or detectives hampering or shadowing revolutionary work, traitors to the country that are unpopular, obstructive of revolutionary work or refractory members treacherous and disobedient to the revolutionary party; to commit dacoities; to procure arms from Government arsenals; to manufacture arms, explosives and other deadly things; to conduct secret presses; to act as spies on the police; to take service or employment in disguise at various places; to forge receipts, cheques, drafts, etc.; to realize cess, etc.

This department works quite independently of other departments. The members of the department remain in disguise at every important place; the members of other departments can know nothing of the members of this department, nay, unless extremely necessary, one

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member of this department gets no opportunities of knowing another member. A trustworthy but comparatively inefficient members of this body is appointed its ostensible head, the real head of the department screens himself behind him and does the work. The former person is generally caught and sentenced to death. In many instance such bogus leaders are selected by the casting of lots. The whole work of this department is vested in an itinerant band. It has branches at many places, and every member follows ostensibly some occupation or other.

The main object of this department is to exasperate the royalists and through them to bring down terrible oppression by the ruling authorities on the sleeping population of the country, and thereby make known to the people of the country their own miserable condition, to proclaim the dignity of strength, to punish royalist rich man, zamindars, officers, etc., who are unwilling to pay cesses and to apply remedies to the diseases of treachery and hostility to the motherland, etc.

Some members of this department enter in disguise various places of business of Government (lit. royal party), and gather information with a view to the furtherance of present and future work.

5. **Department for special training:**—The function of this department is to teach and exercise in the process of manufacturing explosives, arms and other revolutionary things, and to conduct trades, factories, etc.
6. **Foreign department:** — The function of this department is to devise means for the clandestine import of arms; to establish in foreign countries arsenals at the cost of one's own country for the manufacture of arms (there) by one's own countrymen; to learn the art of warfare, etc., and to establish schools at the cost of one's own country to teach that art; to deliver speeches, write in newspapers, and interview prominent men with a view to gaining the sympathy of foreign nations; to establish safe routes and asylums for refugees from the country, and to conduct presses, etc.

Eminently intelligent and thoroughly selfless men of an adult age and worldly experience have been and are being sent on these errands.

J. E. Armstrong,
Superintendent of Police,
on Special Duty.

Calcutta:
The 25th April 1917

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An Account of the Revolutionary Organization in Eastern Bengal with special reference to the Dacca Anushilan Samiti

PART III

Volume II

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Serial No. 22

An account of the revolutionary organization in Eastern Bengal with special reference to the Dacca Anushilan Samiti.

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An account of the revolutionary organization in Eastern Bengal with special reference to the Dacca Anushilan Samiti

Part III

The proscription of the Samiti

It has been questioned whether the suppression of the Dacca Anushilan and the several other Samitis in 1908 and 1909, both in Eastern and Western Bengal, has not brought about a greater evil in the form of secret societies, for the associations were not really broken up but merely driven underground, and in their new shape have been the more difficult to control.

This contention however, is fallacious, for it assumes that the Samitis were essentially open organisations, whereas, as a matter of fact, it was in their esoteric aspect their danger and true significance really lay. As has been indicated in the introduction to this note, the source from which the Samitis sprang, was essentially a secret revolutionary society, and it has been shown that it had its counterpart in the Samitis themselves, for beneath the "volunteering" and philanthropy, the lathi-play and physical culture, there was always present the real and secret object of revolution, to further which all these visible activities were specially designed. The continuance of these Samitis as open organizations, therefore, while not retarding the secret propaganda in the slightest degree, would only have conferred on the revolutionaries the incalculable advantage of being able to spread their doctrines far and wide and in quarters to which access might otherwise be difficult. On the other hand, the only possible benefit to the administration, in permitting things to take their course, might have been a more effective surveillance, provided the revolutionary character of the movement had been completely unmasked : but if it had continued hidden, it is obvious the revolutionists would have had the advantage, and would have achieved more fully their object of spreading sedition and enlisting public sympathy, the real purpose of these organizations, than they had succeeded in doing when Government decided to act and summarily closed down their open activities.

In these circumstances, the suppression of the Samitis was undoubtedly most wise, and has had the very important effect of greatly limiting the extent of the mischief. It is true there is scarce any portion

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of the province that is quite free from the attentions of the revolutionary "organizer," but where Pulin could secure at one visit the adhesion of an entire school to his cause, the "organizer" has to content himself with a few recruits, and the movement has been entirely deprived of the pomp and glamor which Pulin employed to such great advantage.

We may now resume the recital of the Samiti's crimes, which in Part I of this note, has been carried up to the point when, in December 1908, the Dacca Anushilan was proscribed and ceased ostensibly to exist.

1909

It is difficult to say precisely how the Dacca Anushilan set about reorganizing its constitution, but so much is clear that within six months it had so far recovered from the heavy blows dealt it in December 1908, as to feel strong enough to commit the murder of Preo Nath Chatarji at Fatenjangpur in the Faridpur district on the 3rd of June. This murder, carried out in the most bold and brutal fashion imaginable, not only proclaimed the continued and vigorous existence of the Samiti, but very forcibly demonstrated to possible waverers and backsliders the power of the Samiti and that its ability to punish traitors was by no means impaired.

Reference has already been made, in Part I of this note, to the Sonarang National School. It was established by Makhan Lan Sen in 1908 and continued to be a revolutionary centre till 1911, turning out some of the most dangerous revolutionists we have yet had and providing a base of operations for the commission of the series of dacoities in 1910-11.

Makhan Lal Sen is an interesting character among the revolutionaries and one of the most dangerous. Like Upendra Nath Banarji of the Jugantar gang, who when questioned by Mr. Tegart in 1913 in the Andamans, admitted that he recognised that their programme was wrong, or at any rate premature, and they ought to have started by educating the masses and creating a craving for self-government, Makhan Lal Sen also seems to realize that violence in itself is futile, though to be pressed into service if on occasions absolutely necessary, as when he countenanced, and actively assisted with his advice, the seveal dacoities committed from the Sonarang National School. We have seen the part he played in the Burdwan flood relief works, and he is generally a great advocate of "philanthropy," religion, and mass education, believing that in this direction lies the best hope of the nation's regeneration — "the creation of a nation of men fit for independence and able to secure and keep it," as he wrote in a leaflet entitled "Loyalty and the Ambulance Corps," in which he adversely criticises the whole policy

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of raising a Bengali ambulance corps and its uselessness as a training for real fighting.

On Pulin's deportation and the proscription of the Samiti, the whole organization was naturally thrown out of gear and took some little time to adjust itself to the altered conditions. At this time the "organization" and "violence" sections cannot be said to have existed as distinct branches of the organization, for Pulin saw to everything himself and the commission of dacoities had only recently been adopted as a definite policy. The system of departments was developed as the Samiti settled down to the role of an essentially secret society, and was perfected when Pulin returned in February 1910 and overhauled the working of the Samiti and drew up the "District Organization Scheme" and the "Rules for Membership". With Pulin's removal in December 1908 and the breaking up of the "Abode of the Thunderers," Pulin's lieutenant, Ashutosh Das, finding himself in difficulties, turned to Makhan Lal Sen at the Sonarang National School as the man best fitted to guide the affairs of the Samiti; moreover, the "National School" in itself was a valuable asset, as it offered an asylum and a rallying point where the revolutionaries could assemble for ostensible legitimate purposes. It is said that Makhan Sen was now, about April 1909, placed at the head of the Samiti in, as far as can be gathered, an advisory capacity, and this position of the wise man of the Samiti he seems to have retained till early in 1911, when he had a difference with Narendra Sen, the leader of the Violence party, and came to Calcutta, where he continued to remain in close touch with the most dangerous elements of the revolutionary society.

An Executive Committee, we are told, was formed, which included amongst it members Narendra Sen, Paritosh Ray, and Madan Bhaumik. Ashutosh Das must, of course, have necessarily been member, for he had occupied the position of second-in-command to Pulin. There seems very little doubt, however, that Naren Sen was the most forceful character of the lot and very soon established an ascendancy which he retained till his final arrest in Greer Park, Calcutta, in November 1914. He became the leader of the Violence party and it was as a protest against his reckless methods that Makhan Lal Sen severed his direct connection with the Samiti and applied himself to "philanthropic" work which he considers to be more fruitful in the long run. It is said that during Naren Sen's leadership the membership of the Samiti was greatly increased, and this is probably true.

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1. **The Murder of Priya Mohan Chatarji on 3rd June 1909, at Fatehjangpur in the Faridpur district**

The murdered man's brother, Gabesh Chandra Chatarji (vide page 25 Part I), had given valuable information regarding the Samiti and certain of its crimes, and it was the intention of the assassins to murder Gabesh. It was feared Gabesh's life might be attempted and he was provided with a guard of two constables. He had left for Dacca on the 2nd, but this fact was apparently unknown to the assassins who mistook his brother for him and murdered him most brautally, shooting and stabbing him before the very eyes of his mother, who made a gallant fight to protect and save her son. One Surendra Chandra Ghosh was committed for trial to the Sessions Court, but was acquitted.

We now know beyond doubt that Surendra Ghosh was actually one of the assassins and that the leader in this dastardly crime was Ashutosh Das, Pulin's lieutenant.

2. **The dacoity at Baktabali, Narayanganj, Dacca on 22nd July 1909**

There "nautch" girls from Narayanganj were hired by three Bengalis to give a nautch in the Mushiganj subdivision. When crossing the river they were followed by another boat, the occupants of which boarded the first boat and attacked and robbed the dancing girls of their jewellery valued at Rs. 900. No clue was obtained at the time, but we have since received the most circumstantial account which places it beyond all doubt that the dacoity was committed by members of the Narayanganj branch of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, in order to obtain money for the central Samity which was at this time badly in need of funds. The dancing girls were decoyed on to the river and plundered as has been stated. It is interesting to note that the premises of the Library Association at Narayanganj were used as the rendezvous.

3. **The Narayanganj Stabbing Case, 30th August 1909**

A Muhammadan named Waded Ali was deliberately set upon by a party of some eight young Bengalis and severely wounded, receiving three stab wounds. At a circus on the 25th August these same young Bengalis had assaulted a Muhammadan boy and Wahed Ali had on that occasion taken the part of the boy and hustled one of the Bengali youths; the attack made on him five days later was in revenge for this. Eight men were sent up for trial and five convicted. They were members of the Dacca Anushilan, and although the incident was without "political" significance, it is noteworthy as indicating the spirit of lawlessness and disregard for life which has always been characteristic of the Samiti.

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4. The Rajendrapur train dacoity 11th October 1909

Three persons left Narayanganj by train for Kharaid, with Rs. 23,000 in seven bags. At Dacca seven or eight youths entered the next compartment, and shortly after the train left Rajendrapur, they climbed into the next compartment and attacked the men in charge of the treasure. One of the men escaped through the window, but the other two were shot and stabbed to death. The assassins threw the money bags out and then jumped out themselves and succeeded in carrying away most of the treasure. Six persons were sent up for trial, but only one, Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta, a member of the Dacca Samiti, was convicted and sentenced to transportation.

This dacoity was held, by the Sessions Judge trying the Dacca conspiracy case, to be one of the overt acts of the Dacca Anushilan, but this view was not accepted by the High Court when the Dacca conspiracy case went up on appeal.

The "Sadhana Sampraday" of Mymensingh and the Mymensingh branch of the Dacca Anushilan had temporarily amalgamated and committed this dacoity. We are in possession of the most circumstantial details of the occurrence and this crime may fairly be ascribed to the Dacca Anushilan, acting jointly, of course, as has been stated, with the "Sadhana Sampraday" of Mymensingh.

5. Dacoity at Dariapur in the Faridpur district, 16th October 1909

The house of one Mon Mohan Mitra was attacked by a gang of bhadralog dacoits and property to the value of over Rs. 2,600 carried away. The men were armed with revolvers and daggers, they wore masks and came provided with steel hammers and bottle torches. The Sessions Judge trying the Dacca conspiracy case held that this was one of the overt acts of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. It is now definitely known that the dacoity was committed by members of the Dacca Samiti. Ashutosh Das Gupta, Sarada Chakravarti, Nishi Mitra, and others, are said to have taken part in it.

6. The Rajnagar dacoity, 10th November 1909

The house of some money lending Shahas of Rajnagar, in the Dacca district, was attacked by a gang of some 25 or 30 Bengalis of the "bhadralog" class and ornaments and cash to the value of over Rs. 27,000 carried away. The dacoits also attempted to set fire to a thatched house, and in their retreat burnt down the mart huts in the bazar. The case remained undetected, but we now know it was the work of the Dacca Anushilan, and are in possession of the fullest details.

This was the first of the dacoities planned at and committed from the Sonarang National School, the reason of it being the immediate

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necessity for raising funds for the school. Our informant, who actively participated in the dacoity, has described the state of affairs at the school at this time as follows : "I went to the Sonarang School in July or August as a Bengali teacher. We found we hadn't any funds to carry on and were actually short of funds. Makhan could not help us with money, so we came and saw Makhan and said without an 'action' the members would starve. Makhan gave a very reluctant assent after much discussion. We began to make preparations for a dacoity before the Pujas." That Makhan Sen took an active part in the preliminary arrangements for the commission of the dacoity is made clear from further particulars furnished by this deponent. Moreover, we are told that the arms in possession of the central Samiti were made over to Makhan Sen's custody when he assumed the leadership and when we learn further that the dacoits carried a number of weapons on this occasion, Makhan Sen's active complicity in the dacoity is very clear. The following extract from our informant's statement is instructive as showing that the Samiti was well provided with arms : "I do not recollect what each carried but Sashada had a revolver, Sishir Ghosh was on the main guard and had a rifle, Priyanath and Chandra Sekhar were boat guards, the former had a rifle and the latter a revolver, other rifles and revolvers were carried. I had a sword and a bottle torch." We are told a boat was specially purchased for the commission of the dacoity at a cost of Rs. 130. Naren Sen was the leader on this occasion.

7. The Malkhanagar murders 16th November 1909

On the night of the 15th November 1909 or early on the morning of the 16th, the post master of an isolated village near Malkhanagar in the Dacca district and his peon wee both murdered, apparently with the object of robbery of the post office cash chest.

The case remained undetected. Having regard, however, to the fact that there was a branch Samiti at Malkhanagar, which Pulin himself had visited and the influence of the Dacca Anushilan must consequently have been very strong in the locality, and further that Dhirendra Sen of Madhyapara, a prominent member of the Dacca Samiti was strongly suspected, it seems morally certain the Dacca Anushilan were responsible and this may firmly be included amongst their crimes.

8. The Mohanpur dacoity in the Tipper district, 11th December 1909

The Dashani Bazar was attacked by a large number of dacoits : we have since been told they were 31st in number - armed with guns and revolvers, shops were entered, iron chests were broken open and rifled,

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and cash and ornaments to the value of over Rs. 16,000 carried away, and the shops burnt down, The case remained undetected. We are now in possession of full particulars of the dacoity and the names of the men who took part. Sihir Ghosh was leader on this occasion.

9. An attempted dacoity at Niklidhanpara in the Kishoreganj subdivision of the Mymensingh district, during the jute season in the rains of 1909 and just before the Rajendrapur train dacoity

Evidence regarding this attempted dacoity was produced in the course of the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case in 1915. We have received detailed particulars of the arrangements made to commit this dacoity and the plan only miscarried because the men failed to locate the boat carrying the cash remittance which it was intended to loot.

10. The Agartala incident, November 1909

The facts are briefly as follows — About the end of November 1909 Sir Lancelot Hare, Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, went to Agartala in Hill Tipper to preside at the installation ceremony of the young Raja of Hill Tippera. Three very prominent members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti were found at Agartala at this time under most suspicious circumstances. They were disguised as Sadhus, gave false names and could not give a satisfactory account of their presence there. They were prosecuted under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and later stood their trial in the Dacca conspiracy case, Ashutosh Das Gupta (Pulin's lieutenant) being sentenced to six years' transportation, Santipada Mukharji to three years' rigorous imprisonment and Dinesh Chandra Guha to ten years' rigorous imprisonment, but the last named was acquitted when the case went up on appeal to the High Court.

Discussing this incident in his judgment in the Dacca conspiracy case, the Sessions Judge came to the following conclusion : "It is perfectly true, as Mr. Das has pointed out, that no arms were found on them, but weapons are not difficult to obtain on such an occasion, and I cannot but agree that the presence of these accused under the circumstances proved has a most sinister significance, and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that they went to Agartala in pursuance of some design against the Lieutenant-Governor."

11. The murder of Amarendra alias Mantu, a boy aged 17 or 18 years

We are told by Priya Nath Acharji, whose statement has been found so thoroughly reliable, that a youth of this name was condemned to death

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by the Samiti because he had misappropriated Samiti money, and was accordingly taken out on the river and done away with. This was after Pulin's deportation and presumably during 1909. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the statement made, and this may fairly be regarded as one of the secret crimes of the Samiti.

1910

The return of Pulin Das and the Dacca Conspiracy Case

Pulin Behari Das had been a State prisoner for a little over a year. He was now released and was back again in Dacca on the 13th February 1910. There was no particular demonstration at Dacca in his honour, but at Narayanganj he was met at the railway station by a number of students and others, garlanded with red flowers, and the assembled company "took dust off his feet." Quite evidently, therefore, Pulin was till the "Satguru," with his influence, if anything, enhanced by the added glory of martyrdom.

He returned to his residence in South Maisundi and was soon surrounded by his old followers. Within a week of his arrival, Constable Rati Lal Ray, who had been deputed to watch Pulin's house, was assaulted by a youth named Manikya Chandra Guha and warned that he would share the fate of Sukumar (alias Manasha Chakravarti who, as has been related, was murdered in November 1908) and Shams-ul-Alam, the police officer assassinated in Calcutta in the High Court, and the assault and warning were repeated the following night, but on this occasion the constable was carrying a walking stick and in self-defense used it on his assailant. This was a small incident, but it clearly indicated the temper of the Samiti and the immediate effect of Pulin's presence. Rati Lal Ray survived this threat, but finally fell a victim to the revolutionaries being shot dead in the streets of Dacca in September 1912.

Information was also received that recruiting for the Samiti had again begun. But doubtless realizing that in a town like Dacca he could not expect to evade police surveillance and that it was necessary to take counsel with the leaders of the revolutionary movement in Calcutta in order to reorganize the Dacca Anushilan in its new character of an essentially secret society, Pulin left for Calcutta on the 9th March and put up at No. 123-2, Amherst Street - the Dacca mess, a house which had already come under suspicion. He spent the next three months in Calcutta, remaining in close communication with the leading revolutionaries, such as P. Miter and others, but at the same time keeping in touch, as we have seen, with his followers in Eastern Bengal.

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Pulin now again controlled the entire affairs of the Samiti and energetically applied himself to re-organizing it on lines appropriate to its new role. In the few months he was free, he certainly did his work well and succeeded in giving the organization a direction and stimulus which ensured its vigorous growth as a secret society.

From this time onwards the Dacca Samiti has always been strongly represented in Calcutta, which in fact has come to be a headquarters centre equal in importance to the parent Samiti at Dacca itself, and at the present time perhaps even more important. In addition to the many advantages offered by Calcutta from the revolutionists' point of view, it is evidently recognized by the leaders of the Dacca Anushilan that the closest co-operation with the revolutionary leaders in Calcutta is essential, both in the interests of the Samiti and the common cause.

In March 1910 there was an informal meeting at the "Bengalee" office at which a proposal was formulated by Babu Surendra Nath Banarji to hold a monster meeting in College Square to which all the released deportees would be invited and a reception accorded them by Calcutta agitators and the youths of Bengal. Pulin, amongst others, was duly informed, and his arrival about this date was apparently in response to this invitation, but the idea was abandoned as it was thought it would lead to West Bengal being proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act, and some of the deportees had personal reasons for not wishing to come into greater prominence.

Early in June Pulin went to Faridpur where he met Ambika Charan Mazumdar (President of the National Congress of 1916 and "Home Ruler") and other prominent persons. Pulin was keenly interested int he trial, then gong on, of Surendra Chandra Ghosh for the murder of Priya Mohan Chatarji, and his visit to Faridpur and meeting Ambica Charan Mazumdar was doubtless directly in connection with this case.

Pulin was back again in Calcutta by the end of June and was seen associating with P. Miter. On the 27th July he went to Dacca, and was here arrested early in August and, with 44 others, placed on trial in what was known as the Dacca conspiracy case.

As a result of the examination of the mass of documents, etc., seized at the search in November 1908, the true character of the Samiti had now been fully revealed. It was also evident fron the crimes since committed that its proscription in December 1908 had by no means broken up the organization, but that it continued vigorous and active. In these circumstances, the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam decided to take action under section 121A, Indian Penal Code, and the Dacca conspiracy case was launched in August 1910. Out of 55 persons whose

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prosecution was sanctioned, 45 were arrested and placed on trial befoe a special Magistrate, who discharged one and committee 44 for trial by the Court of Sessions. No less than 302 witnesses were produced on behalf of the prosecution, their examination alone occupying 73 full sittings of the Sessions Court, and the exhibits filed were some 1,700 in number. The trial, in the lower and Sessions Courts, lasted a year. In the result 36 persons were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and transportation. On appeal to the High Court, the conviction of 22 persons was set aside and the sentences of the remaining 14 persons very considerably modified. Pulin Das and his two lieutenants, Ashutosh Das Gupta and Jyotirmay Ray, had each been sentenced to transportation for life, but Pulin's sentence was now reduced to seven years' transportation and the other two were sentenced to six years' transportation each.

The released of so large a number of some of the most desperate revolutionaries in Bengal was certainly unfortunate and its direct effect on the growth and activities of the Dacca Anushilan cannot be doubted.

1. **Dacoity at Mahanganj in the Bakarganj district, 4th March 1910**

About 20 armed men of the bhadralog class entered the shop of a cloth merchant and moneylender and carried away ornaments, cash and bonds to the value of over Rs. 1,400. The case remained undetected, but we are now told that it was committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan and that Ashutosh Das Gupta, Pulin's lieutenant, was concerned in it.

2. **The attempted murder of Inspector Sarat Chandra Ghosh, of the Criminal Investigation Department, at Dacca, 1st September 1910**

While the Inspector was returning home between 9 and 10 P.M., he was attacked by two men armed with revolvers. The first man fired hitting the Inspector in the left arm, the Inspector then closed with him and the second man then fired inflicting a wound in the Inspector's back, a third shot grazed his left shoulder. The Inspector identified his assailants as Nripendra Chandra Chakrabarti and Hiranya Kumar Gupta, both prominent members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti; they were sent up for trial, but were acquitted. Inspector Sarat Chandra Ghosh had conducted several enquiries in connection with the Dacca Anushilan and was a witness in the Dacca conspiracy case the trial of which was then proceeding. There can be no doubt his life was attempted both in order to get him out of the way and to intimidate other witnesses and police offcrs.

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3. The Munshiganj Bomb Case, 5th September 1910

On information received that Lalit Chandra Chaudhuri and others were making preparations to commit a dacoity, the Superintendent of Police, Dacca, searched Lalit Chaudhuri's house at Routhbhog in the Munshiganj subdivision of the Dacca district and found eleven bombs, a bomb formula, a cipher code, four torches, four swords, a list of persons showing their disposition in the dacoity to be committed, and three plans. Three persons were sent up for trial under section 4 (b), Act VI of 1908 (Explosive Substances Act); two were acquitted, and the third, Lalit Chandra Chaudhuri, was convicted and sentenced to ten years' transportation. It was held by the Sessions Judge trying the Dacca conspiracy case that Lalit Chandra Chaudhuri was a member of the Dacca Anushilan and that the bombs found in his house were also connected with the Samiti.

Dacoities committed from the Sonarang National School

The next six dacoities, and the attempted dacoity near Kedarpur, were planned at the Sonarang National School, which was used as a base of operations. Naren sen was the leading spirit, but Makhan Lal Sen was perfectly cognisant of what was going on and took an active interest until after the Goadia dacoity when he seems to have broken of relations with Naren Sen and gone away to Calcutta.

In addition to the necessity of raising funds for their own maintenance at the Sonarang National School, it was imperatively necessary to obtain money for the defence of Pulin and the other 44 Samiti members on their trial in the Dacca conspiracy case. The proceeds of the six dacoities committed during the six months 30th September 1910 to 31st March 1911, amounting to over Rs. 78,000, must have gone far towards paying lawyers' fees and at the same time keeping the Samiti in funds. We are told by a most reliable deponent : "The loot was expended in the Dacca conspiracy case and for the maintenance of the Sonarang Boarding. Pleaders Srish Chatarji and Sashanka Basu knew full well that the money provided for the defence was the proceeds of dacoities. I have seen Naren Sen giving Srish Chatarji lumps of melted gold for C. R. Das's fees. C. R. Das also knew how the fees were obtained. The rates we realized for melted gold were Rs. 16 per tola (Kancha Sona), guinea gold Rs. 18 per tola and best gold, Rs. 20 per tola."

It may be mentioned here that most of the dacoities enumerated below, down to the Nangalband dacoity in November 1912, were held by the Sessions Judge trying the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case,

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and again by the High Court when the case went up on appeal, to be overt acts of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti.

4. An attempt to commit a dacoity near Kedarpur in Mymensingh, September 1910

This dacoity was carefully planned and the preparations were actually carried out, but owing to a miscalculation as to the depth of water, the "delivery" boat carrying the arms and ammunition, failed to arrive at the appointed place, and the commission of the dacoity had to be abandoned. About 30 persons were to have taken part including batches of men from Sonarang, Calcutta and other places. Naren Sen is said to have brought up the men from Calcutta; this is noteworthy as showing that the Dacca Anushilan had by now established a powerful stronghold in Calcutta, on which it could indent, not only for arms and ammunition, but also for men.

In this attempt and the several other dacoities which were now committed, we find some of the most dangerous revolutionaries taking part, such as Trailakhya Chakravarti, Jogendra Bhattacharji, Jatindra Ray, Amrita Lal Hazra alias Sasanka, Biren Chatarji, Krista Lal Saha, and many others, all later to come into such great prominence in the history of the Samiti.

5. The Haldia Hat dacoity with murder in the Dacca district, 30th September 1910

The hat at haldia was attacked and plundered, at the close of a market day, by a gang of about 30 to 35 armed men. Throw down bombs were used to frighten away the shopkeepers, five persons were wounded, a boatman whose boat obstructed the channel through which the dacoits were escaping, was shot dead, and cash and ornaments to the value of Rs. 1,500 looted. The case remained undetected, but we are now in possession of the fullest details of the occurrence. The dacoity was planned at Sonarang by Nagendra Lal Sarkar and carried through by Naren Sen.

6. The Kalargaon dacoity in the Faridpur district, 7th November 1910

The dacoity was committed in the house of one Ishar Pal; seven safes were broken open and cash and ornaments to the value of nearly Rs. 13,000 carried away. No clue was obtained at the time. We now know the dacoity was planned at Sonarang by Girindar Bhattacharji, that over 30 men took part under the leadership of Naren Sen, and that some men were brought up from Calcutta for the occasion.

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7. **The Dadpur dacoity in the Bakarganj district, 30th November 1910**

The house of Durga Mohan Chaudhuri was attacked and property and cash to the value of over Rs. 49,000 carried away. The case remained undetected.

Priya Nath Acharji has stated that it was proposed to commit this dacoity while the Mymensingh branch of the Dacca Samiti and the Sadhana Sampraday were amalgamated, but the idea was given up because of the great distance from Mymensingh. There was now an urgent demand for money and as no other plan was ready Naren Sen asked for suggestions and accepted this proposal now again put forward by Priya Nath Acharji and his cousin Ramesh. The persons who had committed the Kalargaon dacoity also took part in the Dadpur dacoity with the addition of two other members.

1911

1. **Sonarang Postal peon assault case**

In January 1911 the masters and students of the Sonarang School were charged with assaulting and robbing a postal peon. Some fourteen of them were arrested and in the end two of the masters and five students were convicted and sentenced to short terms of imprisonment or fine. But while some of them were still under arrest and detained in jail, pending trial, the Pandishahar dacoity was committed. The men who were detained in jail in connection with the assault case were now released on bail, and it is interesting to note that so little were they affected by the terrors of the law, that they helped in committing the Goadia dacoity, nine miles from Sonarang, on one of the days fixed for the hearing of the postal peon's case at Munshiganj.

2. **The Panditshahar dacoity in the Faridpur district, 5th February 1911**

The house of one Chandra Kumar Pal was attacked and cash and jewellery to the value of over Rs. 6,000 carried away. Two men were strongly suspected but the evidence was insufficient. It is now known the dacoity was planned by Girindra Bhattacharji and carried out by Naren Sen. The latter had been arrested in the postal peon assault case but was released on bail and committed the dacoity during this time.

3. **The Goadia dacoity in the Dacca district, 20th February 1911**

Cash and ornaments to the value of nearly Rs. 7,500 were looted from the house of one Mohini Banarji. No clue whatsoever was obtained at the time. But we now know, as has been indicated, the dacoity was

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committed from the Sanarang National School. The dacoity was planned by Nagendra Lal Sarkar alias Chikan Dacca. The party consisted of some twenty men. In order to avoid suspicion it was arranged the dacoity should be committed on of the days on which the hearing of the postal peon assault case was taken up at Munshiganj and that the men on trial in this case should not take part in the dacoity, but as the Court rose early some of the men under trial actually took part in the dacoity.

About this time Makhan Lal Sen fell out with Naren Sen and went away to Calcutta.

4. **The Suakir dacoity in the Mymenesingh district, 31st March 1911**

The house of one Nanda Kumar Pal was attacked and gold and silver ornaments to the value of Rs. 1,200 were looted. Some twenty men took part in this dacoity, and when retreating five of their number were arrested on suspicion by a chowkidar patrol party, but four of them managed to escape while being taken to the police-station; the fifth was sent up for trial, but was acquitted. As we now know, these men were rightly arrested and the man sent up for trial was undoubtedly guilty. About twenty men in all took part in the dacoity and the proceeds were made over to Naren Sen.

This was the last of the dacoities committed from the Sonarang National School, which now broke up, and its members dispersed.

5. **The Rauthbhog murder in the Dacca district, 10th April 1911**

About midnight on the 10th April two persons entered the house of Mon Mohan De and shot him dead. This man was a witness in the Dacca conspiracy case as well as in the case against Lalit Chaudhuri who was convicted under the Explosive Substances Act in 1910 and sentenced to ten years' transportation. The case remained undetected. We now know the murder was committed by Rajendra Datta alias Sashadhar alias Kiran, and two others, acting under the orders of Naren Sen.

6. **The dacoity at Charsara in the Mymensing district, 30th April 1911**

About 25 to 30 armed men of the bhadralog class entered the house of one Abu Shaikh, broken open a wooden chest, and carried away Rs. 2,000 in cash and ornaments to the value of Rs. 146. This dacoity is believed to have been committed by the Dacca Anushilan.

7. **The Madarganj reconnoitering incident, 6th June 1911.**

This is but one of the many similar reconnoitering expeditions sent out by the Dacca Anushilan of which we have information and which failed to materialize as dacoities. It is only mentioned here as it resulted

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in the men being arrested and prosecuted under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and in the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case it was held to be one of the overt acts of the Samiti. It has already been stated that the school and hostel at Sonarang were closed soon after the Suakir dacoity and the members dispersed. Ramesh Acharji and Jogendra Charavarti had returned to Mymensingh and set out from there to prospect the house of a rich Muhammadan, Fazil Haji, living at Madarganj in the Mymensingh district. They were, however, arrested at Madarganj, together with Rabindra Sen whom they had picked up on the way, and all three were prosecuted under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code.

8. The murder of Sub-Inspector Raj Kumar Ray at Mymensingh, 18th June 1911

On the night of the 18th June at about 8 P.M., when returning to his quarters from the Police Court at Mymensingh, Sub-Inspector Raj Kumar Ray, of the Criminal Investigation Department, was shot dead. The assassins followed him up and shot him at close quarters. There were five bullet wounds in the back, death being instantaneous. The case remained undetected and no clue could be obtained. We now know that the murder was committed by the Dacca Anushilan and the actual assassin was Girindra Bhattacharji, a leading member of the Dacca Anushilan. Girindra Bhattacharji insisted on shooting the Sub-Inspector himself as he owed him a grudge for his having arrested him in the Suakir dacoity.

9. The Sonarang murders in the Dacca district, 11th July 1911

On the night of the 11th July one Rasul Dewan, his brother, and Kali Binode Chakravarti were attacked in their house by some unknown persons. Rasul Dewan was shot dead, his brother, seriously wounded, died after a few hours, and Kali Chakravarti, who was stabbed in several places, succumbed to his injuries two days later. These men had been assisting the police with information and this was undoubtedly the reason of their being murdered. The case remained undetected. We have since been told the murders were committed under orders of Naren Sen and that the assassins were Hari Lal Mazumdar, Lalit Mohan Barari, Rajendra Datta alias Sasadhar alias Kiran, and probably Sarada Chakravarti.

10. The dacoity at Sarchar in the Mymensingh district, 27th July 1911

About ten young men of the bhadralog class, armed with revolvers and guns, broke into the house of Bhagwan Chandra Bhura, and carried away money and clothes. When the dacoits were retreating the villagers

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assembled and managed to capture one of the party. Several other arrests were made, but owning to insufficient evidence only the captured dacoit was convicted. This dacoity was undoubtedly arranged and carried out by the Dacca Anushilan.

11. The dacoity at Singhair in the Dacca district, 5th September 1911

The bazar at Singhair was attacked by a party of about 20 armed men who divided up into two parties, and while one raided the jute offices where money was being paid out at the time, the other party attacked the post office, rifled the cash chest and damaged the telegraph instruments. Cash to the value of Rs. 8,500 was carried away. The case remained undetected, but we now have the fullest particulars regarding it. The dacoity was arranged by Rajendra Datta alias Sasadhar alias Kiran, and amongst others who took part were Aditya alias Nishi Datta, Ram Das, Nayan Ranjan Bose, Amrita Sarkar, Suresh Samaddar, and Anukul Chakravarti. The money, we are told, was required for the expenses of the defence int he Dacca conspiracy case, and was taken to Dacca and made over to Naren Sen.

12. Attempts to murder Hemendra and Nagendra Ray

Towards the end of 1911 two attempts appear to have been made to murder the two brothers Hemendra and Nagendra Ray who had given evidence for the prosecution in the Dacca conspiracy case. Four men, including Birendra Chatarji and Trailakhya Chakravarti, set out to commit the murder and only desisted because they found Nagendra Ray alone, whereas it was their intention to murder both brothers at the same time. On another occasion a party including Naren sen, Pratul Ganguli, Trailakhya Chakravarti, Birendra Chatarji, and others, actually went to the house in which Hemendra and Nagendra were living, but abandoned the project because one of their number, Sashadhar alias Kiran, had hurt his foot badly, and it was realized that in case of pursuit he would not be able to escape. It was when returning from this expedition that Naren hid two or three revolvers in a tamarind tree at Denga which were subsequently found by some boys and made over to the police. Yet a third attempt was made to murder Nagendra Ray at Chittagong in June 1914. On this occasion a man named Satyendra Nath Sen was murdered in mistake for Nagendra Nath Ray.

13. The dacoity at Kuliarchar in the Mymensingh district, 2nd October 1911

About 30 dacoits, armed with guns, revolvers, swords and daggers, arrived in three boats and on landing broke up into five parties, of which

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one acted as a guard, another attacked the post office, the third attacked Messrs. Jardine Skinner's Agency, the fourth Bashi Shasa's shop, and the fifth attacked Murari Shaha's shop. At the post office the telegraph wire was cut and the apparatus damaged. The property looted amounted in value to over Rs. 3,000. The case remained undetected. We have now been given by persons, who took part in it, a most circumstantial account of this dacoity. The following were some of the more prominent men, who took part : Trailakhya Chakravarti, Digendra Mukhuti (who acted as leader), Aditya Datta, Biren Chatarji, Sasanka alias Amrita Hazra; Naren Sen had helped to plan this dacoity.

14. The dacoity at Baliagram in the Rangpur district, 6th November 1911

A party of some 20 to 25 men of the bhadralok class attacked the house of one Joddi Bepari and carried away Rs. 1,000 in cash and ornaments valued at over Rs. 200. The case remained undetected, but there is now good reason to believe the Dacca Anushilan were responsible for the crime.

15. The murder of Inspector Man Mohan Ghosh at Barisal, 11th December 1911

While the Inspector was returning to his quarters between the hours of 5 and 6 P.M., he was attacked and shot dead; six shots were fired, two of which penetrated the heart. The Inspector had made himself very conspicuous in several political enquiries and was a witness in the Dacca conspiracy case. The crime remained undetected, but we now know it was committed by the Dacca Anushilan. Birendra Chatarji is believed to have been the actual assassin assisted by Trailakhya Chakravarti and Aditya Datta.

16. The dacoity at Chaupali in the Noakhali district, 31st December 1911

A gang of men of the bhadralog class, armed with revolvers, attacked the house of Shama Kanta Aich and carried away cash and ornaments to the value of Rs. 2,000. No clue was obtained at the time, but there is now good reason for believing the dacoity was committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan.

1912

1. The dacoity at Baiguntewari in the Dacca district, 23rd January 1912

About 15 or 16 young men of the bhadralog class entered the house of Hira Lal Shaha, broke open an iron safe and tin boxes and carried away cash and ornaments to the value of nearly Rs. 5,000. The case remained

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undetected. We now know the dacoity was committed by the Dacca Anushilan acting under Naren Sen's orders and that Amrita Sarkar, Sashadhar alias Kiran, Trailakhya Chakravorti, Biren Chatarji, Pratul Ganguli, and others, were concerned.

2. The dacoity at Saharpur in the Bakarganj district, 17th February 1912

The house of one Kali Prasanna Biswas was attacked; property to the value of Rs. 250 was looted and a Government gun was also carried away. This case has only recently been found to have been committed by men of the bhadralog class and there is good reason for believing that the Dacca Anushilan were responsible.

3. The dacoity at Ainpur in the Dacca district, 21st February 1912

The house of Gopeswar Shaha was attacked and plundered by a gang of some fifteen men of the bhadralog class. They carried away cash and ornaments to the value of over Rs. 7,500. Two persons were arrested on suspicion, but the evidence was insufficient and the charge had to be withdrawn; they were, however, bound down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. We are now in possession of the fullest information regarding the Ainpur dacoity, and the persons taking part. Both the Baiguntewari and Ainpur dacoities were arranged and carried through by the teaching staff of the Garpara and Telli schools.

It is interesting to note that when Makhan Lal Sen was informed in Calcutta of the commission of the Ainpur dacoity he sent word that half the proceeds were to be applied to the defence of the Dacca conspiracy case then on appeal before the High Court.

4. The dacoity at Kushangal in the Bakarganj district, 17th April 1912

Some six or seven persons armed with daggers and spears entered the house of one Janaki Nath Pal, and after assaulting one of the inmates and wounding another, carried away a Government gun which was in the house. This case was subsequently found to have been committed by dacoits of the bhadralog class and enquiries in connection with the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case furnished good ground for believing the dacoity was the work of members of the Dacca Anushilan.

5. The dacoity at Kakuria in the Bakarganj district, 29th April 1912

About 10 dacoits, masked and armed with guns and spears, broke into the house of Mamiruddi Khan, and after wounding two or three of the inmates, looted property to the value of Rs. 3,000. It was satisfactorily established in the Barisal conspiracy case that this was one of the crimes of the Dacca Anushilan.

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6. The dacoity at Birangal in the Bakarganj district, 24th May 1912

The house of Kali Kumar Shaha was attacked by a gang of about 20 young men of the bhadralog class, armed with a gun and knives, and cash and jewellery to the value of over Rs. 8,000 was robbed. It was proved in the Barisal conspiracy case that this dacoity was committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan.

7. The Panam dacoity in the Dacca district, 11th July 1912

The house of Gaur Chand Shaha was attacked by a gang of dacoits. A neighbour sallied forth with his gun to repel the dacoits and fired two or three times apparently without doing any damage. The dacoits replied with more effect, a Muhammadan being shot through the arm. The dacoits carried off booty worth Rs. 30,000. The telegraph wire was cut near Kabilganj. The case remained undetected, but it is known the dacoity was planned by Naren Sen and that Madan Bhaumik, Trailakhya Chakravarti, and others, took part in it. It was held in the Barisal conspiracy case that this dacoity was committed by the Dacca Anushilan.

8. The murder of Sarada Chakravarti

On 24th July 1912 it was reported at the Feni Police Station, Noakhali district, that a headless corpse had been found in a tank at Feni. The case was treated as one of murder, but it remained undetected and no clue was obtained as to the identity of the murdered man. From an examination of the body it was clear the man had been shot and also that he was a Brahmin by caste as a nine thread "poita" was found on the body.

It was not till 1914 when Priya Nath Acharji made his statement in the Trichinopoly Jail that the true facts came to light. It was satisfactorily shown in the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case that the murder had been committed under orders of Narendra Sen and that Birendra Chatarji was the actual assassin.

Reference has already been made to Sarada Chakravarti. He was one of the earrliest and most prominent members of the Samiti, author of the collection of poems called "Gan," and a very successful "organizer" at Comilla. Amongst his activities he included a women's samiti for the purpose of training the wives and female relations of members in the use of swords and daggers and athletics generally in the manner of Bankim Chatarji's heroines, Santi and Profulla. His personal conduct in connection with this branch of his work was impeached by an injured husband, and brought to the notice of Pulin Das. Naren Sen caused further enquiries to be made, as a result of which Sarada Chakravarti was condemned to death and murdered in due courrse as has

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been stated. It seems probable, however, that Sarada's independence and growing influence had as much to do with Naren Sen's decision as the allegations regarding his misconduct.

9. The murder of Head-Constable Rati Lal Ray, at Dacca

Between the hours of 7 and 8 p.m. on the 24th September 1912, Head-Constable Rati Lal Ray was shot dead, five shots being fired into his body. This officer had given evidence in the Dacca conspiracy case and at the time of the murder was engaged in watching the movements of some suspicious characters, one of whom turned out to be Trailakhya Chakravarti, a very dangerous man who had been absconding since the institution of the Dacca conspiracy case. He was arrested next day but released for want of evidence.

It is now known that the murder was committed by Trailakhya Chakravarti, and as showing the audacity and callousness of the "political" assassin the following taken from the deponent's statement is instructive : "Rati Lal Ray was assassinated by order of the samiti ..... The next day Naren Sen, Biren Chatarji, Pratul Ganguli and Trailakhya were talking among themselves that if any of them could visit the scene of occurrence, he would be given sweets worth two rupees. Trailakhya at once said, I will go and eat two rupees worth of Rassa-gollas. He went and was returning to his companions when he was arrested."

10. The Comilla case of preparation to commit a dacoity, sections 399 and 402, Indian Penal Code, 1st November 1912

In consequence of the receipt of an anonymous letter by the Sub-Inspector of the Kotwali police-station, special precautions were taken in Comilla town on the night of the 1st November to guard against a dacoity. Twelve persons were arrested in the house of a man named Prabhat Karmakar, including Prabhat. On searching the hoiuse a quantity of arms and ammunition was found, in addition to masks, haversacks, cold chisels flogging hammers, lathis, etc. the usual parapheranalia of "political" dacoities. A thirteenth man was arrested loitering in neighbourhood and was sent up, but was discharged for want of evidence. The twelve persons sent up were convicted by the Sessions Judge and sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment, but on appeal to the High Court two were given the benefit of the doubt and were acquitted, the sentences of the remaining ten persons being confirmed. It is instructive to know that both the persons so acquitted were subsequently concerned in political murders. It appears, from reliable information since received, that several other dacoits were sheltering in the Sonarang compound, Comilla town, and were to have joined the party in the Karmakar's house

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and then proceeded to the proposed scene of the dacoity. They heard of the capture of their companions and unfortunately made good their escape with the remaining weapons.

All the men concerned were members of the Dacca Anushilan and it was held in the Barishal conspiracy case that this was one of the overt acts of the Samiti.

In addition to the fact that this case resulted in the imprisonment of a number of dangerous men, it was also important as being the first capture of any considerable value that had been made in Eastern Bengal since the Dacca conspiracy case, and the investigation made it clear that the Dacca Anushilan not only still existed but that it was highly organized and widely distributed.

11. The Nangalband dacoity near Narayanganj in the Dacca district 14th November 1912

About thirteen young Bengalis of the bhadralog class, armed with revolvers and guns, entered the house of a money-lender, Piyari Mohan Nandi, at Nangalband and carried away property valued at Rs. 15,000. That this dacoity was the work of the Dacca Samiti was placed beyond all doubt by the discovery of part of the stolen property in the box of Girindra Mohan Das at Dacca on the 27th November. Giridndra Mohan Das was convicted and sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment.

It would appear that there had been a previous unsuccessful attempt on Piyari Mohan Nandi's house, the cause of failure being that the dacoits took too long over their means and overslept themselves.

12. The Wari find at Dacca, 27th November 1912

The late Rai Jamini Mohan Das Bahadur, a Deputy Magistrate with a distinguished record, was stationed at Dacca in 1912 and had recently been transferred to Mymensingh where he had gone leaving his family behind at his residence in Wari, Dacca town. His son, Girindra Mohan Das, to whom reference has already been made in Part II of this note, bore an excellent character as a school boy, went up for the Matriculation Examination at the age of 17 and passed easily in the first class. His connection with the Dacca Anushilan began in April 1912 after the examination and before his admission to the Dacca College. He appears to have been a very zealous recruit and was early entrusted with the custoday of ammunition. On the 26th November Ramesh Acharji and Trailakhya Chakravarti brought a revolver and automatic pistol of Girin's house and they all three spent the morningg cleaning these weapons in the "baithakhana," the door of which they kept closed. These proceedings excited the suspicions of his mother who immediately sent

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two telegrams to her husband summoning him to Dacca. The Rai Bahadur arrived next day and questioned his son. Girindra left the house on the pretext of finding the key of his trunk which his father wanted opened, and communicated with Ramesh Acharji, Madan Bhaumik and other revolutionaries, explaining the situation and asking their advice. Ramesh advised him to tell his father that his son would be shot if he did not give up the contents of the box. Meanwhile, Rai Jamini Mohan Das Bahadur had sent information to the District Magistrate and the police.

Next morning the box was searched by the Additional Superintendent of Police in the presence of both father and son and some very important articles were found, including property stolen in dacoities, revolutionary documents and literature, and illicit ammunition. As a result Girindra Mohan Das was sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment under section 412, Indian Penal Code, as has already been stated. He now made a complete disclosure of his connection with the revolutionary society and was an important witness for the Crown in both the Barisal conspiracy cases.

This case of Girindra Mohan Das illustrates very well how the best and most promising lads are selected by the revolutionaries and how powerless the most loyal Bengalis are to protect their sons against the insidious influence of the "organizer".

1913

The Barisal Conspiracy Case

In September 1912 one Rajani Kanta Das had made certain disclosures regarding the "political" dacoities in the Bakarganj district. Police enquiries were immediately instituted and a special officer was deputed for the purpose. While these enquiries were still in progress the Comilla capture was effected on the 1st November 1912, followed by the Wari find on the 27th November. The latter was particularly useful and included 764 rounds of illicit ammunition of various kinds, a large amount of silver ornaments and a quantity of papers, documents and correspondence in manuscript and 94 printed copies of the "Swadhin Bharat" leaflet, one printed copy of the "Sandhya" and two printed copies of the "Jugantar" leaflet.

The silver ornaments were proved to be property stolen in the Nangalband dacoity, but the papers and correspondence were of even greater interest for the light they threw on the working of the secret society which was now clearly shown to be highly organized and active. The following were the more important papers found :

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(a) A letter headed "Questions" containing proposals for seducing Gurkha, Punjabi and Maharatta soldiers from their allegiance to the Crown and inciting them to rebellion, enquiring what was hoped to be accomplished if another sepoy mutiny did not take place, insisting upon the necessity of the establishment of centres on the hills as laid down in "Ananda Math" for the purpose of military training, and pointing out that secret murders or guerilla wars would not do as when orders were given for "wholesale massacre" the open field must be taken.

(b) "The Durgapur third quarterly report" which has already been described in Part II of this note.

(c) An account from December 1911 to September 1912 relating to the transactions in stolen properties obtained by the commission of dacoities and other offences in the district of Bakarganj.

(d) A list of names of the members of a society in Bakarganj.

(e) Certain letters signed by Nishi Kanta Ghosh in which he expressed his determination to "liberate the mother."

On the 29th November the house of Madan Mohan Bhaumik, a prominent revolutionary at Dacca, was searched and amongst other things, a list was found containing in cipher the names of the members of a society in Dacca.

After certain further enquiries it was decided to conduct simultaneous searches in various district. This was carried out on the 27th February 1913 and put the police in possession of the remaining documents necessary to link up the different branches of the secret society. Amongst the papers found were the vary important documents known as the District Organization Scheme and the Rules for Membership which have already been dealt with in Part II.

On the 9th May 1913 Government accorded sanction to a prosecution under section 121A, Indian Penal Code, and on the 12th the complaint was lodged before the Magistrate of Barisal. Warrants of arrest were now obtained and the residences of the accused persons were searched. Of the 44 persons charged, 7 were absconding, 2 (Rajani Kanta Das and Girindra Mohan Das Gupta) were tendered pardon and became approvers, and the remaining 35 stood their trial in the lower court. On the 5th September 1913 five of these persons were discharged by the Magistrate on the Public Prosecutor withdrawing the case against them. On the 8th September he discharged two more and committed the remaining 28th to the Sessions. On the 3rd November 1913, one of the absconders, Chinta Haran Pal, surrendered, but was discharged on the 11th November.

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At the Sessions, the case against two more of the accused was withdrawn and they were acquitted on the 15th January 1914; 12 of the remainder pleaded guilty under section 121 A. Indian penal Code, and the case against the remaining fourteen was withdrawn and they were acquitted. On the 22nd January 1914, the Sessions Judge of Barisal delivered judgment, sentencing the accused to various terms of imprisonment and transportation, Ramesh Chandra Acharji, the leader at Barisal, being transported for twelve years, and Priya Nath Acharji, his cousin, for seven years.

The importance of a plea of guilty to a charge under section 121A - conspiracy to wage war against the King-must not be lost sight of. It was an admission that these youths were fully aware of the fact that the ultimate goal of their organization was complete freedom of the country from the British yoke, to be brought about by revolution.

As has been stated, by May 1913, no less than 35 persons had been arrested and placed on their trial, but these events and the progress of the conspiracy trial at Barisal in no way retarded the activities of the terrorists as will now be seen.

1. The murder of Debendra Kumar Ghosh at Comilla

At 7-30 P.M. on the night of the 13th January, Debendra Kumar Ghosh, a political suspect of Tippera, was shot with revolvers by two or three men of the bhadralog class. The case remained undetected. It is now known the murder was committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan, who suspected the man of being a police spy.

2. The Dhuldia dacoity in the Mymensingh district, 3rd February 1913

The houses of three Shahas were broken into by about 20 or 25 men and cash and ornaments to the value of Rs. 9,000 carried away. No clue was obtained at the time, but it is now definitely known the dacoity was committed by the Dacca Anushilan.

3. The Maulvi Bazar bomb case in the Sylhet district, 27th March 1913

This case occurred in the neighbouring province of Assam, but it will be convenient to include it here amongst the Samiti's crimes.

Mr. Gordon, a Punjab Civilian whose services had been lent to Assam, was Subdivisional Officer of Maulvi Bazar and had incurred the hostility of the revolutionaries because of the action taken by him against the members of the Arunachal Asram. The would-be assassin entered Mr. Gordon's compound, but the bomb he was carrying exploded in his hand, killing him outright. His shattered remains were discovered next morning. Two loaded revolvers were also found on the person of the dead

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man. His identity remained a mystery for some considerable time, but it was finally definitely ascertained that the would-be assassin was Joggendra Chakravarti of the Dacca Anushilan, and that he was accompanied on this expedition by several others including Trailakhya Chakravarti, another very prominent member of the Samiti. The bomb was obtained from Calcutta.

So vindictive and determined were the revolutionary party in their pursuit of this officer that when Mr. Gordon was retransferred to the Punjab, a second attempt was made to bomb him at Lahore on the 17th May 1913. The would-be assassin entered the grounds of the Lawrence Hall, where Mr. Gordon was staying at the time, but apparently his courage failed him here and he left the bomb on the foot way. A chaprasi of the Gymkhana Club happening to pass the spot either kicked or handled the bomb, for an explosion occurred at about 9 P.M. killing the chaprasi almost instantaneously.

4. The Alamdi dacoity in the Dacca district, 31st March 1913

The houses of two Shahas were attacked by a party of 10 or 12 men and property valued at Rs. 51 carried away. No clue was obtained at the time, but there is good reason for believing the dacoity was committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan.

5. The dacoity at Kamrangi Char in the Dacca district, 28th June 1913

A gang of about 12 mem attacked the house of Janaki Nath Poddar and took away cash, ornaments and other things to the value of over Rs. 2,200. There is good ground for believing this dacoity was also committed by the Dacca Anushilan.

6. The dacoity at Kedarpur in the Mymensingh district, 16th August 1913

The house of Ashutoh Shaha was attacked by a gang of some 20 to 25 men and cash and ornaments to the value of Rs. 18,000 carried away. The case remained undetected, but it is now known that the dacoity was committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan, including some of their most prominent men, such as Trailakhya Chakravarti, Pratul Ganguli, Amrita hazra, and Birendra Chatarji. It is said the money was needed to meet the cost of the defence in the Barisal Conspiracy case.

7. The Pachimsingh dacoity in the Tippera district, 19th September 1913

About 30 to 40 men attacked the house of Ram Sundar Nath and Dina Nath Bhaumik and carried away cash and ornaments to the value of over Rs. 3,000. No clue was obtained, but it is now known the dacoity

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was committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan, including Purna Chakravarti, Biren Chatarji, Ananga Sarkar and others.

8. **The murder of Head-Constable Haripada Deb in Calcutta, 29th September 1913**

Between 7 and 8 P.M. Head-Constable Haripada Deb, of the Calcutta Police, was shot dead in College Square. No clue was obtained at the time, but we have it now from a very reliable source that the murder was committed by Birendra Chatarji.

9. **The murder of Inspector Bankim Chandra Chaudhuri at Mymensingh**

On the 30th September the Inspector was bombed in his house at Mymensingh. No clue to his assassin was obtained at the time, but it is now known this murder also was committed by Birendra Chatarji, who, having murdered Head-Constable Haripada Deb on the 29th September, was provided with a bomb and left the same night for Mymensingh by the Dacca mail and bombed the Inspector the following evening.

Both these police officers were murdered in revenge for the zeal and activity shown by them in the campaign against anarchy.

10. **The murder of Basanta Kumar Bhattacharji at Dacca, 16th November 1913**

The murdered man, a police informer, was shot dead on the evening of the 16th November. No clue was obtained, but we have it from a reliable source that this murder also was committed by Birendra Chatarji.

Naren Sen was at this time under trial in the Barisal conspiracy case, and the control of the Samiti was in the hands of Biren Chatarji, Nalini Ghosh and a few other prominent members.

The Raja Bazar Bomb Case

A most important capture was made in the early morning of the 21st November 1913 at No. 296-1, Upper Circular Road, Raja Bazar, Calcutta. It was believed that in this building there were living certain persons who were concerned in the commission of the several outrages that had recently occurred and in particular in the attempt at Maulvi Bazar in March 1913. A warrant was obtained and the house was searched with results that put the police in possession of information of the greatest value. There were found various materials for the construction of bombs and a large number of documents showing the existence of a highly organized and widespread conspiracy.

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The following were the most important of the article found :

Two cigarette tins fitted with clamps and discs similar to those used as shells for the bombs which were exploded in the Midnapur, Delhi Lahore, Maulvi Bazar and Mymensingh outrages, and identical with the unexploded bombs of Midnapur and Bhadreswar, as also with the unexploded bomb of the Dalhousie Square attempt.

Two other tins without clamps.

One tin containing lacquer, apparently intended for lacquering the tins before loading with picric.

One small wooden box carefully padded with straw, doubtless for the carrying of live bombs.

Spare clamps, discs and iron used for clamps.

A vast quantity of letters and correspondence, including a note-book containing a list in chipher, which disclosed the names of various persons in different districts of both Eastern and Western Bengal and in Benares.

As a result of the police investigation the following six accused were, with the sanction of the local Government, placed on their trial under sections 4, 5 and 6 of the Explosive Substances Act of 1908 and section 120 B of the Indian Penal Code : (1) Amrita Lal Hazra alias Sasanka Sekhar Ray, (2) Dinesh Chandra Das Gupta, (3) Saroda Charan Guha, (4) Chandra Sekhar De, (5) Upendra Lal Ray Chaudhuri alias Kalipada Ghosh, and (6) Hiranmay Banarji.

On the 21st February 1914, the Joint Magistrate of Alipur committed the first four accused to the Court of Sessions under section 4, Act VI of 1908 (Explosive Substances) and section 120 B, Indian Penal Code, and the fifth accused under section 120 B, Indian Penal Code.

The evidence against Hiranmay Banarji was considered insufficient and he was discharged.

On the 14th June 1914, the Session Judge delivered judgement in the case. Sasanka, Dinesh, Saroda and Chandra Sekhar were convicted under section 4 Act VI of 1908, and section 120 B, Indian Penal Code, and Kalipada under section 120 B, Indian Penal Code only, Sasanka being sentenced to transportation for fifteen years and the rest for ten years each.

The case went up to the High Court on appeal. On the 25th February 1915 the Hon'ble Judges passed orders confirming the conviction and sentence of Amrita Hazra, but the conviction and sentence of the other four accused were set aside.

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Reference has already been made in Part II to Amrita Hazra alias Sasanka. He was amongst Pulin's earliest recruits and was sent by him for mechanical training at the Bengal Technical Institution, and so came to be the Dacca Anushilan Bomb-expert. He was certainly one of the most dangerous revolutionaries yet produced by the Dacca Anushilan.

The examination of the documents and note-books seized in the search at No. 296-1, Upper Circular Road opened up most important lines of enquiries and the deductions then made have since received ample confirmation from deponents on whose statements we have every reason to reply. Mr. Denham was placed on special duty in connection with the Raja Bazar case and the following observations taken from his interesting report containing the results of his exhaustive analysis, are instructive as indicating the position occupied by Sasanka at this time, the activities of the Dacca Anushilan in Calcutta and North Bengal, and its relations with the Calcutta revolutionaries :

" .... From what we can see at present regarding this gang, it would seem that Sasanka's position was a very important one, but above him are many other people through whom the results of his mechanical knowledge are passed on to be made into fully charged bombs. That he actually takes part in the bomb outrages, there is nothing to show, but from other information available there is no doubt that he has taken an active part in various crimes and conspiracies. The whole enquiry fits in an extraordinary way with the information now being collected from various quarters. That there have been in Calcutta since the breaking up of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti many of its most dangerous members is fully established. Our enquiries in 1911 showed that these members of the Anushilan Samiti were joining up with the various branches of the general conspiracy in Calcutta and Khulna. The information supplied by the Dacca informer, the value of which it is impossible not to recognise now, with the information we now have, distinctly shows that in certain messes in Calcutta were gathered together persons from different part of Bengal who were closely concerned in the revolutionary movement and who worked in co-operation, one with the other. It is perfectly clear from he lists of names found in cipher that the organization was spreading its branches with great vigour in Northern Bengal, and that the work was being done, in many instances, by chosen members who hailed from the districts of Dacca and Faridpur..........

The names discovered in the cipher list show to what an extraordinary extent persons at Dacca and the neighbouring districts are spreading the work of the organization in Northern Bengal, in fact they far out-number the local members....................

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Although there may seem to be several parties in Calcutta they are all working harmoniously and in -co-operation with one another. Should an Eastern Bengal party want a bomb, Chandernagore is indented on, should the Western Bengal party of which Chandernagore is, of course, an important part, want an outrage, they can indent on the Eastern Bengal groups. Srish Ghosh, through Amrita, Himangshu and Trailakhya, practically controls head-quarters work".

One other very important result of the enquiries in this case was the discovery of the Lok Nath Yantra Press at No. 11-1, Nawabdi Ostagar's Lane, the owner of which was Surendra Nath Basu, whose name figured in the list of names found in the box of Girindra Mohan Das, at Wari, Dacca, in November 1912. It was proved to demonstration, with the valuable assistance of the Superintendent of Government Printing, Bengal, that the "Liberty" leaflets had been printed at this press. These leaflets are of the most virulently seditious character and have appeared from time to time in various parts of the province.

The arrests at Goaltali, Dacca

A party of seven Bengalis of the bhadralog class arrived at Dacca by boat and put up at No. 62, Goaltali. Their movements were extremely suspicious, and after procuring the necessary warrants the police searched the house on the 16th September. Four men were arrested, but the other three managed to escape in the darkness. It was subsequently found that the boat in which the party had arrived was stolen property, but the evidence against them was insufficient to establish a charge of theft. All four men were put up for trial under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. The arrest was important not only in that it probably frustrated a plan to commit a serious crime, but it also resulted in establishing the identity of a very dangerous criminal, for one of the men, Ramesh Chandra Datta Chaudhuri, turned out to be identical with one "Paritosh," an old member of the Dacca Anushilan and one of the gang responsible for the many dacoities committed from the Sonarang National School. He was identified by the police informer, Basanta Kumar Bhattacharji, who, as has already been noted, was murdered at Dacca on the 16th November. It was certainly significant that his murder followed so close on the service he had rendered the police on this occasion. Ramesh Chaudhuri was subsequently convicted in the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case and sentenced to transportation for ten years.

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1914

The Madaripur-Dacca Conspiracy Case

The crimes that led up to the institution of this case are outside the activities of the Dacca Anushilan proper, but the matter needs to be mentioned as it concerns a branch or off-shoot of the parent Samiti.

This branch came into existence under the leadership of Purna Das, and after a brief career during which it was responsible for a series of dacoities committed from Madaripur in the Faridpur district, it merged into and was absorbed by the Calcutta Jugantar party. As a result of the police investigations in these dacoities, twenty-three members of the gang were sent up for trial in Faridpur under section 395, Indian Penal Code, read with section 120 B, Indian Penal Code, but the case was subsequently withdrawn under orders of Government, and all the accused discharged in April 1914.

The next we hear of Purna Das is that he is appointed leader of a party which was now formed of certain stray elements at Dacca, Madaripur and Mymensingh. Purna Das controlled this organization from Calcutta where he worked in close co-operation with the Calcutta anarchists, forming in fact a coalition with them, for members of his party were concerned in the commission of the Garden Reach taxi-cab dacoity in February 1915. Meanwhile, however, an attempt had been made, in November 1914, to assassinate, by means of a bomb, Babu Benode Lal Ghosh, B.L., who gave much assistance to the police in connection with the Madaripur conspiracy case.

Purna Das was dealt with under the Defence of India Act in May 1915, and the members of his party then came under the direct control of the Calcutta anarchists. We find an important member of the Madaripur gang, Chittapriya Ray Chaudhuri associated with Jotin Mukharji in the Balasore affair in September 1915, in which both of these men were killed in a skirmish with the police.

Although Purna Das set up a separate party of his own, there can be no doubt he kept in close touch with the Dacca Anushilan. He was strongly suspected of having supplied the revolver with which Debendra Ghosh was shot in Comilla in January 1913, and in the enquiries connected with the Madaripur conspiracy case it came to light that he was in direct communication with Rasik Sarkar who, with his uncle Amrita Sarkar, was one of the most dangerous members of the Dacca Anushilan under Naren sen, and strongly suspected of being concerned in the Gopalpur and Kwakuri dacoities committed by the Madaripur gang in April and May 1913.

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The Barisal conspiracy case had resulted in the conviction of a number of dangerous members of the Dacca Anushilan, but the discharge of Naren Sen still left the Samiti with its most capable leader. In addition to the 13 men who were discharged with Naren Sen, there were also at large, at this time, a number of other very desperate persons, including the following: (1) Madan Bhaumik (2) Pratul Ganguli (3) Sishir Kumar Guha, (4) Lal Mohan De (alias Debipada Ray), (5) Trailakhya Chakravarti, (6) Birendra Chatarji (7) Aditya Datta (8) Nalini Ghosh, (9) Rasik Sarkar, and (10) Amrita Sarkar.

The Samiti, therefore, was in no way daunted and began the year 1914 with the assassination of a police officer, and as will be seen, continued its criminal career as vigorously as ever till 1916. It is only now, for the first time in the history of the revolutionary movement in Bengal and after ten years of very unequal strife, that the tide is turning, and the authorities are equipped with a weapon, in the shape of the Defence of India Act, with which the terroristic methods of the revolutionaries may be successfully combated. The ordinary law, which was never designed to deal with conditions such as have been set up by the revolutionary movement, is manifestly quite inadequate.

To resume the story of the Samiti's crimes :

1. **The murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghosh, of the Calcutta Police, 19th January 1914 :** While getting out of a tram-car at the crossing of Grey street and Sova Bazar, the Inspector was attacked and shot dead. One of his assassins, Nirmal Kanta Ray, of Dacca, was arrested, but was subsequently released. We have the names of two other persons who are said to have taken part in this assassination, and there can be no doubt whatsoever the Dacca Anushilan was responsible for it.
2. **The Gossainpur dacoity in the Tippera district, 9th May 1914 :** Some 20 or 25 men armed with guns, revolvers and daggers entered the house of Sarat Chandra Ray and carried away cash and ornaments valued at over Rs. 5,500. No clue was obtained at the time, but it is now definitely known that the dacoity was committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan under the leadership of Purna Chakravarti.
3. **The Chittagong murder, 19th June 1914 :** On the evening of the 19th June one Satyendra Nath Sen was shot dead in mistake for Nagendra Nath Ray, who had turned police informer, and was an important witness in the Dacca conspiracy case. Two attempts on his life had already been made. The assassins on

this occasion were Aditya Charan Datta, Nalini Kanta Ghosh, and another. They all escaped, but Aditya Datta was arrested, together with several other very dangerous men, in Greer Park, Calcutta, on the 2nd November 1914, and put on his trial for this murder. He was committed to the Sessions, and after a trial lasting 12 days, the jury brought in verdict of not guilty, and he was acquitted. There can be no doubt whatsoever that he was one of the assassins.

The enquiries in this case placed the police in possession of some very useful information. It was now that the importance of that very dangerous revolutionary Nagendra Nath Datta alias "Girija Babu," first came to be realized.

4. **The murder of Ram Das in Dacca town, 19th July 1914 :** Umesh Chandra De alias Ram Das alias Sudhangshu was at one time a prominent member of the Dacca Anushilan. At the time of his murder he was a police informer and was assassinated in consequence. The murder was carried out in the boldest manner. Ram Das was in company with Babu Basanta Kumar Chatarji (himself assassinated two years later in Calcutta) and other police officers, and they were all walking on the Buckland Bund, when a man came up and opened fire on Ram Das with a revolver, shooting him dead.
5. **The dacoity at Betatee in Mymensingh, 28th August 1914 :** About 30 to 40 men armed with guns, revolvers, daggers and swords, attacked the house of Chaitanya Shaha and carried away cash and ornaments valued at over Rs. 17,000. The case remained undetected. We now know it was committed by members of Dacca Anushilan, including Purna Chakravarti, Pratul Ganguli, Biren Chatarji, Aditya Datta, Pulin Mukharji (later "Thakur" of the other party) and others.
6. **The dacoity at Ukrasal in the Mymensingh district, 13th November 1914 :** Some 20 or 25 persons, armed with guns and revolvers, entered the house of a woman and took away cash and ornaments valued at nearly Rs. 5,000. There is good reason for believing this dacoity was committed by the Dacca Anushilan.
7. **The Musalmanpara Lane bomb outrage, 25th November 1914 :** On the night of the 25th November two bombs were thrown into the house of the late Babu Basanta Kumar Chatarji, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Intelligence Branch. A head-constable was killed outright and three persons seriously

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wounded. One of the wounded persons was a young bhadrolog named Nagendra Sen Gupta; he was sent up for trial but was acquitted. We have since received that most circumstantial details of how the outrage was planned and carried out, and it is placed beyond all doubt the Nagen Sen was one of the assassins and was rightly sent up. The bombs were obtained from Chandernagore.

8. **The Radhanagore dacoity in the Tippera district, 18th December 1914 :** Some 30 or 40 persons, armed with guns and revolvers, entered the house of Durga Kaibarta Das and carried away cash and ornaments to the value of nearly Rs. 3,000. No clue was obtained at the time, but it is now definitely known this dacoity was committed by the Dacca Anushilan.

Important arrests in 1914

During the enquiry into the Chittagong murder case in which, as has already been related, an innocent person was killed in mistake for Nagendra Ray, who gave evidence in the Dacca conspiracy case, a clue was obtained as to the whereabouts of certain of the most dangerous members of the Samiti and a valuable informer—Ram Das—was employed to locate their houses, but he was unfortunately assassinated in Dacca on the 19th of July. The clue was, however, followed up, and Madan Mohan Bhaumik, one of Naren Sen's principal lieutenants, who was absconding since November 1912 in the Wari Arms Act case and the Barisal conspiracy case was located at No. 44-1, College Square, Calcutta. This house was raided on the 16th September 1914 and Madan Bhaumik arrested, together with two other very active revolutionaries, namely Lal Mohan De and Profulla Kumar Bhattasali. Lal Mohan De was concerned in the Maulvi Bazar bomb outrage in March 1913 and had successfully evaded arrest since then in spite of the big reward of Rs. 5,000 offered for his capture by the Assam Government, and Profulla Bhattasali was known to be an exceedingly active organizer and dangerous conspirator.

Other very important arrests made at various places in Calcutta at this time were : Nalini Kishore Guha of Bajrajogini in Dacca, who had been acquitted in the Dacca conspiracy case; Sishir Kumar Guha Ray who had taken part in the Barah dacoity in 1908 and was responsible for the attempt on Mr. Allen's life at Goalundo in December 1907; Pratul Chandra Ganguli, another trusted lieutenant of Naren Sen; and Tarakeswar Guha, also a very active revolutionary.

The arrest of Madan Bhaumik and Pratul Ganguli was especially important; they were both absconders in the Barisal conspiracy case, and

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were now put on their trial in the supplementary conspiracy case which was initiated about this time.

On the 2nd November 1914 another very important capture was made in Greer Park, Calcutta. Amongst the men arrested on this occasion were Naren Sen, the leader of the Dacca Anushilan, and his intimate friend Biren Chatarji, who, as we have seen, is one of the most desperate characters and responsible for a series of murders. Naren Sen was bound down for one year under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and Birendra Chatarji for three years under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code.

Trailakhya Chakravarti was also expected to be at the Greer Park that evening, but he heard of the arrests and managed to escape, only to be arrested, however, some three weeks later and placed on his trial in the Barisal conspiracy case together with Pratul Ganguli, Madan Bhaumik and others.

The Barisal Supplementary Conspiracy Case

The year 1914 closed with the arrest of certain very dangerous members of the Dacca Anushilan and the institution, under the following circumstances, of the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case :

Amongst the persons convicted in January 1914 in the Barisal conspiracy case was one Priya Nath Acharji as has already been stated. This prisoner, while incarcerated in the jail at Trichinopoly in Madras, asked for an interview with the Superintendent of Police of that district, and when accordingly the Superintendent went to see him on the 2nd June 1914, Priya Nath Acharji said he wished to make a statement concerning the organization of political crime in Bengal. Being unacquainted with local details, the Superintendent of Police of Trichinopoly did not care to record the statement himself and Priya Nath then suggested that he should make his statement to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police in charge of the Intelligence Branch, C.I.D., Calcutta. Some correspondence then passed between the Madras Police and the Intelligence Branch, Bengal, and Mr. Hutchinson after obtaining the permission of the Local Government to leave the province, went to Trichinopoly, arriving there on the 6th August. Priya Nath then made a lengthy statement which Mr. Hutchinson recorded.

As a result of the disclosures made by Priya Nath Acharji, it was decided to institute, in continuation of the original Barisal conspiracy case, a supplementary case under section 121A, Indian Penal Code, against certain other very dangerous characters of the Dacca Anushilan who had conspired with the accused charged in the original case but were

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absconding and could not be placed on their trial at that time. These men, namely (1) Madan Mohan Bhaumik, (2) Trailakhya Nath Chakravarti, (3) Khagendra Nath Chaudhuri, (4) Pratul Ganguli, (5) Ramesh Chandra Datta Chaudhuri (alias Paritosh), were now arrested and placed before the Joint Magistrate of Barisal, who, on the 25th March 1915 committed them for trial by the Court of Session. After the proceedings against them had been closed, Chandi Charan Kar, another absconder, was arrested and his case was also committed to the Sessions. Chandi Charan Kar pleaded guilty and was convicted.

After a lengthy trial, in the course of which one hundred and eighty-six witnesses were examined on the side of the prosecution and a large number of documents and articles exhibited, all the five accused were convicted under section 121A, Indian Penal Code - conspiring to wage war against the King-on the 29th November 1915, by the Sessions Judge and sentenced to long terms of transportation, Trailakhya Chakravarti being sentenced to transportation for fifteen years and each of the others to transportation for ten years.

The case now went up on appeal to the High Court. Judgment was delivered on the 10th July 1916, and the following orders were passed : The conviction and sentence of Madan Bhaumik was upheld, the sentence passed upon Trailakhya Chakravarti and Khagendra Nath Chaudhuri was reduced to transportation for two and seven years, respectively, while the conviction and sentence of Pratul Ganguli and Ramesh Chandra Datta Chaudhuri alias Paritosh were set aside and they were acquitted.

Pratul Ganguli, as has already been indicated, was a most dangerous revolutionary and one of Naren Sen's lieutenants.

1915

1. **The Dharail dacoity in the Natore sub-division of the Rajashahi district, 20th February 1915**

On the night of the 20th February some 30 young men of the bhadralog class, armed with guns and revolvers and Mauser pistols, attacked the houses of two zamindars, Binode Behari Chaudhuri and his brother, and carried away cash and ornaments valued at Rs. 75,000. Six persons, including one Lalit Mohan Maitra, were arrested under the most suspicious circumstances which left little doubt as to their complicity in the dacoity, but the charge could not be brought home to them and they were discharged. They were, however, bound down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. In the course of the police investigation it was

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established beyond all doubt that members of the Dacca Anushilan were responsible for this dacoity. The attack was delivered in the usual quasimilitary formation and the old Dacca Anushilan war-cry, "Hara Hara Bom Bom," was raised.

We now know the dacoity was arranged by "Girija Babu" (Negendra Nath Datta), and that amongst others Kanai alias Krishta Shaha, Amrita Sarkar alias Paresh, Purna Chakravarti, Rasik Sarkar alias Jagadish and Nalini Ghosh took part in it. The loot was taken direct to Dacca. The association at one place of all these leading members of the Dacca Anushilan for the commission of a dacoity hundreds of miles away from either Calcutta or Dacca, is remarkable testimony of the organization and strength of the Samiti so recently as 1915.

The results of the enquiries into this case were very interesting, and afforded corroboration in the most satisfactory manner of the conclusions arrived at the time of the Raja Bazar bomb case in November 1913. Among the exhibits seized in the Raja Bazar bomb case at No. 296-1, Upper Circular Road, was a letter written by a mysterious Lalit Mohan Maitra and to it was attached a list of the names of eleven persons, most of whom turned out to be Rajshahi men. There can be little doubt this Lalit and the man of that name arrested in the Dharail dacoity were one and the same person. A further examination by Mr. Tegart, of the "16 cipher list" found at the headquarters of the Raja Bazar gang in 1913, now fully established the connection of the Calcutta leaders with the organization in North Bengal and the truth of the conclusions then arrived at as to the activities of the Dacca Anushilan in spreading the movement in Northern Bengal and Cooch Behar. The ramifications of this branch of the organization went still further afield, for we find it connecting up with Benares in the United Provinces. The northern districts were also being used as a retreat for absconding leaders of the Daca Anushilan. This was very clearly shown by a letter written by Pratul Ganguli (alias Ray) to Khagen Chudhuri of the Raja Bazar bomb case and later an accused in the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case, and we have it moreover from the revolutionaries themselves.

2. The Comilla murder, 4th March 1915

On the evening of the 4th March, Babu Sarat Kumar Basu, Head Master of the Comilla Zilla School, was shot dead. He was a strict disciplinarian and had taken a firm stand against the dissemination of sedition in schools. Two students of the school were arrested but subsequently released for want of evidence.

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It is now definitely known the murder was arranged by Purna Chakravarti, the Comilla "organizer," and Suresh Bharadwaj of the Violence Department, who later on succeeded Purna Chakravarti as organizer at Comilla.

3. The Aurail dacoity in the Tippera district, 25th May 1915

Some thirteen dacoits armed with Mauser pistols and daos attacked the house of Pandab Chandra Kundu and carried away cash and ornaments valued at over Rs. 5,000.

We have now been given a detailed account of the commission of this dacoity. It was carried out by the Dacca Anushilan. Suresh Bharadwaj was leader on this occasion.

4. The Haripore dacoity in the Tippera district, 14th August 1915

Some 25 men, armed with Mauser pistols, guns and kukris, attacked the house of Krishna Prosad Ray Chaudhuri, a zamindar, and after shooting one man dead and seriously wounding three others, looted and carried away cash and ornaments to the value of Rs. 17,000. No clue was obtained at the time, but it is now known that members of the Dacca Anushilan were responsible for it. It was arranged by Suresh Bharadwaj who was now organizer at Comilla, and it is interesting to note that although he was keen on going to the dacoity he was prevented from doing so in accordance with the rule that the "organizer" shall not take part in "actions".

5. The Chandrakona dacoity in the Mymensingh district, 7th September 1915

About 30 men, armed with Mauser pistols and guns, attacked ten shops in the Chakdrakona Bazar, and after wounding five persons carried away cash to the value of Rs. 21,000. They also took away two Government guns. No clue was obtained. It is now known that this dacoity too was committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan.

6. The murder of Deputy Superintendent of Police Jotindra Mohan Ghosh at Mymensingh, 9th October 1915

At about 7 P.M. Babu Jotindra Mohan Ghosh was shot dead by a party of some 4 or 5 bhadralog youths. His son, aged three years, was also killed. It is now definitely known this assassination was carried out by men of the Dacca Anushilan and that Krishta Lal Shaha alias Kanai was the leader.

7. The Kaliachapra dacoity in the Mymensingh district, 22nd December 1915

Some 20 to 25 men of the bhadralog class, armed with Mauser pistols and daggers, broke into the shop of Ram Charan Shaha and carried

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away and ornaments valued at Rs. 850. This dacoity is believed to have been committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan.

8. The Patnai dacoity in the Tippera district, 29th December 1915

Some dacoits of the bhadralog class, armed with Mauser pistols, broke into the house of one Niamatullah, and after shooting him and another inmate of the house dead, carried away cash estimated at between 10,000–15,000 rupees. It is definitely known that this dacoity was carried out by the Dacca Anushilan, and that amongst others the following took part : Atindra Ray, Tarini Mazumdar, Kanai alias Krishna Lal Shaha, Ananga Sarkar of Korpai. The money was kept with Ananga Sarkar, who has always been a very zealous and useful member; his house has been constantly used as a rendezvous and he has provided facilities for members to learn how to shoot.

Important arrests during 1915

During the latter part of 1915 some important arrests were made, certain of which require specially to be mentioned.

In July Purna Chandra Chakravarti, a very dangerous revolutionary who fist came to notice at the end of 1913, was arrested and bound down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. It is noteworthy that Srish Chatarji, the Dacca pleader, defended him on this occasion. Purna Chakravarti's name first appeared in Sasanka's blotting pad recovered int he search at No. 296-1, Upper Circular Road, in November 1913, and enquiries then made established his connection with Malda. He was wandering about Northern Bengal distributing seditious literature, the "Swadhin Bharat" leaflets, and apparently "organizing". He is known to have taken part in many crimes, was closely associated with all the most dangerous characters of the Dacca Anushilan, and was a leader with considerable influence. For some time before his arrest he was an active Member of the inner ring of the Dacca gang, consisting of Anukul Chakravarti alias Thakur, Rasik Sarkar and Nagendra Nath Datta alias Girija Babu.

On the 30th October 1915 Nagendra Nath Datta alias Girija Babu was arrested at Natore and subsequently convicted and sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment in the Benares conspiracy case. He was undoubtedly one of the most dangerous revolutionaries in the province, if not in India. The enquiries in connection with the Chittagong murder in 1914 established his connection with Sylhet and his importance was now realized. Finding himself exposed, he disappeared and was not traced again till his arrest at Natore. In 1915 he was working in close

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co-operation with Anukul Chakravarti alias "Thakur" and took part in the attempt to seduce the 11th Rajputs at Dacca. It was shown in the Benares conspiracy case that he was in close touch with and working under the instructions of Rash Behari Bose, who described him as one of the leaders in Eastern Bengal and that he could be consulted at Chandernagore. It was, however, already known that Girija Babu was in touch with Mati Lal Ray, the Chandernagore, leader, and with Jotindra Mukharji's retreat in the Nilgiri State. In company with Sachin Sanyal of the Benares conspiracy case and others, he is known to have visited Rash Behari Bose at No. 27, Dharamtollah Street, in May 1915.

He was undoubtedly one of the most prominent leaders of the revolutionary movement, with a widespread connection not only in Bengal but also in other parts of India.

In November 1915 some very important arrests and searches were made in Dacca. The Intelligence Branch were now in possession of reliable information regarding the organization and doings of the revolutionary party in Eastern Bengal, and the identity of several very active leaders had been satisfactorily fixed. It was also known that systematic endeavours were being made, and with considerable success, to recruit members among the different schools and colleges in Dacca, especially the Jagannath College. Efforts were being made by the Intelligence Branch to locate the hiding places of the most active revolutionary leaders, and as soon as this was done, Mr. Tegart proceeded to Dacca and carried out on the 18th November 1915 a series of searches yielding the most satisfactory results and proving incidentally the great value of secret information even though unsupported by anything more tangible than the judgment of the officers best qualified to guage its worth.

At the search of No. 107, Nawabpur Road, Dacca, Anukul Chandra Chakravarti alias "Thakur" and Bhuban Behari Bose alias "Atul" were found, and on the 4th January 1916 bound down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code.. Both these men were very active revolutionaries, but the capture of Anukul Chakravarti was especially important as he was at this time the head of the Dacca Anushilan and a most resourceful and influential leader. Nagendra Nath Datta alias Girija Babu had been working in close co-operation with him, and it was, as a matter of fact, when he was leaving Dacca that he was "spotted" and then arrested on his arrival at Natore next day.

Bhuban Behari Bose alias "Atul" was also a member of the inner circle with a long revolutionary career dating back to the early days when he was a member of the gang at the Sonarang National School. He was concerned in the Chittagong murder in 1914 and had been untraced since.

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The searches at No. 48, Kahetuly, Dacca, resulted in the arrest of Rasik Chandra Sarkar alias Jagadish. Bhagwan Chandra Das alias Benoy Kumar Ray, and Ramesh Chandra Chaudhuri alias Keshab, all active revolutionaries, especially Rasik Sarkar to whom reference has already been made in connection with the Madaripur conspiracy. Rasik Sarkar had also been strongly suspected in the murder of Ram Das in Dacca on the 19th July 1914 and again in the murder of Jotindra Mohan Ghose, Deputy Superintendent of Police, shot at Mymensingh on the 9th October 1915.

At No. 82, Thatari Bazar, Dacca, another very active member, Ananta Prasanna Ray Chaudhuri, was found and subsequently dealt with under the Defence of India Act.

Searches at the Sakha Press at No. 11, Lyall Street, Dacca, resulted in the find of a Mauser pistol and another automatic pistol and a quantity of cartridges, including one hundred .380 cartridges of the kind used in several dacoities known to have been committed by men of the bhadralog class. A charge under section 19 (f) of the Arms Act was satisfactorily established against two of the men occupying the house in which arms were found and they were both convicted.

These searches and arrests, coupled with the arrest of Girija Babu on the 30th October, deprived the Dacca organization, for the time being, of three important leaders, while in Rasik Sarkar a very desperate assassin and dacoit was secured. The arrest of Anukul Chakravarti at this time was of the first importance. The Dacca Anushilan, however, was far too well organized and powerful to suffer more than a temporary check by the removal of a few leaders, however capable they might be, and there were others to take their place, such men, for instance, as Amrita Sarkar and Krista Lal Shaha alias Kanai, who were still at large.

The Dacca Anushilan, therefore, continued vigorous and active, and before the end of the year had committed two more dacoities. In the following year, 1916, it was responsible for several more crimes, including the murder on the 30th June 1916 of a most devoted and capable police officer, Basanta Kumar Chatarji. By the end of 1916, however, the measures taken under the Defence of India Act began to make themselves felt, and now for the first time it has become possible to deal with the revolutionary organization with a reasonable hope of successfully combating its anarchical and terroristic manifestation.

The cure for the disease underlying the whole revolutionary movement is a deeper question and one with which we are not here concerned. The immediate need of the moment is to stop crime and

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terrorism, and it will now be shown how this has been achieved by a judicious use of the provisions of the Defence of India Act.

1916

The activities of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti continued during 1916 till during July of that year; they reached a higher point than they had ever reached before. The culminating point may be said to be the murder on 30th June 1916 of Deputy Superintendent of Police, Basanta Kumar Chatarji. This outrage opened up various lines of investigation and sharpened the keenness of the officers engaged to such extent that during the next six months the Dacca Anushilan Samiti by the use of the Defence of India Act received certainly the most severe blows which has been dealt in its history.

The crimes committed by members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti during 1916 are as follows :

1. **Murder of the Head Master of the Zilla School at Malda on 28th January 1916 :** The deceased Head Master had incurred the hostility of various teachers and students, and was stabbed to death one evening while taking a walk. One of the culprits Mahendra Nath Das, was sentenced to transportation for life. The person responsible for that murder is believed to be Baren Ray, who is still evading arrest.
2. **Attempt on the life of Mr. Emerson, District Magistrate of Commilla, in the latter part of February 1916 :** Apparently the intention was to murder Mr. Emerson merely for the purpose of bringing Mr. Tegart to the scene of the outrage where arrangements were made to murder Mr. Tegart. The project however luckily failed, although apparently Mr. Emerson had a very close shave.

Of the men known to have been concerned in that projected outrage, 8 are at present under detention and 3 are absconders.

3. **The Nathghar dacoity, Tippera district, 30th April 1916 :** Abut 20 Bengali youths broke into a house and looted about Rs. 17,500. The details of this outrage are thoroughly well known. Five of the participators have acknowledged the parts they played.
4. **Attempted murder of Sub-Inspector Jogendra Gupta in the early part of June 1916 :** Owing to this officer's previous good work, a definite project was made to assassinate him, luckily without success.

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5. **The Bairagitola murders on the 23rd of June 1916 :** Two constables who were employed on the work of shadowing people in Dacca were shot dead in Bairagitola Lane. The story of this outrage is now fully known. Of the four actual participants, 3 are under detention and one is absconding.
6. **The Bhowanipur murder on the 30th of June 1916 :** After the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Deputy Superintendent of Police, Basanta Chatarji, in the Musulmanpara bomb case, this energetic and successful officer was shot dead on the 30th of June 1916 near the maidan in Calcutta. His orderly, a head-constable, was also shot and eventually died. The history of this crime is known perhaps is more detail than any other anarchist outrage. Five persons were actually concerned in the murder itself. Of these four are at present State prisoners and the fifth absconded after arrest. Six other persons were also concerned in the arrangements for this outrage. Of these, five are under detention and one absconded after arrest.
7. **Shaharpadua dakaity on the 2nd of September 1916 in the Tippera district :** A sum of about Rs. 3,200 in cash and ornaments was looted. One youth was sent up under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and ordered to execute a bond of Rs. 3,000 with two sureties of Rs. 1,500 each to be of good behaviour for one year. The story of this dakaity is also fairly complete. Most of the participators are under detention.
8. **Laliteswar dakaity of 4th September 1917 in the Tippera district :** In this outrage Rs. 530 in cash and about Rs. 8 in small change were taken from the complainant's safe and about Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 were taken from a spot in the floor of the house. The villagers collected and chased the dakaits for a distance of several miles during which pursuit five of the villagers were shot dead and five others wounded. One of the dakaits was captured, and when the police arrived was found dead. He was shown to be one Probodh Bhattacharji, who had been domiciled under the Defence of India Act in Rajshahi and had absconded from his domicile on the 11th of July 1916.
9. **Attempted dakaity at Bhadda, Faridpur district, in September 1916 :** This was an effort made by the Calcutta section to commit a dakaity for the purpose of raising funds, but owing to faulty arrangements, the dakaity was not committed.

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10. **Attempted dakatiy at Chandpur in September 1916 :** This was a small abortive project to loot a consignment of money.

11. **The Shahildeo dakaity of 17th October 1916, district Mymensingh :** A house was broken into, and a sum of about Rs. 80,000 was looted. The owner of the house was shot dead, and by random firing the dakaits wounded two other males and four females. The story of this dakaity was told very fully by various deponents, and the participators are mostly under detention.
12. **Attempted murder of Inspector Surendra Bhattacharji :** Apparently after the Sahildeo dakaity a project was made to murder Surendra Bhattacharji at Rajbari. Arrangements fortunately went astray.
13. **A further plan to murder Mr. Tegart :** After the raid on No. 39, Pathuriaghata Street, in October 1916, another distinct attempt was made to inveigle Mr. Tegart into circumstances where his assassination could be accomplished. The project this time was to cause a bomb explosion which, it was hoped, would bring him to the scene. This effort again proved abortive.

As has been said, the murder of Basanta Babu called into play all the efforts of the police to deal with the party responsible for this outrage. Information was soon received that the outrage was the work of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, and a concentrated attack by help of the Defence of India Act was made on this body. Confidential information showed that premises No. 39, Pathuriaghata Street, was being used as the headquarters and as a place of refuge of the members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. The house was carefully watched, and on the 7th of October 1916 Narendra Nath Banarji was followed from the house, arrested and was subsequently made a State prisoner. On the 8th of October the house was raided. One Jogesh Chandra Chatarji was arrested there, and on the same day two other persons, Sishir Kumar Datta Gupta and Jogendra Das Bhattacharji, each carrying arms, were arrested on coming to the house. Jogendra Das Bhattacharji was the leading figure in the Dacca Anushilan Samiti at that stage. Previous to this, almost accidentally, the organiser of the Comilla branch of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti had been arrested in Calcutta, and this led to a fairly complete routing out of the members of that branch. Investigation led to the names and activities of the more important

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figures of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti in Dacca, and various arrests of leading members were effected there.

Krishna Lal Shaha and his lieutenant Chandra Kumar, both of whom are known to have been concerned in almost all the outrages recently committed by the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, are still evading arrest.

During 1916 efforts were made by the Dacca Anushilan Samiti to provide retreats and to establish new centres in various places. One of the places chosen was Berhampur in the district of Murshidabad. After the arrests of Pathuriaghata Street apparently the headquarters of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti was shifted to that place, and later important arrests were effected there. Evidence shows they have relinquished this place now as a headquarters.

J. E. ARMSTRONG,
Superintendent of Police, on Special Duty

Calcutta
The 24th April 1917

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An Account
OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATIONS IN BENGAL

OTHER THAN THE DACCA ANUSILAN SAMITI

COMPILED BY

J. C. NIXON, I.C.S.

CALCUTTA
Bengal Secretariat Press
1917

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NOTE

An explanatory note is necessary with regard to the lists given in this volume. They do not purport to be complete statements of the members of the various parties. They merely give the names of persons who have been, according to the evidence so far collected, engaged in crimes of violence. This treatment occasionally, but not frequently, results in the names of the most important and dangerous persons being omitted from the lists. Generally those names are given in the text.

Another anomaly thus introduced is that the origins of the members are not clearly indicated, inasmuch as many youths did not engage in crime till they came into contact with the bigger central organisations. Consequently there is much more mixing of the parties in 1915 than the cross-reference notes in the lists would suggest.

J. C. NIXON

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CHAPTER I

The "Jugantar" Party

The earliest known attempts in Bengal to promote societies for political or semi-political ends are associated with the names of the late P. Mitter, Barrister-at-Law, Miss Saralabala Ghosal and a Japanese named Okakura. These activities commenced in Calcutta somewhere about the year 1900, and are said to have spread to many of the districts of Bengal and to have flourished particularly at Kushtia, where Jatindra Nath Mukharji was leader.

Jatindra Nath Banarji : Swami Vivekananda, the revivalist of Vedantism and the founder of the Ram Krishna Mission, died in 1902 at Belur near Calcutta. Apparently before that date Arabinda Ghosh had attempted to influence the political life of Bengal. From Baroda he had sent Jatindra nath Banarji, a soldier in the Gaekwar's army, and later, his brother, Barindra Kumar Ghosh, to preach the cause of freedom in Bengal. They approached Babu Surendra Nath Banarji, some members of the Tagore family, Swami Vivekananda, Miss Saralabala Ghosal, Messrs. P. Mitter, C. R. Das, Bijay Chatarji, and many other barristers. It is not very clear what was the effect of this early propaganda, but it seems that at about that time many small and independent samitis sprang up in the mufassal and in Calcutta which, though not ostensibly revolutionary, had for their ultimate aims, freedom and independence and the subversion of the British Government. The samitti seems principally to have taken the form of *akharas* for physical culture. At the beginning of 1902, three distinct *akharas* existed in Calcutta respectively associated with the names of -

1. Jatindra Banarji
2. P. Mitter
3. Miss Saralabala Ghosal

The second of these was later known as the Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti*, and P. Mitter was its President and Satish Chandra Basu its Secretary.

Barin Ghosh : In the early part of 1902, Barin Ghosh first visited Bengal and identified himself more particularly with Jatindra Banarji's society, which was located in Grey Street. He, however, mostly toured about Bengal till the middle of 1903 and founded various *akharas* and *Samitis*, as he states, "to stir up young people to take part in revolutionary work and to free the country from the foreigner's yoke".

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In the middle of 1903, Barindra returned to his brother Arabinda at Baroda. At the end of that year, Jatindra Banarji quarrelled with the other members of his *samiti* and left Bengal and the revolutionary movement in disgust and disappointment at the failure of his mission. He seems to have taken then to the life of a *sadhu*.

The party which he had led fell to pieces, and when Barindra returned to Calcutta a few months later in 1904, to take up his task again, he came to the conclusion that a quiet political propoganda would effect nothing, and that "I must start revolutionary work myself, recruit members from various parts of Bengal, and thereby get up a party of my own to rise against the British Government". To this purpose he apparently devoted himself till about the month of March 1906.

In the meantime in October 1905 came the partition of Bengal and the *swadeshi* agitation. On 17th July 1905 the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published a letter in which the boycott of English-made goods was first advocated, and on 7th August 1905 the doctrine was openly adopted at a meeting held in Calcutta.

Chhattra Bhandar : Upon the break up of the Grey Street society under Jatindra Banarji, several unsuccessful attempts were made to rally the members. One Nikcleswar Ray Maulik had long had the idea of starting a *swadeshi* store which should act as a material centre for political propaganda. Taken up by Indra Nath Nandi, this notion eventually materialised in the establishment of the *Chhattra Bhandar* in College Street towards the end of 1904. This concern from its commencement had its two sides, one of pure trade and the other of "helping the cause". In the beginning these two objects were attained together. Various places in the mufassal were visited, *swadeshi* articles were sold, with such pictures and books as were likely to forward the cause, meetings were addressed, magic lantern exhibitions were held, exercise clubs and other associations were started, not with a professed revolutionary aim, but with the insidious purpose of spreading "the idea". Indra Nath Nandi, son of Colonel Nandi, I.M.S., was the Secretary, and Abinash Chakrabartti, a Munsif, the patron of this concern.

Some time probably towards the end of 1905 it was decided to separate the two sides of this organisation. The purely business side remained purely business, became a limited liability company some time in the middle of 1906, and continued a moribund existence for perhaps a couple of years or more after that date.

Chhattra Bhandar mess : The more active side formed itself into a mess of whole-time workers for the cause, to be trained for mission work by regular classes. It established itself at No. 27, Kanai Lal Dhur's

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Lane. Indra Nath Nandi was perhaps the biggest active figure in this scheme. Although there was very little real leadership or clarity of purpose there at all, the members came into touch with most of the big men of the new thought in Bengal. However, the energy and enthusiasm of this group flagged. For a time it managed to get some support and countenance from the more compact Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti* of P. Mitter and Satish Basu, but it was not strong enough to absorb this party or even to keep its co-operation.

Kartik Datta, with a following of Santipore youths, later joined by Keshab De, who was originally a member of the *Anushilan Samiti*, became the chief inmates of the mess. This gang, apparently with the approbation of Abinash Chakrabartti, went about Calcutta at night committing much purposeless mischief and indulging in debaucheries. One of these incidents was an attempt to rob a tramway cash-box, which by its non-success convinced them that better training and equipment were necessary for such work.

This seems to have been the first overt act of its kind and the commencement of that series of dacoities and other outrages which has been the principal outcome of the so-called political movement in Bengal.

Arms : At this time, 1906, a fairly extensive illicit traffic in arms was going on, mostly in Calcutta, and the possession of revolvers and guns was a sort of elementary symbol of membership to the revolutionary societies.

Atmannati Samiti : In order to get a correct perspective of matters in 1906, it is necessary to refer to yet another *samiti* called the *Atmannati Samiti*. This was also originally an athletic club and was probably the direct descendant or at any rate an offspring of Saralabala's *Akhara*. At the end of 1905 it was housed at Wellington Square and Provash De, M.A., B.L., was its principal figure with Indra Nath Nandi as its Secretary. Later, in 1906, it removed to Bow Bazar Street and became one of the principal places of association of all youths with political aspirations.

In the early part of 1906 then, there existed in Calcutta -

1. the Calcutta *Anushilan Samiti* under P. Mitter and Satish Basu
2. the *Chhattra Bhandar* with

2a. its separate mess at No. 27, Kanai lal Dhur's lane, and

3. the *Atmannati Samiti* associated with the name of Provash De.

The *Anusilan* in a way was distinct from the others and remained so, but there were very close relationships between all these associations.

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At about this time all over Bengal there existed a network of societies mostly started by and acknowledging a certain allegiance to one or more of these Calcutta groups. The life in these *samitis* was already maintained by the publication of a series of periodicals in Calcutta which, taking as their cues the recent partition of Bengal and the widespread enthusiasm for *swadeshi* goods, poured forth a series of most scurrilous articles against the British Government and against Europeans and European things.

"Jugantar" newspaper : The most important of these was the *Jugantar* newspaper started on 3rd March 1906 by the *Chhattra Bhandar* group at the instance of Abinash Chakrabartti. It was edited and managed by Barindra Ghosh, aided by Abinash Bhattacharji and Bhupendra Datta (brother of Swami Vivekananda). As Barindra himself said, "We published articles that might give an incentive to the Indians to try for the independence of our country. We dropped hints by the issue of articles in our paper that we were getting up a secret society for our mission." On 24th July 1907 the nominal editor, then Bhupendra Datta, was prosecuted under section 124A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment, while on 2nd September 1907 the ostensible publisher, Basanta Kumar Bhattacharji, under the same section, was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and fined Rs. 1,000.

The "Sandhya" and the "Navasakti" : Besides the *Jugantar*, there were the *Sandhya*, edited by Brahmabandeb Upadhya, for which Shyam Sundar Chakrabartti wrote articles, and later in 1907 the *Navasakti*, of which the editor was Manoranjan Guha Thakurta and which was taken over by Abinash Bhattacharji in 1908. The *Sandhya* was at various times prosecuted, while the printer of the *Navasakti* was sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment in February 1908.

"Bande Mataram" newspaper : Next in importance to the *Jugantar* however, was probably the *Bande Mataram*. This paper made its appearance simultaneously with the opening of the National College on 1st August 1906. It was started by Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, a zamindar of Jessore, with Bipin Chandra Pal as editor. In October 1906 Bipin Pal severed his connection with this paper and its was taken in hand by Arabinda Ghosh, who had come to Calcutta from Baroda as first Principal of the National College. The paper was prosecuted in September 1907 under section 124A, Indian Penal Code, in the Court of Mr. Kingsford, and its printer sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment. Arabinda, who was a co-accused, was acquitted after protracted trial.

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Arabinda Ghosh : It is necessary here to give some account of Arabinda Ghosh. He is a man of the Hooghly district, born in abut 1873. In about 1891 he passed the Indian Civil Service Examination, but was disqualified for failing in the riding test. He found service as Vice-Principal of the Gaekwar's College, Baroda, where apparently he came into contact with one Thakur Sahib, a member of a secret society which is said to have existed on the Bombay side from the days of the Mutiny. Under this influence he began to deliberate on the idea of national freedom and unity, and to create schemes for the liberation of India from the foreign yoke. With the purpose in view he formulated the *Bhwani Mandir*, an all-India religious movement, and embodies his ideas in a pamphlet. Nothing seems to have come of this, but the principle of setting out his political doctrines in religious garb he continued to use with success in Bengal.

"Jugantar" newspaper : To turn against to the *Jugantar* newspaper, and to quote from the judgment of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Harington in the Alipore conspiracy case—"It was frankly aimed at the destruction of British rule in India. To that end there was published on August 26th, 1907, an article urging the formation of bands of young men, aiming at directing local thought and effort towards independence. On January, 13th, 1907, an article appeared headed 'The thrust about Revolution.' This urges a revolution by 'brute force,' and refers to the building up of public opinion. On March 3rd, 1907, appears an article on the collection of funds—urging the collection of funds by force, stating that thefts or dacoities committed to that end are not sin, but rather a work of religious merit".

Maniktola Garden : Towards the middle of 1907 Barindra Ghosh separated his secret society from the *Jugantar* newspaper and made its headquarters a garden at No. 32, Muraripukur Road, Maniktola, which was the joint property of Barindra and his three brothers. There, as Barin said on 3rd May 1908, "We, the members of our secret society, used to live together, eat together and talk together on political matters as to how to regenerate our country and secure its independence by revolutionary action against the British Government, which our sole object was to get rid of...... I am the organiser and author of this secret society. There was a wide and persistent demand all over India for one successful political murder in order to stiffen the backs of the people and to satisfy their spirit of revenge. We were, though unwilling, compelled to take up the task and work it out to its bitter end. We had taken a vow to serve the nation at the cost of all that we considered dear, including life, and so, like obedient slaves, we carried out the behest of the nation". To this end the

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garden became a regular arsenal of arms, ammunition and explosives, and the fabrication of bombs, an important part of its work.

"Jugantar" Party : This, then, was the centre of the *Jugantar* party towards the end of 1907, with its network of branch societies throughout Bengal kept alive by the inflammatory writings of the *Jugantar* newspaper and its contemporaries. Of these branch societies, it is necessary to mention four, as all of these concerned in particular outrages :

1. Midnapore, led by Satyendra Basu
2. Kushtia, led by Jatindra Nath Mukharji
3. Bankura, led by Ram Das Chakrabartti
4. Chandernagore, led by Charu Chandra Ray

At some time during the rains of 1906 Barindra and certain of the Calcutta members went to Rangpur and joined some of the local members there in an unsuccessful armed attempt to loot a house. During the rains of 1907 another unsuccessful attempt at looting with the aid of arms was made in the Bankura district.

The approaching Indian National Congress to be held at Surat in December 1907 was probably the immediate cue which led to the crop of outrages which now followed.

Its outrages : In November 1907 two unsuccessful attempts were made to wreck by bombs the Lieutenant-Governor's train near Chandernagore, while on 6th December 1907 a further attempt, which was partially successful, was made near Narayangarh, Midnapore. In this last case six coolies were convicted on 9th April 1908 on the strength of a confession made by one of them. Subsequent investigation showed that this outrage was purely the work of Barindra Ghosh and his party, and the coolies were released in 1910. On 4th March 1908 the Rev. Mr. Higginbotham at Kushtia, Nadia, was seriously wounded by a pistol shot. On 11th April 1908 an attempt was made to bomb the Maire of Chandernagore, while on 30th April 1908 two ladies were killed in Muzaffarpur by a bomb intended for Mr. Kingsford. The two culprits in this murder were caught. One committed suicide and the other was eventually hanged. Confidential information disclosed that previous to this, another attempt had been made on the life of Mr. Kingsford by means of a bomb cunningly contrived in a book. Information of this attempt was received many months afterwards, during which time, luckily, the book had not been opened, but an examination of Mr. Kingsford's books disclosed the accuracy of this information.

An examination of the evidence now available with respect to these crimes discloses the following names :

(See Table A on next page)

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Table A

X indicates good evidence
I indicates reasonably fair evidence

The Jugantar Party	Rangpur, August 1906	Bankura, August 1907	Lieutenant Governor's, October 1907	Lieutenant Governors, December 1907	Maire, 11th April 1908	Mazaffarpur, 80th, April 1908	Narendra Gossain, 1st September 1098			Remarks
Banarji, Upendra	—	—	X	—	I	—	I	Transprotation for life in Alipore case.	—	
Basu, Khurdiram	—	—	—	—	—	X^H	—	Executed on 11th August 1908 for Mazaffarpur murder.	—	
Basu, Sailendra Nath	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	Transportation for 5 years in Alipore case.	—	See Table B.
Basu, Satyendra	—	I	—	I	—	—	X^H	Executed on 21st November 1908 for murder of Naren Gossain.		
Basu Surendra Nath	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bhattacharji, Abinash	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	Transportation for 7 years in Alipore case.	—	
Chaki, Prafulla	I	I	X	X	—	X^K	—	Committed suicide on 2nd May 1908	—	
Chakrabarti, Abinash	I	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	State Prisoner	See Tables B J and M.
Chakrabartti, Hemendra	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Ishan Chandra	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Ram Das	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Satish	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

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The Jugantar Party	Rangpur, August 1906	Bankura, August 1907	Lieutenant-Governor's October 1907	Lieutenant-Governors, December 1907	Maire, 11th April 1908	Mazaffarpur, 11th April 1908	Mauzaffarpur, 80th April 1908	Narendra Gossain, 1st September 1908		Remarks
Chakrabartti, Suresh	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chatarji, Pala Ram	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Das, Hem Chandra	I	—	—	—	X	X	I	Transportation for liffe in Alipore case.	—	
Datta, Kanai Lal	—	—	—	—	—	—	X^H	Executed on 10th November 1908 for murder of Naren Gossain.	—	
Datta, Ullaskar	—	—	X	X	I	—	—	Transportation for life in Alipore case	—	
Dhabal, Rai Charan	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ghosh, Arabinda	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	Living at Pondicherry	—	
Ghosh, Barendra	I	I	X	X	X	X	—	Transportation for life in Alipore case.	—	
Ghosh, Harish Charan	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ghosh, Santi (Chandernagore)	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ghosh, Santi Charan (Calcutta).	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	Discharged in Alipore case on 18th July 1908.	Dead	
Ghosh, Satya Charan	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ghosh, Sishir (Jessore)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Transportation for 5 years in Alipore Case.	—	
Ghosh, Srish (Chandernagore)	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	Detai-ned under Ingress Act.	
Gossain, Narendra	X	X	X	—	X	I	I	Murdered on 1st September 1908	—	
Lahiri, Mahendra Nath	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Détenue	

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The Jugantar Party	Rangpur, August 1906	Bankura, August 1907	Lieutenant-Governor's October 1907	Lieutenant-Governor's December 1907	Maire, 11th April 1908	Mazaffarpur, 30th April 1908	Narendra Gossain, 1st April 1908			Remarks
Lal, Hrishikesh Kunja	—	—	X	—	X	—	—	Transportation for 10 years in Alipore case.	In Benares.	
Maulik, Paresh Chandra	I	—	—	—		I	—	Transportation for 7 years in Alipore case.	—	
Ray, Indu Bhusan	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	Transportation for 10 years in Alipore case.	—	
Ray, Nirapada	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	Transporation for 5 years in Alipore case.	—	
Ray, Sudhangshu Jiban	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	
Sarkar, Bibhuti	—	—	I	X	I	—	—	Transportation for 10 years in Alipore case	—	
Sarkar, Satish	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Sarkar, Sudhir Kumar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Transportation for 7 years in Alipore case.	Détenu	
Sen, Birendra Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Transportation for 7 years in Alipore case.	Expe-lled from Bengal	

Alipore Conspiracy Case : The Muzaffarpur murders precipitated police action. The *Jugantar* party had been under police observation during the previous six months. During the first few day of May 1908, the garden and various other places were searched; 33 arrests were made and the Alipore conspiracy case started. The judgment in the Sessions Judge's Court was delivered on 6th May 1909, but the cases were not eventful completely disposed of till 18th February 1910. The final result was that four men, including Barindra Ghosh, were sentenced to transportation for life, three for ten years, and four for seven years, while three men were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for seven years and three for five years under the Arms Act. During the trial the approver

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Norendra Gossain was shot dead in jail on 31st August 1908 and the two men immediately concerned in this outrage were hanged.

The *Jugantar* gang by this action received a severe blow. Inasmuch as Arabinda Ghosh, one of the original accused, was acquitted, it cannot be said that the heart of the movement was crushed. During the three years following the arrests in the Alipore case, what is known as Western Bengal passed through a phase of very severe anarchical crime. Of the causes which contributed to this the following may be mentioned :

1. The protracted nature of the trial and the publicity which it gave to revolutionary methods and to the ostensible strength of the conspiracy.
2. The character of martyrdom which was popularly given to the accused, and particularly to those who had been hanged for murder.
3. The still violent attitude of the newspapers.
4. The numerous outrages committed with impunity by the Eastern Bengal parties, which Western Bengal felt bound to copy.
5. A widespread dissatisfaction with the British Government in the minds of a large section of the public, an aftermath largely of the partition but probably more deeply rooted.
6. The pernicious effects of the opinions expressed by such itinerant visitors to India in 1907 and later as Mr. Keir Hardie.

These and other causes seem to have given birth in Western Bengal to the growth of a *bhadralok* loafer criminal class and an anarchical condition of things in which, although the revolutionary idea existed, there was undoubtedly a very big element of ordinary crime.

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CHAPTER II

Other Parties Existing in May 1908

It is necessary now to describe more fully groups, other than the *Jugantar*, in existence in and before May 1908. As has been noted previously, in the early part of 1906 there existed :

1. the Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti*
2. the *Chhattra Bhandar*

2a. the *Chhattra Bhandar* Mess, and

3. the *Atmannati Samiti.*

Calcutta Anusilan Samiti : With regard to the first, the most important fact in connection with its activities was the visit of Mr. P. Mitter and Bipin Chandra Pal to Dacca in September 1906 and the foundation of the Dacca *Anusilan Samitii* under Pulin Bihari Das as a branch of the Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti.* Dacca had played a conspicuous part in the agitation which followed on the partition of Bengal. It was a fertile ground for the growth of seditious and revolutionary ideas and had been thoroughly prepared by the series of political firebrands during the previous three or four years.

Dacca Anusilan Samiti : The Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* immediately sprang into dangerous proportions and soon overshadowed its parent society, and indeed for a long period all other societies together. During the next ten years, up to the end of 1916, it carried out a programme of anarchical crime which included the deliberate murder of 34 person, the more or less incidental deaths of 19 people, the successful or attempted carrying out of 47 dacoities, as a result of which a sum of roughly five lakhs has been looted. It covered the whole of Eastern Bengal with its branches and incorporated older and less energetic *samitis*. As its influence increased, the Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti* sank in importance and finally ceased to exist. In 1910 the headquarters of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* were transferred to Calcutta.

During the *Jugantar* period of 1907-08 the Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti* was is close touch and identified itself largely with the work of that more active body. However, even at that time it was probably the most clearly distinct other *samiti* of Bengal.

Atmannati Samiti : The *Atmannati Samiti,* although many of its members were also members and frequenters of the *Jugantar* newspaper offices and of the garden, kept some sort of individuality during this period. Its methods were perhaps more practical and less showy than those of the Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti,* though they had in them definitely the idea of revolution. With the opening of the National College in

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August 1906, the headquarters of the *samiti* were shifted to the grounds of that college. Even as early as 1906-07 boxing used to be taught their by Bipin Chandra Ganguli, a person who afterwards played an important part in the development of this society. Provash De, M.A., the principal figure of the *Atmannati*, had, rprobably in 1907, infected the already existing *Surhid Samiti* of Mymensingh through the person of Hemendra Kishor Acharji, a former classmate of Provash. During the Jamalpur riots of April 1907 a group of the members of the *Atmannati Samiti* visited Jamalpur to support the Hindus, and four of them, including Bipin Ganguli and Indra Nath Nandi, were arrested there.

There is evidence to show that the members of this *samiti* took part in the Chingripota station dacoity of 6th December 1907, and that Provash De received part of the proceeds of that affair. It appears, too, that the members of this *samiti* were concerned in the Sibpur dacoity of 3rd April 1908, which was committed by members of the Howrah gang.

The information now at hand with respect mostly to these crimes discloses the following names :

Table B

X indicates good evidence
I indicates reasonably fair evidence

Atmannati Samiti	Jamalpur riots	Shibpur dacoity 3rd April 1908	Chingripota dacoity, 6th December 1907		Remarks
Basu, Naren	X	—	I	—	See Table C and D
Basu, Nripendra	—	—	I	—	
Basu, Sailendra	—	—	X	Sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment in Alipore case.	See Table A
Bhattacharji, Norendra Nath	—	—	X	Arrested recently in America	See Tables D, J and M.
Chakrabartti, Abinash	—	—	I	State prisoner	See Tables A, J and M.
Chakrabartti, Lalit	—	—	X	—	See Table D
Chatarji, Noren	—	X	—	Détenu	See Tables C and D.

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Atmonnati Samiti	Jamalpur riots	Shibpur dacoity 3rd April 1908	Chingripota dacoity, 6th December 1907		Remarks
Das, Tinkari	—	I	—	—	See Tables C and D.
Datta, Pabitra	—	—	I	—	
De, Provash	—	—	I	State prisoner	See Tables K and L
Deb, Bimala	—	—	I	—	See Table D
Ganguli, Bepin	X	—	—	Sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment	See Tables C, J, K, L and M
Ghosh, Sishir	X	—	—	—	—
Lal, Moti	—	—	I	—	—
Mitter, Bhusan	—	I	I	—	See Table D
Mitter, Jogesh	—	I	—	—	See Table D
Mukharji, Bhuban	—	I	—	—	See Table D
Mukharji, Bhutan	—	I	—	—	See Table D
Nandi, Chuni	—	X	—	—	See Table D
Nandi, Indra	X	X	X	—	See Table D
Palit, Lalit	—	—	I	—	—
Ray, Kali	—	—	I	—	—
Ray, Lal Behari	—	I	—	—	See Table D
Sen Gupta, Noni Gopal	—	I	—	State prisoner	See Table D
Sikdar, Harish	—	—	I	State prisoner	See Tables J, K and L.

Chhattra Bhandar : The *Chhattra Bhandar* and its mess formed practically an integral part of the *Jugantar* party while that party was at its height. Under the leadership of Kartik Datta and Keshab De, a number of lawless youths had banded themselves at the mess. Although this gang may be said to have had a separate existence, its leader Kartik Datta, for some time, served in the *Jugantar* printing office, and was a constant visitor to the garden. It was not till the *Jugantar* gang proper had been broken up that this party came into prominence.

Even in and around Calcutta itself, besides the prominent parties already described, there existed many smaller gangs and *samitis* mostly owning a nominal attachment to one of the bigger parties and all proud to emulate their examples.

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Howrah gang : The first of these to be noticed is a Howrah party led by one Nani Gopal Sen Gupta which operated in the districts of Hooghly, Howrah and the 24-Parganas, and which had a fair membership towards the end of 1907. It claimed to be directly attached to the main Jugantar party. Certainly when Calcutta was disturbed by the searches preceding the Alipore conspiracy case, a trunk-load of arms and ammunition was removed from the house of Indra Nath Nandi to that of Nani Gopal at Sibpur, Howrah. Its main link seems to have been through the *Atmannati Samiti*, several members of which became members of this gang. This party seems to have first exhibited signs of activity by committing the Sibpur dacoity of 3rd April 1908.

Bhowanipur Party : At this time, early in 1908, there was another party under Bimala Charan De, located at Bhowanipur, which considered its leader to be Jatindra Nath Mukharji, who at that time was a clerk in a Government office at Darjeeling. It was this party which later in 1915 led the revolutionary movement and its further history will be told in due course.

Bhatpara Party : To the rise of still another party during 1908, at Bhatpara, associated with the name of Jogen Thakur, this slight reference must be made in order to bring contemporary matters up to the date of the break up of the *Jugantar*.

Intermixture of these parties : Although a separate name and a separate individuality have been given to these various parties in this account of them, and although such a distinction was probably observed amongst the minor members, it is very clear that the bigger figures were in close communication with one another and were frequently accepted members of two or more of these *samitis*. It may be taken that at some time these various parties were engaged in anarchical crime independently, although in their revolutionary aims and usually in their origins they were all very closely related.

Main parties : The main parties at the period of about April 1908 can perhaps best be indicated in the following diagram :

(See diagram on next page)

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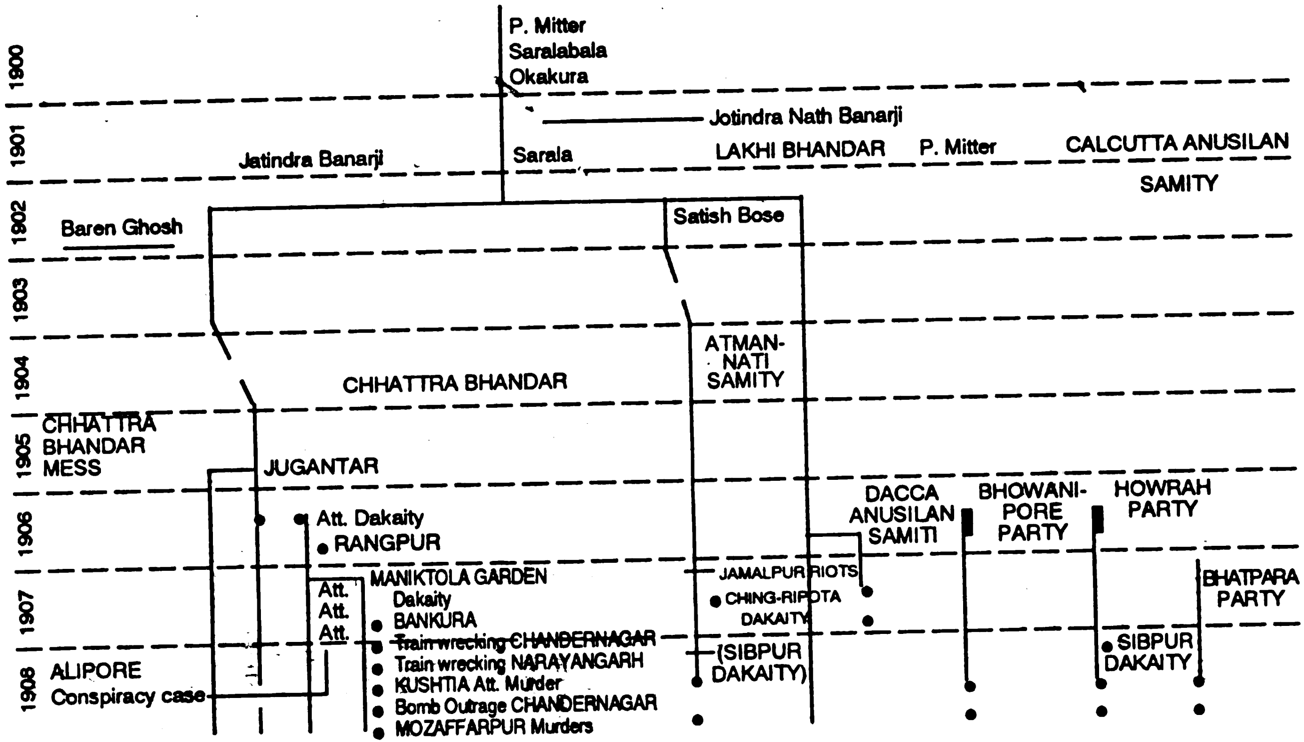
CHART II



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CHAPTER III

Influences bearing upon the situation up to May 1908

There are some general considerations to which attention needs to be directed before dismissing the study of anarchical activity before May 1908.

Russo-Japanese War : During the period 1903-05 the minds of the young men of India had undoubtedly been very strongly influenced by the success of the Oriental Japanese race against a Western nation, the Russians.

The Partition : Political agitation in Bengal received its most useful cue at the passing of the partition measure in July 1905, and it was certainly not till after this date that it assumed really dangerous proportions. Nevertheless, there are many reasons for believing that this measure was less the cause of the violent outburst which followed it than an excuse for an exhibition of a spirit which had been growing up in Bengal for many years previously. The *Amrita Bazar Partika* for ten years preceding the partition had carried on a systematic campaign against the British Government and against Europeans and European things, in a spirit which can be described as unscrupulously malignant. The proposals for the partition first appeared in December 1903. Protest meetings, probably of a genuine character, were immediately held all over the Province, but it was not until 1905 that these began to develop seditious tendencies and to encourage violence and anarchy.

In July 1905 at a meeting help in Dinajpur it was urged that all Honorary Magistrates, members of District Boards, Municipal Commissioners, etc., should resign their appointments as a protest against the partition measure. Seditious songs were sung at these meetings. Two leaflets, *Raja Ke* and *Sonar Bangla,* both inciting to violence, were published and distributed amongst the members of the local bars, the immature students of colleges and schools, and the half-educated people of the mufassal.

Strikes : A direction to which the movement for a time spread during 1905 was in the organisation of industrial strikes for the purpose of embarrassing Government and of obstructing public work. There were strikes in the Kidderpore Docks, on the East Indian Railway, and in the Bengal Secretariat Press. Prominent among the leaders in these strikes were certain Indian barristers-at-law.

Boycott : In August 1905 the doctrine of the boycott of foreign-made goods was publicly adopted in Bengal, and this was followed by many acts of open violence. Groups of youths formed

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themselves into picketing parties for the purpose of interfering with the sale of foreign articles and of destroying the stocks of persons who persisted in importing and selling foreign goods. Manchester cloths were seized from shops and burnt, and bags of Liverpool salt were thrown into the water. Customers going to purchase European goods were harassed. Wanton assaults on Europeans were committed in the open streets of Calcutta, and all over Bengal it became the fashion for youths to adopt an aggressive and provocative attitude to Europeans of both sexes.

Volunteers : The youths concerned in this sort of activity were called "Volunteers". The Volunteer movement was known in Calcutta as early as 1900, and it mostly took the form of gratuitous service rendered by young men and college students for the purpose of keeping order at political meetings and in the direction of purely philanthropic work. With the rise of the *akhara* as a general institution these youths went in for physical training and particularly indulged in fencing and *lathi*-play taught to them by professionals. This craze for physical training became a very prominent characteristic of the movement. Young Bengal eagerly seized upon the notion of making itself into a semi-military body, and set itself diligently to work to train itself in *lathi* and sword exercises, archery, drill and discipline. The *Anusilan Samiti* particular identified itself with this movement.

National Volunteers : In 1906, at the lead of one Pramatha Nath Chatarji, these youths commence to call themselves National Volunteers and they were to be found in almost every part of Bengal. They were the participants in almost all the *swadeshi* activities, and undoubtedly this training provided a useful grounding for the purposes of dacoity in later years.

National Schools : Closely connected with the volunteer movement was the institution of the National Council of Education and the starting in most of the districts of Bengal of national schools entirely independent of Government as regards funds. This movement dates from the partition, and in April 1909 there were reported to be 60 of such institutions in existence. The students of these schools indulged in *puja* and *sankirtan* parties, and celebrated the anniversaries of -

1. boycott day
2. partition day
3. hanging of Khudiram Basu

Meetings were held in the school premises, where objectionable speeches were made and seditious songs sung.

There is little doubt that the students in these schools were impregnated with anti-British and often violent ideas, and that the

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schools provided a ready field of recruitment for the political societies.

Owing to the inadequate qualifications of the teachers and to lack of funds, and possibly partly to an awakening of parents to a proper perspective, the movement quickly flagged. The schools closed down or applied to Government for support, and at the present day but few exist and these are mostly in a very debilitated condition.

Carlyle Circular : The inherent dangers attached to the participation of school-boys and students in political matters, although it has apparently only recently been brought home to the parents, early claimed the attention of Government, and resulted in the Carlyle Circular of 10th October 1905, addressed to all Collectors and Magistrates of Districts—"...... If any attempt is made by boys attending any school or college in your district to take any public action in connection with political questions or in connection with boycotting, picketing and other abuses associated with the so-called *swadeshi* movement, you will at once take congnizance of that action".

Anti-Circular Society : This action of Government served as a further irritant to an already supersaturated condition of things. It was received with protests. A society called the Anti-Circular Society was organised by a young student called Sachindra Prasad Basu, and the subject of this circular was the main item in the Provincial Conference held at Barisal in 1906.

Extremists and Moderates : The leaders of revolt in all countries and in all ages have found that they must look to the youth of a country for their backing of force. If the revolution is in pursuance of a genuine cause, the youths are already aflame for action and it requires but the slightest cue to cause a conflagration, and even if there be no genuine grievance, it is never difficult for unscrupulous persons to inflame the minds of half educated youths. Under one or other of these influences the naturally emotional yet generally lethargic Bengali youth responded to such a degree that even some of his leaders were appalled, and in 1906 there were signs to show that the older men, such as Surendra Nath Banarji, and Aswini Kumar Datta, and later even Bipin Chandra Pal, were unwilling to go to the extremities of such men as Arabinda and Barin Ghosh.

It was at the All-India National Congress held in Calcutta in December 1906 that a definite line was first drawn between the moderates and the extremists, and in the following year when the Congress was held at Surat it broke up amid scenes of violence and disorder.

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Religion : Another much more insidious factor which it is essential to refer to in considering the influences behind the earlier revolutionary movements in Bengal is that of religion. Arabinda Ghosh has from his earliest writings made full use of this powerful influence, and even in 1910 he lamented the repressive measures which Government had taken in the words :

"It is the hammer of God that is beating upon us to build this nation into a mighty and perfect instrument for His purpose".

It may be that a large part of Arabinda Ghosh's religious fervor is real, and that he is genuine, and expresses a genuine Indian sentiment in identifying religious aspirations with political ones. Nevertheless, the use made of the Hindu religion in the process of manufacturing a dacoity and a murderer is a particularly pernicious one. Apart from the generalised religious principle of rescuing *Bharat Mata* from the infidel hands of the *Mlechhas,* the *Feringhees* ("even being dwellers on the banks of the Ganges, the Jamuna and the Narmada, we are prisoners in another's house". —*Jugantar,* 18th March 1906), the chief direction in which the religious impulse has been used, is in justifying acts of violence.

The "Gita" : To this end the *Gita* has always been a favorite. "The virtue of Brahman is a great virtue. You shall not kill. This is what *Abingsha* means. If the virtue of *Abingsha* comes to the *Kshatriya,* if you shall say I will not kill, there is nobody to protect the country..... What is *juga ?* .....Do action in *juga.* You have the right to action in work but not the fruit. Work and leave the result, to me. Those men whom you shrink from slaying are already slain..... Man is to do what God wills. You must do all your work for His sake and therefore sin does not touch you... The man who works for God is not shaken with doubts". So does Arbinda himself expound the *Gita,* which is urged on all the novitiates to anarchy. The writings of Swami Vivekananda and the novels of Bankim Chatarji are quoted as proclaiming that it is the will of God that the young men of Bengal shall liberate their country.

The murderers connected with the Alipore conspiracy case are canonised and every effort is made to get at the mind of youth through these emotional channels. The writings of the *Jugantar* and of its contemporaries and the speeches of that period all glowed in this religious vein, which very quickly produced its required effect. The goddess Kali, thirsting for sacrifices, was set up as the symbol of this movement, and no attempt was made to disguise the fact that this goddess is propitiated with the blood of goats..The aid of the Pandits of Nabadwip and of Bhatpara was invoked to preach the *swadeshi* cause, and thus, and

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through the Ariya Samaj and the Ram Krishna Mission, itinerent *sadhus* toured throughout Bengal and into other parts of India preaching the cause of the Motherland.

Muhammadan Antagonism : Speaking generally, the partition met with the approval of the Muhammadan section of the community and one of the immediate consequences of the partition was an antagonism between Hindus and Muhammadans. This was very general over all the districts of Eastern Bengal, but it affected Calcutta and Western Bengal also, inasmuch as it provided another political peg.

Comilla Disturbances : The activity of Hindu youths in enforcing the boycott frequently brought the Hindus and Muhammadans into contact and in many cases resulted in actual affrays between them. In February 1907, during a visit of the Nawab Salimulla Bahadur of Dacca to Comilla, the opportunity was seized upon by the Hindus for a hostile demonstration. A brickbat was thrown at the Nawab's procession and a broom was displayed before the Nawab as a token of contempt and degradation. The disturbances continued for several days and culminated in the shooting of a Muhammadan on 6th March 1907.

Jamalpur Riots : In the district of Mymensingh these *fracas* were also very frequent during 1906 and 1907 and culminated in the Jamalpur riots of April 1907, in which the National Volunteers stormed the *mela* for boycotting purposes and were chased away and beaten by the Muhammadan shop-keepers. These disturbances gradually subsided, but out of them arose the Clark case.

The Clark Case : On the night of the 27th April 1907, the District Magistrate of Mymensingh, Mr. Clark, searched the *kachari* and temple of the Gauripur zamindars for weapons in connection with this riot. Notices of suits for damages estimated at Rs. 21,000 were served by the zamindar, Babu Brajendra Kishor Ray Chaudhuri, and his mother, on the District Magistrate and on the Superintendent of Police. The suit was defended by Government. On 19th June Mr. Justic Fletcher mulcted the Magistrate to the extent of Rs. 500 on the ground of causing an illegal search. This judgment was subsequently reversed by the Privy Council in June 1912 amid a storm of newspaper criticism.

Midnapore : Midnapore is a district which in the early days of the movement exhibited strong political tendencies. Barin Ghosh in his itinerant mission though Bengal visited Midnapore and converted his relative, Satyendra Nath Basu, to the tenets of his political faith. Certainly in 1904 there was an association of people in Midnapore closely connected with the revolutionary leaders in Calcutta. In that year, Midnapore sent two representatives, Piari Lal Ghosh, a pleader, and Raja

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Kali Prasanna Jogendra Mahapatra, to the National Congress, which was then being held in Madras.

During 1905 and 1906 various persons who later attained considerable notoriety were frequently connected with Midnapore. The first of these is the Munsif Abinash Chandra Chakrabartti, and amongst the most prominent of his lieutenants was Kartik Chandra Datta. Another name to be noticed is that of Jogendra Nath De Sarkar. While Abinash was still at Midnapore, Chandra Kanta Chakrabartti, one of the dismissed Settlement clerks of Barisal, arrived there. In the year 1906, Khudiram Basu was prosecuted for being concerned in the distribution of seditious literature. One Hem Chandra Das left for Europe in September 1906, and there is no doubt that the purpose of his going to Europe was to learn explosive-making in Paris. Hem Chandra Das Before that date was a close associate of Barindra Ghosh.

At the beginning of 1907 political activity in Midnapore manifested itself in the following ways :

1. The *Tanstala*, or weaving institution.
2. The *Chhattra Bhandar*.
3. The extremist paper, *Medini Bandhab*.
4. Various volunteer *samitis* in which *lathi*-play was prominent item.

Towards the end of that year two important events happened in the Midnapore district. The first of these was the Midnapore Conference, at which the volunteers, under the leadership of Satyendra Nath Basu, took possession of the meeting and controlled the whole situation. The second important event was the attempt to wreck the train of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal at Narayangarh on 6th December 1907. This last event drew the attention of the authorities to the dangerous elements at work in the district of Midnapore.

Abdul Rahman : A confidential investigation was started in the early months of 1908, in the course of which a considerable amount of information was obtained respecting the doings of the anarchical organisation in Midnapore. The story of that organisation was told in full by Abdul Rahman, subsequently an approver in the conspiracy case. Abdul Rahman was a teacher of *lathi*-play in one of the *akharas* started by this group. He had apparently incurred the enmity of his Muhammadan brethren by thus associating with Hindus and he eventually gave up his job. It was after he had relinquished his hold that he came into contact with the police and agreed to work as a secret agent under Maulvi Mazarul Huq. Abdul was able to give considerable information with respect to the arms collected by this party. He gave information of a project to assassinate Mr. Weston, the Collector of

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Midnapore, and brought an ivory, 5-chambered, enamelled revolver to the Maulvi Sahib, which he said was the implement with which the Magistrate was to be shot. This revolver belonged to Satyendra Nath Basu.

The Midnapore Conspiracy Case : In May 1908 it was decided to launch a conspiracy case against this group of anarchists and revolutionaries. Various searches were made and arms and bombs recovered. Twenty-eight accused were put up to be tried, but the case against all except three was eventually withdrawn while it was still in the lower Court. These three were convicted, but the convictions were set aside on appeal.

The Weston Case : As an aftermath of this conspiracy case on 12th October 1909 notices of a civil suit for damages were served jointly on Mr. D. Weston, I.C.S., District Magistrate, and Maulvi Mazarul Huq, Deputy Superintendent of Police, on the grounds of their being concerned in a conspiracy resulting in the malicious arrest and detention of certain big zamindars, and also of preferring a false charge against them. On 7th August 1911 Mr. Justice Fletcher of the High Court found for the plaintiffs and awarded Rs. 1,000 damages and costs. An appeal was preferred to a bench of the High Court and the original suit was dismissed on 17th August 1912. In this civil case, Abdul Rahman was an important witness. The cases caused considerable excitement in the Midnapore district and also in the rest of Bengal. On 13th December 1912 and again on 9th December 1913, unsuccessful attempts were made to bomb Abdul Rahman. Since that date there has been no further outbreak of political crime in the district of Midnapore.

The inner history of the party of conspirators at Midnapore followed very closely that of the contemporary *Jugantar* Party in Calcutta. There is no doubt at all that many of the most prominent people of the Midnapore party were in very close association with the members of the gang of Barin Ghosh. In the year 1907 Satyendra Basu was acting as manager of the *Jugantar* newspaper in Calcutta, but he later returned to Midnapore. The probability is that although the party in Midnapore worked in co-operation with that in Calcutta, it had a distinct individuality.

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CHAPTER IV

The Aftermath of the "Jugantar" Party

It has been said that after the break up of the *Jugantar* party the whole of the revolutionary gangs were united and managed by a committee of nine people who decided the policy and communicated their orders to a sub-committee of three, who passed these on to the executive heads of the local groups. These three were said to be

(1) P. Miter, Barrister-at-Law.
(2) Rajat Ray, Barrister-at-Law.
(3) Arabinda Ghosh.

It seems very doubtful, however, if this scheme ever took any very definite shape. Among the nine have been mentioned the names of Shyama Kanta Banarji (Sohang Swami) and Jitendra Nath Banarji.

"Jugantar" Press : Shortly before the general arrests in the Alipore case, there had apparently been a split in the party managing the *Jugantar* newspaper, as a result of which Nikileswar Ray Maulik took over the control of the *Jugantar* newspaper under the patronage of Abinash Chakrabartti, while Abinash Bhattacharji took over the then defunct *Navasakti*, which he resuscitated under the guidance of Arabinda Ghosh, with whom he lived. The *Jugantar* Press was then housed at No. 68, Maniktola Street, and at this house with Nikileswar lived Kartik Datta, who was then one of the chief workers on the paper. After the arrests, the *Jugantar* articles became more violent than ever for a time, with the result that several prosecutions were launched at the people concerned in publishing them. It finally collapsed early in June 1908, and on 23rd June 1908 Nikileswar himself was arrested in connection with the Alipore case. The remaining conspirators, before leaving this address managed to print the first *Jugantar* leaflet, in which is given in detail the method of manufacturing picric acid bombs. While still at the old *Jugantar* office, Kartick seems to have been responsible for the Grey Street bomb explosion on 15th May 1908, which was an attempt to bomb the Lieutenant-Governor.

Kartik Datta's Party : Kartik Datta at this stage assumed control of the party. The printing press was secretly removed to No. 28, Shampukur Street, and used for the publication of the various *Jugantar* leaflets, mostly under the direction of Kartik. As a rendezvous for the members of the party a house was taken at Chetla, Durgapur, where Kartik and his followers had their ranks strengthened by Keshab Chandra De, who had just been released from jail after serving two years' rigorous imprisonment for throwing vitriol during the East Indian Railway strike in 1906.

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This is the gang which at the time was the direct descendant of the old *Jugantar* group. Pandit Makhoda Charan Samadhyay acted as its adviser. From the Chetla house the party engaged in the following outrages :

(1) Bajitpur dacoity.—15th August 1908 (in collusion with the *Surhid Samiti*, Mymensingh).

(2) Attempts to commit dacoities near Kalna, Burdwan.—August 1908.

(3) Attempted dacoity at Hatigarh.—August 1908.

In September 1908 Kartik removed himself and some of his party to a house at Telinipara near Chandernagore, and from this house planned and committed the Bighati dacoity of 16th September 1908.

As a result of the investigation of this case seven of the gang were put up for trial. Kartik Datta was sentenced to six years' rigorous imprisonment, two others to five years' each, and another to $3^1/_2$ years'. This case broke up the band, but Keshab De was still at large and absconding. He seems to have had a following of his own, mostly consisting of persons belonging to Howrah, and it is clear that after the Bighati dacoity he threw in his lot with the Howrah party. Keshab himself was afterwards murdered by the members of the Howrah party.

An analysis of the information now available with respect to the crimes committed by Kartik Datta's gang discloses the following names:

Table C

X indicates good evidence
I indicates reasonably fair evidence

Kartick Datta's party	Grey street, 15th May 1908	Bajitpur, 15th August 1908	Bighati, 16th September 1908	Hatigarh, October 1908		Remarks
Basu, Noren	—	—	—	X	—	See Tables B and D
Batabyal, Atul	—	—	—	I	—	—
Bhattacharji, Basanta	—	X	I	—	Murdered	—
Barman, Man Mohan	—	X	I	—	Said to have been murdeed	See Table G
Chakrabartti, Panna Lal	I	—	X	—	—	—
Chakrabartti, Srish	I	—	—	—	Murdered	—
Chatarji, Noren	—	—	X	—	Détenu	See Table B and D.
Chatarji, Panna Lal	—	—	X $3\frac{1}{2}$	—	Convicted in Bighati case	—

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Kartick Datta's Party	Grey Street, 15th May 1908	Bajitpur, 16th August 1908	Bighati, 16th September 1908	Hatigarh, October 1908		Remarks
Das, Tinkari	—	—	I	—	—	See Tables B and D.
Datta, Kartik	I	X	X[6]	I	Convicted in Bighati case	—
De, Keshab	—	X	X	I	Murderd	See Table D
Ganguli, Bepin	—	—	—	I	Sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment	See Table B
Ganguli, Lalit	—	—	—	X	—	—
Ghatak, Gangadhar	—	—	—	I	—	—
Ghosh, Bhujanga	—	I	—	—	—	—
Ghosh, Dhiren	—	X	—	—	—	—
Guha, Chitta Ranjan	I	—	—	—	—	—
Kabiraj, Ananda Ray	I	—	—	—	Dead	—
Mallik, Biren	—	X	I	—	—	—
Mazumdar, Suresh	—	I	X[5]	—	Convicted in Bighati case	—
Mitter, Suresh	—	I	X[5]	—	Convicted in Bighati case	See Table D
Nandi, Indra Nath	—	—	—	I	—	See Tables B and D
Pal, Anil	—	—	—	I	—	—
Ray, Jatin	—	I	—	—	—	See Table K
Samadhaya, Makhoda	—	X	—	—	Détenu	—

Bhatpara Gang : Before dealing with the Howrah gang it will be well to refer to a further and rather obscure grouping which resulted from the Bighati case, and which was the joining of Braja Gopal Bhattacharji and his followers with the Bhatpara gang of Jogen Thakur (Jogendra Nath Tagore), of which gang a notable personage was Narendra Nath Bhattacharji. From May 1908 onwards this gang commenced a series of bomb outrages with a specpcies of bomb of which the casing was composed of a cocoanut shell. The following outrages were probably the work of this gang :

Kankinara bomb.	—	22nd June 1908.
Shamnagar bomb.	—	12th August 1908.
Chandernagore bombs.	—	12th August 1908.
Belghuria-Agarpara bomb.	—	24th November 1908.
Sodepur-Khurdah.	—	21st December 1908.
Belghuria-Agarpara.	—	10th February 1909.
Agarpara.	—	15th April 1909.

Punitive police had been placed along the Eastern Bengal Railway, but without any apparent effect. The actual perpetrators were eventually

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found to be a party of nine Brahmins of Bhatpara near Naihati, led by one Narendra Nath Bhattacharji, who was bound down under section 110 (*e*), (*f*) and (*g*), Criminal Procedure Code, on 15th July 1910.

Various parties : At about this time the Province was said to be divided up as follows :

Calcutta	—	Indra Nath Nandi.
24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly	—	Nani Gopal Sen Gupta.
Rajshahi, Nadia, Jessore and Hooghly	—	Jatindra Mukharji.
Nator, Dighapatya and Amalpur	—	Satish Sarkar.
Mymensingh, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jamalpur and Cooch Behar	—	Amaresh Kanjilal.
Berhampur and Murshidabad	—	Suren Chakrabartti.

Howrah Party : With the break-up of Kartik Datta's gang the group which came into prominence was the Howrah party under Nani Gopal Sen Gupta. This man had originally been a member of the Calcutta *Anushilan*, but he had quarrelled with Satish Basu.

During the eighteen months beginning from March 1908 this party was responsible for the following series of outrages :

(1) Attempts to seduce the 10th Jats—March 1908.
(2) Sibpur dacoity—3rd April 1908.
(3) Attempted dacoity, Karuchi—October 1908.
(4) Murder of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banarji—9th November 1908.
(5) Murder of Keshab De—November 1908.
(6) Raita dacoity—29th November 1908.
(7) Morchal dacoity—2nd December 1908.
(8) Projected dacoity, Moshat—January 1909.
(9) Mushapur dacoity—27th February 1909.
(10) Netra dacoity—24th April 1909.
(11) Maharajpur dacoity—27th July 1909.
(12) Attempted dacoity, Sara—September 1909.
(13) Robbery at Chetla—September 1909.
(14) Haludbari dacoity—28th October 1909.

The following dacoity cases in Court resulted in convictions :

(1) Morehal—One man sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment on 8th July 1909.
(2) Haludbari—Five men sentenced to 8 years' rigorous imprisonment one man sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment, and one man sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment, on 26th April 1910.

An analysis of the information now available with respect to these crimes discloses the following names :

(See Table D on next page)

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Table D

X indicates good evidence; I indicates resonably fair evidence

Howrah Gang	Section 131, Indian Penal Code, March 1908	Sibpur, 3rd April 1908	Karuchi, October 1908	Murder of Keshab, November 1908	Murder of Nandalal 9th November 1908	Raita, 29th November 1908	Morchal, 2nd December 1908	Moshat (attempted) January 1909	Mashupur, 27th February 1909	Netra, 25th April, 1909	Maharajpur, 27th July 1909	Chetla, September 1909	Sara, September 1909	Haludbari, 29th October 1909		Remarks
Adhikari, Hari	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Dead	
Basu, Harendra	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Basu, Jiten	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	X		
Basu, Noren	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—		See Tables B and C
Bhattacharji, Indu Kiran	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—		
Bhattacharji, Norendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—		
Bhattacharji, Rajani	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—		
Biswas, Bidhu Bhusan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	X	I	X	Warned under the Defence of India Act.	
Biswas, Krista Prasad	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Biswas, Manmatha	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	X		
Biswas, Prakriti	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Biswas Sushil	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	I	X	—	X[7]	Convicted (7 years). Sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment for conspiracy	

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Howrah Gang	Section 131, Indian Penal Code, March 1908	Sibpur, 3rd April 1908	Karuchi, October 1908	Murder of Keshab, November 1908	Murder of Nandalal 9th November 1908	Raita, 29th November 1908	Morehal, 2nd December 1908	Moshat (attempted) January 1909	Mashupur, 27th February 1909	Netra, 25th April, 1909	Maharajpur, 27th July 1909	Chetla, September 1909	Sara, September 1909	Haludbari, 29th October 1909		Remarks
Chakrabartti, Bejoy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I		See Table I and M
Chakrabartti, Haridas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	—		
Chakrabartti, Kalipada	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	I	I	I	—	—	—	—		
Chakrabartti, Lalit	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	X	—	—	—	X	arrested	See Table B
Chatarji, Bishnupada.	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	I	X	—	—	—	—	Dètenu	
Chatarji, Dasarathi	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Chatarji, Narendra	X	X	—	X	—	I	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	Dètenu	See Tables B and C
Chattarji, Sailendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X[8]	Convar's (8 years). Sentenced to 1 years rigorous imprisonment for conspiracy. Dètenu	
Chaudhuri, Manmatha	—	—	—	—	—	—	X[7]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sentenced (7 years). Dètenu	
Das, Ganesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	X[8]	Convicted (8 years). Sentenced to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment for conspiracy.	

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Das, Sailendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	X[5]	Convicted (5 years). Sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment for conspiracy.	
Das, Tinkari	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—		See Tables B and C
Das Gupta, Satish	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
De, Badal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—		
De, Keshab	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Murdered	See Table C
Deb, Bimala	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—		See Table B
Deb, Upendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	I	—	—	I	X[8]	Convicted (8 years). Sentenced to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment for conspiracy. Now a détenu	
Deb Ray, Rabindra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—		
Ghosh, Krishna	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Hazra, Jotin	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—		
Hazra, Shibu	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Mitter, Bhusan	—	I	—	I	I	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	I		See Table B
Mitter, Jogesh, alias Madan	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	I	—	—	—	I		See Table B
Mitter, Sarat	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Mitter, Satish	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Mitter, Suresh	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	I	X	X	—	—	—	—		See Table C
Mukharji, Atul	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	X[8]	Convicted (8 years). Sentenced to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment for conspiracy	
Mukharji, Bhuban	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—		See Table B
Mukharji, Bhutan	I	—	—	I	—	—	I	X	—	X	—	—	I	—		See Table B

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Howrah Gang	Section 131, Indian Penal Code, March 1908	Sibpur, 3rd April 1908	Karuchi, October 1908	Murder of Keshab, November 1908	Murder of Nandalal 9th November 1908	Raita, 29th November 1908	Morchal, 2nd December 1908	Moshat (attempted) January 1909	Mashupur, 27th February 1909	Netra, 25th April, 1909	Maharajpur, 27th July 1909	Chetla, September 1909	Sara, September 1909	Haludbari, 29th October 1909		Remarks
Mukharji, Bibhuti	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Mukharji, Jyotish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—		
Mukharji, Krishna Dhan	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Mukharji, Rampada	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Mukharji, Santipada	—	—	—	—	—	I	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Nandi, Chuni	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	X	—	—	—	—		Seen Table B
Nandi, Indra Nath	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		See Tables B and C
Pal, Atul	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Paramanik, Sarat	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—		
Ray, Kiran	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X'	Convicted (8 years).	
Ray, Lal Behari	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		See Table B
Ray Chaudhuri, Bhupendra	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I		
Sarkar, Bidhu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I		
Sarkar, Pulin	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—		
Sarkar, Sirish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I		
Sen, Hem	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—		
Sen Gupta, Nani Gopal	X	I	—	I	—	—	I	I	—	X	I	—	—	I	State prisoner	See Table B
Singh Ray, Nitai	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		

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The origins of this gang are obscure. As has already been said, it was very closely connected with the *Atmannati Samiti* and with Indra Nath Nandi, and it had also some contact with the party of Jatin Mukharji. There were various mufassal branches, each with a very disreputable membership. The Howrah party proper was less concerned with immediate revolution than its roots of the *Jugantar* period. It showed a tendency, as occurred in other cases, to degenerate into a band of ordinary criminals. There was certainly a very definite attempt made to tamper with the loyalty of the 10th Jats but there was a strange lack of cohesion in its methods. This perhaps was the cause of the failure of the conspiracy case launched against this gang on 4th March 1910.

Howrah Gang Case : Fifty-five persons were put on trial, including mufassal members, members of Kartick Datta's party, Jatindra Mukharji himself, and members of the *Atmannati Samiti* and *Chhattra Bhandar*. The Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, tried the case, which resulted in a practical fiasco. Two men were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment each and four persons to one year's rigorous imprisonment each.

There still remain two other groups to describe in order to complete the story of the aftermath of the *Jugantar* conspiracy. These are two gangs which operated in the districts of Khulna and Jessore. Each had its headquarters in Calcutta, and there is very little doubt but that the chief characters drew their inspiration from men in the larger *samitis*.

Nangla Gang : The first of these may be described as the Nangla gang. The investigation into the Nangla dacoity of 16th August 1909 disclosed its existence. In that case ten persons were committed to a Special Tribunal on the statement, of an approver. Before the Tribunal, the approver retracted his statement, and he was prosecuted under sections 395 and 59, Indian Penal Code, on the strength of his own confession, and sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment. A conspiracy case was eventually run against the gang, resulting in eleven convictions; six men were transported for seven years, three for five years and two for three years. This gang had apparently been responsible for the following series of crimes :—

July 1908	—	Attempted dacoity, Kulu.
August 1908	—	Attempted dacoity, Kumira.
4th April 1909	—	Attempted dacoity, Gadgachi.
16th August 1909	—	Nangla dacoity.

The evidence now to hand with respect to these crimes discloses the following names :

(See Table E on next page)

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Table E

X indicates good evidence
I incidates reasonably fair evidence

Nangla Gang	Kulu, July 1908	Kusira, August 1908	Gadgachi, 4th April, 1909	Nangla, 16th July, 1909		Remarks
Basu, Aswini	—	—	—	X	Sentenced to 7 years for conspiracy	
Bhattacharji, Nilkanta	—	—	—	I	Détenu	
Bhattacharji, Pinak Pani	—	—	I	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Abani	X	X	X	X[7]	Détenu. Sentenced to 7 years for conspiracy.	
Chandra, Nogen	—	—	X	X	Sentenced to 7 years for conspiracy.	
Chatarji, Satish	I	I	X	X	Sentenced to 3 years for conspiracy.	
Datta, Braja	—	I	X	I	Sentenced to 3 years for conspiracy.	
De, Bidhu	I	X	X	X	Détenu. Sentenced to 7 years for conspiracy.	
De, Sudhir	—	—	—	—	Sentenced to 5 years for conspiracy.	
Ghosh, Kali	I	I	I	I	Sentenced to 7 years for conspiracy.	
Haldar, Sasheswar	—	—	—	I	—	
Mitra, Mon Mohan	—	—	—	I	—	
Mitra, Sachin	I	X	—	X	Détenu. Sentenced to 7 years for conspiracy.	
Pai, Kinu	I	I	X	X	Sentenced to 5 years for conspiracy.	
Ray, Jatin	—	—	I	X	—	See Table C
Sarkar, Gangadhar	I	—	—	—	—	
Sarkar, Nogendra	—	—	—	—	Sentenced to 5 years for conspiracy.	
Sen Gupta, Bolai	—	—	—	—	—	

The origins of this gang are somewhat obscure, but it seems to have considered itself as a branch of the *Anusilan Samiti*. It is clear at any rate that there was a very strong alliance between this Khulna party and the

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headquarters of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* in Calcutta, and they had common places of resort.

Its headquarters were at No. 15, Jorabagan, Calcutta. Among the documents seized there, were an exhaustive treatise on the preparation of bombs, documents dealing with the general principles of revolutionary movements, and explicit rules for the complete organisation of central and local bodies to carry on the work of spreading revolutionary ideas and of actively engaging in revolutionary measures. Their avowed objects were "... to kill or otherwise punish unpopular Government officers, policemen or detectives hampering or shadowing revolutionary work . . . to commit dacoities, to procure arms . . . to manufacture arms, explosives and other deadly things, to conduct secret presses . . . to forge receipts, cheques, drafts . . ."

Khulna-Jessore Gang : The gang which figured in the Khulna-Jessore gang case was probably largely of the sporadic quality which was natural after manuring of Bengal by the pernicious itinerant doctrines of Barin Ghosh and his coadjutors. At one time some of its members bore allegiance to Jogen Thakur and the Ram Krishna Mission of Belur *Math*. Some of them also came into contact with Pulin Das of the Dacca party, who was at that time residing in Calcutta, and there is little doubt that this gang worked in co-operation with some of the Eastern Bengal parties. Apparently, also, the Sivaji *Samiti* of Mechua Bazar and the personalities of Hari Das Das and Ashu Sarkar had their influence on the doings of the members of this gang. The outrages for which they were responsible are—

Solemari dacoity	—	1909.
Hogulbunia dacoity	—	24th September 1909.
Buikara dacoity	—	26th December 1909.
Soleganti dacoity	—	7th February 1910.
Dhulgram dacoity	—	11th February 1910.
Dandanpur dacoity	—	30th March 1910.
Mahisa dacoity	—	5th July 1910.

In this last case five persons were convicted. One received a sentence of six years' rigorous imprisonment and one other five years', while three were sentenced to 3 years' rigorous imprisonment each. An attempt was made to deal with the whole gang in the Khulna-Jessore gang case started on 12th August 1910. Seventeen youths were committed to the High Court on a charge of habitually consorting to commit dacoities, but they were all conditionally discharged to be of good behaviour.

An analysis of the information now available with respect to the crimes committed by this group discloses the following names :

(See Table F on next page)

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Table F

X indicates good evidence
I indicates reasonably fair evidence

Khulka-Jessore Gang	Solemani, 24th September 1909	Butkara, 26th December 1909	Solegaati, 7th February 1910	Dhulgram, 11th February 1910	Nandanpur, 30th March, 1910	Mohisa, 5th July 1910		Remarks
Basu, Bhuban	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	
Basu, Keshab	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	
Basu, Sidheswar	—	I	—	—	—	X	—	
Bhattacharji, Baidyanath	—	—	—	—	—	X^{3}	Convicted (3 years)	
Bhattacharji, Bhagabati Chandra	—	—	—	X	—	X^{3}	Convicted (3 years)	
Bhattacharji, Mohendra	I	I	—	—	I	—	—	
Bhattacharji, Nakuleswar	—	I	—	—	—	I	—	
Bhattacharji, Sarbeswar	—	—	X	X	X	X	—	
Bhattacharji, Santi Gopal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Biswas, Rajendra	I	—	X	X	X	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Upen	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	
Chatarji, Bisweswar	—	—	X	X	—	X^{3}	Convicted (3 years)	
Chatarji, Upen	—	—	—	—	—	X^{5}	Convicted (5 years)	
De, Lalit	I	I	X	X	I	—	—	
Ganguli, Hem	—	—	X	—	—	X^{6}	Convicted (6 years)	
Ganguli, Suresh	—	—	—	—	—	X^{3}	Convicted (3 years)	
Kamak, Saral	I	I	—	X	X	—	—	
Kazi, Panchu	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Mazumdar, Lalit	I	I	X	—	X	—	—	
Phakir, Santa	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Sarkar, Ashutosh	I	I	—	—	I	—	—	
Sarkar, Basanta	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Sarkar, Nripendra Bhusan	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Sarkar, Saber	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	

The principal parties in activities in the area known as Western Bengal during the period May 1908 to June 1910 are shown in the accompanying plan :

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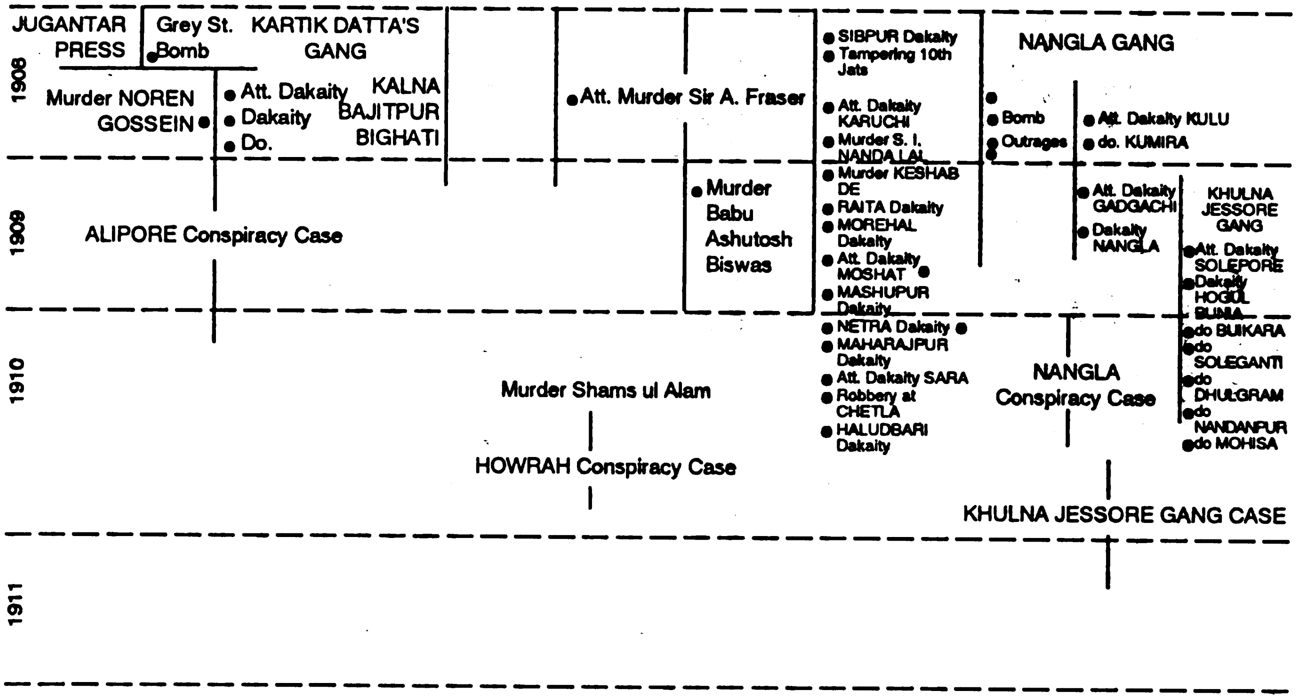
CHART III



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CHAPTER V

Temporary Cessation of Activities

The year 1911 starts a period more or less free from crime as far as Western Bengal is concerned, and before describing the renewed activities of 1914 it will be well to review a few facts.

Atmannati Samiti : The members of the *Atmannati Samiti* during the period just dealt with seem to have mixed freely with the gang of Kartik Datta and with the Howrah party. Members of that *samiti* engaged in the crimes of both these parties. The remnants of this society, however, remained in existence during the transition period under the leadership of Bipin Ganguli and Provash De, and its activities will be noted in the later history of the Western Bengal organisation.

Bhowanipore Party : Owing to his striking personality, Jatindra Nath Mukharji was during this period gaining great popularity and esteem in anarchical circles. There is evidence for believing that the murderer of Babu Ashutosh Biswas, Public Prosecutor, on 10th February 1909, was a member of this party, while there is no doubt at all that Jatin Mukharji himself was one of the instigators of the murder of Khan Bahadur Shamsul Alam on 21st February 1911, the actual culprit in which outrage was hanged. Although Jatin himself did not continuously reside in Calcutta during this period, he had a small scattered following waiting for his lead, most of whom became attached, as he did himself, to the *Seva Samiti* to be spoken of later.

Calcutta Anusilan Samiti : The Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti* had been declining in popularity as the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* rose into prominence. There is evidence to show that Satish Basu, its principal figure, was concerned in the attempt to shoot Sir Andrew Fraser on 7th November 1908. The actual assailant was sentenced to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment.

Pulin Das of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* returned after deportation to Bengal in February 1910 and took up his abode in Calcutta at No. 123-2, Amherst Street. Early in 1911 Makhan Sen of that *samiti* also came to Calcutta. From March 1910 onwards it may be taken that the real head-quarters of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* were in Calcutta. The Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti* as such from that date probably ceased to exist, although Satish Basu was still active. Its members apparently joined up other organisations, and indeed many of the most important figures of the later Western Bengal party received their early training in the Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti*. In some sense the Khulna-Jessore and Nangla gangs can be considered as branches of the *Anusilan Samiti*.

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Dacca Anusilan Samiti : It is not necessary here to dwell upon the details of the rise of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* from its inauguration in September 1906 to the date of the commencement of the Dacca conspiracy case in August 1910. The numerous successful outrages which the members of this *samiti* perpetrated in Dacca and in the bordering districts. The enormous prestige which it had created for itself, and the state of terrorism into which it had thrown Eastern Bengal, were, as has been said, undoubtedly extraordinarily vital influences on the activities in Western Bengal. The outrages of this *samiti*, perhaps more than the crime in Western Bengal, led to some special repressive measures on the part of Government for the purpose of controlling this wave of political crime.

Act XIV of 1908 : The first of these was the passing of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, XIV of 1908, by the Governor-General in Council on 11th December 1908 for the more speedy trial of certain offences and for the prohibition of associations dangerous to the public peace. The principal sections of this Act are—

Section 4—

"The accused shall not be present during an inquiry under section 3, sub-section (*1*), unless the Magistrate so directs nor shall he be represented by a pleader during any such inquiry, nor shall any person have any right of access to the Court of the Magistrate while he is holding such inquiry."

Section 11—

(1) "All persons sent for trial to the High Court under this Act shall be tried by a Special Bench of the Court composed of three Judges.

(2) No trial before the Special Bench shall be by jury.

(3) Where there is a difference of opinion among the judges forming the Special Bench, the decision shall be in accordance with the opinion of the majority of those Judges."

Section 12—

"No person who has been remanded to custody in the course of proceedings under this Act shall be released on bail under the provisions of section 497 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1989, if there appear to be sufficient grounds for further inquiry into the guilt of such person."

Section 13—

"Notwithstanding anything contained in section 33 of the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, the evidence of any witness taken by a Magistrate in proceedings to which this Part applies shall be treated as evidence

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before the High Court if the witness is dead or cannot be produced and if the High Court has reason to believe that his death or absence has been caused in the interests of the accused."

Section 16—

"If the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that any association interferes or has for its object interference with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, or that it constitutes a danger to the public peace, the Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the official Gazette, declare such association to be unlawful."

The altered procedure in dealing with inquiries and trials certainly opened a better judicial channel than existed before, but owing to the very nature of these case, police investigation was difficult and the number of undetected cases remained formidable.

Proclamation of certain Samitis : In January 1909 the following *samitis* of Eastern Bengal were proclaimed as unlawful under section 16 of Act XIV of 1908 :—

Dacca Anusilan Samiti	—	Dacca and neighbouring districts.
Swadesh Bandhab Samiti	—	Bakarganj.
Brati Samiti	—	Faridpur.
Surhid Samiti	—	Mymensingh.
Sadhana Samaj	—	Mymensingh.

Very shortly afterwards two *samitis* in the Khulna district were similarly proscribed, while in September 1909 similar action was taken with regard to the Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti.*

Although ostensibly abolished and disbanded by this action, these *samitis* certainly did not cease to exist. They were merely driven underground and became secret organisations, thereby probably gaining an air of additional inducement and attraction in the mind of the Indian youth, and even causing the Indian public to look upon them with awe.

Deportations : The attempt on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser at Overtoun Hall on 7th November 1908, although the immediate culprit was caught and sentenced, seems to have forced home the fact that there were elements at work in Bengal about which little was known, and which yet required very drastic treatment. By a Government of India order dated 11th November 1908 the following persons from Eastern Bengal were secretly deported under Regulation III of 1818 :—

(1) Aswini Kumar Datta, of Bakarganj.
(2) Satish Chandra Chatarji, of Bakarganj.
(3) Pulin Bihari Das, of Dacca.

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(4) Bhupesh Chandra Nag, of Dacca.

At the same time the following persons more particularly connected with Western Bengal were also deported :—

(1) Manoranjan Guha, connected with the *Jugantar* party.
(2) Krishna Kumar Mitter, editor and proprietor of the *Sanjibani* newspaper and a political speaker.
(3) Subodh Chandra Mallik, an intimate friend of Arabinda Ghosh.
(4) Sachindra Prasad Basu, the founder of the Anti-Circular Society.
(5) Shyam Sundar Chakrabartti, connected with the *Sandhya* newspaper.

These deportations caused considerable consternation at the time, and although *bhadralok* crime was still rampant in 1909 and 1910 in Western Bengal, it probably had during this period less of the clearly immediately revolutionary characteristics, and, though still political in purpose, was more of the restless criminal type.

Seditious Leaflets : Mention has been already made of the earliest seditious pamphlets issued in Bengal in 1905 and 1906 and also of the *Jugantar* leaflets printed in the *Jugantar* Press immediately after the break-up of the *Jugantar* party. The dissemination of seditious literature has from that time been part of the recognised methods of the anarchist recruiter. Copies of the *Jugantar* leaflets appeared also in 1909, 1910 and in the early part of 1911. Other stray copies, chiefly handwritten, appeared in 1912 and 1913. In 1910 appeared the first edition of the *Swadhin Bharat*, followed at once by a second and third edition. These leaflets were circulated in Calcutta and the Eastern Bengal districts. In 1911 further editions were issued at intervals and similarly in 1912 and 1913. The *Liberty* leaflet first appeared in May 1913 and was largely circulated throughout Eastern Bengal, although some stray copies were found in Calcutta. Fresh leaflets of a similar date appeared in July, followed in December by a further edition. Since that date there have been other editions of the *Swadhin Bharat* and *Liberty* leaflets. These seditious pamphlets were sent in bundles to certain members for distribution, were sent through the post anonymously to other persons and were posted up in public places. Their language is unequivocally rebellious. They proclaim the call for an independent India and for the exercise of violence to attain that end. They invoke the mythology and religion of the country in their arguments for the suppression of the British. They are generally well written and exceedingly inflammatory in their sentiments.

Investigation has shown that the issues of the *Swadhin Bharat* and *Liberty* leaflets have been mostly the work of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*, working from Calcutta. There is no doubt, however, that many of them

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have found their way into the hands of youths, till then untainted with revolutionary doctrines, and that they have been the means of turning the heads of many of the youths of Bengal in the direction of violence.

The Press Act : On 9th February 1910 Act I of 1910 was passed by the Governor-General in Council to provide for the better control of the Press. This Act enforced every person keeping a printing press to make a declaration of it, and gave power to Government to demand a security for the proper working of the press. Certain definite tendencies of its articles entailed forfeiture of the security, confiscation and proscription of the issue, and confiscation of the press itself. This Act caused a burst of newspaper indignation, and is still a sore subject, which is paraded at every possible opportunity. There is no denying that the Act has to a considerable extent achieved its object.

Chandernagore : The French settlement of Chandernagore has always been a stronghold of the revolutionary parties of Bengal. As far back as 1903-04, a strong centre had established itself there. With the wave of political unrest which passed over Bengal in 1905-06 the same manifestations of anti-European feeling occurred in Chandernagore, and *swadeshi* and boycott affrays and stories of open insults to, and assaults on, Europeans were common as in other parts of Bengal.

Traffic in arms in Chandernagore : During the year 1907 there was a large contraband traffic in arms going on through French Chandernagore and some of the arms thus obtained found their way into the hands of Barin Ghosh and his party. On 18th September 1907 an Arms Act was introduced by the Governor of Pondicherry to control the promiscuous importation of arms through French territory in India. In consequence of the storm of opposition which this measure evoked, it seems to have been subsequently withdrawn, but in 1909 a local regulation was introduced into French Chandernagore compelling the taking out of licenses for firearms. It is believed, however, that until very lately a contraband traffic in arms still continued.

Charu Chandra Ray : Inquiries in Chandernagore made during October 1907 proved that one Charu Chandra Ray was the leader of the party there, which included several junior pleaders of the Hooghly district. A gymnasium existed in Chandernagore for boxing and *lathi*-play.

Chandernagore and the Alipore Case : The Alipore conspiracy case clearly showed that the *Jugantar* group was in close connection with Chandernagore people, with whom they co-operated in the two attempts to blow up the Lieutenant-Governor's train in November 1907, and in the attempt to bomb the Maire of Chandernagore on 11th April 1908.

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Of the persons arrested in the Alipore case, the following were residents of Chandernagore :—

(1) Kanai Lal Datta, hanged on 10th November 1908 for the murder of Naren Gossain in Alipore Jail.

(2) Upendra Banarji, sentenced to transportation for life on 23rd November 1909.

(3) Charu Chandra Ray, case withdrawn on 5th January 1909 as he was a French subject.

During the Alipore trial, the Chandernagore gang was largely concerned in a project to effect the release of the prisoners, and also in the murder of the informer Naren Gossain. The name of Srish Chandra Ghosh stands out in these affairs. Among the documents seized in the Muraripukur Garden was one on which the letters "M.R." appeared, and an informer later said that these initials stood for Mati Lal Ray.

Dalhousie Square bomb outrage : The name of Srish Ghosh again came up in connection with the Dalhousie Square bomb outrage of 2nd March 1911, which seems to have been engineered by this party with the aid of one Jyotish Chandra Ghosh.

The investigation in Chandernagore consequent on this case showed that hierarchy of authority in Chandernagore was at that time—

(1) Charu Chandra Ray.

(2) Srish Chandra Ghosh.

(3) Mati Lal Ray.

Although the society there was separate, it had constant lines of communication with Calcutta anarchists, and its avowed object was not to commit dacoities but to map out a series of political assassinations with a view to forcing Government to a recognition of the demands of the Nationalistic party, and to the ultimate attainment of *swaraj* or provincial autonomy.

Bombs in Chandernagore : It was found that Chandernagore had become a factory for the manufacture of bombs. The bombs used in the following series of outrages were identically of the same type as that of the Dalhousie Square case and are believed to be the manufacture of the Chandernagore group of anarchists :—

(1) Attempt to bomb Abdur Rahman, Midnapore.—13th December 1912.

(2) Attempt to bomb Lord Hardinge.—23rd December 1912.

(3) Maulvi Bazar bomb case.—27th March 1913.

(4) Lahore bomb case.—17th May 1913.

A further reference to Chandernagore will be necessary later, but for the present this indication of its activities will perhaps suffice.

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The Lull : The Dalhousie Square bomb case of 2nd March 1911 perhaps marks the end of the first period of activity in Western Bengal. The murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghosh in Calcutta on 29th September 1913—although this outrage was the work of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*—may be taken as the end of the lull.

This outrage was followed by the Raja Bazar bomb case (again the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti)* of November 1913, which drew attention to the fact that Calcutta and its neighbourhood were still far from free from lawlessness. Between 2nd March 1911 and the end of 1913 the area known as Western Bengal suffered from the following sporadic crimes :—

(1) Attempt to bomb Abdur Rahman, Midnapore.—13th December 1912.
(2) Attempt to bomb Raniganj police-station, Burdwan—March 1913.
(3) Murder of Hari Pada Deb.—29th September 1913 (Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*).
(4) Attempt to bomb Abdur Rahman, Midnapore.—9th December 1913.
(5) Attempt to bomb Bhadreswar police-station, Hooghly.—30th December 1913.

It is very clearly known now that this period was by no means as quiet or as safe as it seemed. The attempt to bomb Lord Hardinge on 23rd December 1912 and the Lahore bomb case of 17th May 1913 and the proved connections of these outrages with Bengalis were indications of an unhealthy and significant state of things. The Lahore and Delhi conspiracy case, which dealt with a period from 1910 and 1914, indicated very clearly the large part played by Rash Behari Basu in those conspiracies. The later reference to the Benares conspiracy case and to activities in Benares itself also show that this period was only the lull before a storm.

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CHAPTER VI

Mufassal Parties

Synchronous with the outbreak of war in August 1914 occurred an output of anarchical crime in Western Bengal which assumed proportions far above anything previously experienced. It is thoroughly well known now that the entanglement of Great Britain in a great European war provided an opportunity for the discontented spirits of Bengal which they did not delay to seize upon, What may be described as the Western Bengal party, which then rose to prominence, was a definite combination of various previously more or less independent element, which it will be necessary now to analyse.

Mymensingh.—In order to identify the element which the district of Mymensingh subscribed to the Western Bengal organisation in 1915, it will be necessary to discuss the various parties in existence in that district from the beginning of the movement.

The Surhid Samiti.—The *Surhid Samiti* of Mymensingh was founded in about the year 1900 as a benevolent institution for the purpose of encouraging physical culture and of aiding the distressed. In April 1905 Miss Sarala Ghosal visited the *samiti* and "reorganised" it, while the visit of Arabinda Ghosh, Subodh Mallik and Bipin Chandra Pal in April 1906, still further turned the thoughts of the members of this *samiti* into political channels. A farm was started at Dulania at the foot of the Garo Hills, as a training ground for its members, and branches of the *Surhid Samiti* sprang up all over the district of Mymensingh and probably extended into the neighbouring districts.

Dacca Anusilan Samiti.—Some time late in 1906 Pulin Das and Ashutosh Das Gupta went to Mymensingh and founded there a branch of the *Dacca Anusilan Samiti* in conjunction with the existing society known as the *Bhakta Sampradaya*. Upendra Kishor Nag seems to have been the first leader of this branch of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* and he was followed by Mani Mohan Sen.

Sadhana Samaj.—Some time in 1907 a section of the members of the *Surhid Samiti* seceded and called themselves the *Sadhana Samaj*. After the deportation of Pulin Das in December 1908, attempts were made to amalgamate the different parties in Mymensingh. This attempt failed with regard to the *Surhid Samaj*, which was then under the leadership of Kedar Nath Chakrabartti. However, the *Sadhan Samaj* seems to have joined completely with the branch *Anusilan Samiti*. Towards the end of 1909 there was a split in the ranks of this combined party and, to all intents and purposes, the *Sadhana Samaj* became again

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a separate *samiti*, associated particularly with the names of Hemendra Kishor Acharji and Ananda Mazumdar.

Bajitpur Gang.—The Kishorganj subdivision of Mymensingh has been a particularly agitated area since the days of the partition, and much of its early activities centered round the Kishorganj National School. In 1908, was started what was called the Bajitpur Society. There seems to be little doubt that with the name of Hemendra Acharji as its member, this society was closely allied to, if it were not actually a branch of, the *Sadhana Samaj*. With that *samaj* it is reasonable to suppose that the Bajitpur members came into contact during 1909 with the members of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*. With the secession of the *Sadhana Samaj* from the Mymensingh branch of the Dacca *Anusilan*, the Bajitpur members seem to have commenced a sort of roving, independent career of crime. This group has been generally called the Bajitpur gang. Its origins and relationships have never been thoroughly cleared up, but this explanation appears to fit in most reasonably with the known facts. Certainly the gang seems always to have held a sort of allegiance to Hemendra Acharji, but at the same time its members have been willing to co-operate with the *Anusilan Samiti*. Its local leader was one Noresh Chandra Datta Chaudhuri and an important member was Romesh Datta Chaudhuri, his brother. Romesh Datta Chaudhuri was certainly a full member of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* and engaged in much crime along with the members of that *samiti*. He was sentenced to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment in the supplementary Barisal conspiracy case, but was acquitted on appeal to the High Court. Trailakhya Chakrabartti, a resident of Kapasatia, seems also to have had very close relationships with the members of this gang. He also was a full and important member of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* and was likewise convicted and sentenced to 10 years' transportation in the supplementary Barisal conspiracy case. There is evidence to show that the Bajitpur gang co-operated with the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* in the commission of the Aurail dacoity of 25th May 1915.

Since 1911 there has occurred in the district of Mymensingh a series of outrages which were almost certainly not the single-handed work of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*. A study of these outrages on the evidence now at hand discloses the following names :—

(See Table G on next page)

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Table G

• X indicates good evidence; I indicates reasonably fair evidence

	Sadhana Samaj and Bajitpur Gang	• Charabasa dacoity, 30th April 1911	• Sarachar, 27th July 1911	Sobharampur, 19th March 1912	• Dhuldia, 4th February 1913	• Nagarpara, June 1913	Kharampur, 3rd December 1913	Kishorganj, December 1913	Chaliachar, January 1914	Chatalpur, June 1914	• Ukrasal, 13th November 1914	• Usti December 1914	• Satinokola, January 1915	Aurali, 25th May 1915	• Murder of Dhirendra Biswas, 19th November 1915	• Matia, 21st November 1915	• Rasulpur, 20th November 1915	Kuliachapra, 22nd December 1915	• Sultanpur, 15th January 1915	• Murder of Sashi Chakrabarti 19th January 1915	• Murder of Ilalai Lodh, July 1916	• Parsi, 7th November 1916		Remarks
B	Acharji, Akhil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
S	Acharji, Hemendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	State prisoner	See Tables L, and M.
S	Ain, Amulya	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	*Détenu*	
S	Banikya, Jyan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Banikya, Surendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S & B	Barman, Brindaban	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
B	Barman, Hem	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Only a messanger
S	Barman, Man Mohan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Said to have been murdered	
B	Barman, Ramesh	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Barman, Sital	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
B	Barman, Tarini	—	—	—	—	I	I	I	I	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
B	Basak, Ram Nath	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
S	Basu, Kshitish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	X	*Détenu*	

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	Sadhana Samaj and Bajitpur Gang	• Charbasa dacoity, 30th April 1911	•Sarachar, 27th July 1911	Sobharampur, 19th March 1912	•Dhuldia, 4th February 1913	•Nagargaon, June 1913	Kharanpur, 3rd December 1913	Kishorganj, December 1913	Chaliachar, January 1914	Chatalpur, June 1914	•Ukrasal, 13th November 1914	•Usti December 1914	•Satinokola, January 1915	Aurali, 25th May 1915	• Murder of Dhirendra Biswas, 19th November 1915	•Matia, 21st November 1915	•Rasulpur, 26th November 1915	Kaliachapra, 22nd December 1915	•Sultanpur, 15th January 1915	•Murder of Sashi Chakrabarti 19th January 1915	•Murder of Balai Lodh, July 1916	•Parsi, 7th November 1916	Remarks
S	Basu, Prithis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	*Détenu*
B	Bhattacharji, Dhirendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
S	Bhuya (or Bhaumik), Satish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B	Biswas, Dhirendra	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Murdered
S	Chakrabartti, Adinath	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
S	Chakrabartti, Dinesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
S	Chakrabartti, Hirendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*
S	Chakrabartti, Ishan Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
S	Chakrabartti, Jamini	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
S	Chakrabartti, Nagendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	Arrested
S	Chakrabartti, Nishi Kanta	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B	Chakrabartti, Norendra	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B	Chakrabartti, Rajendra	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*
B	Chakrabartti, Sashi	—	—	—	—	I	I	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Murdered
S	Chakrabartti, Satish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	X	Arrested
S	Chakrabartti, Suresh Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*
S	Chakrabartti, Upendra	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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B	Chanda, Upendra	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
S	Chaudhuri, Dharani Kumar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Chaudhuri, Kshitish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	I	I	I	—	Arrested	See Tables H and L.
B&S	Chaudhuri, Ramesh (?)	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	I	I	—	X	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
B	Das, Bidhu Bhusan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Das, Rajendra	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B&S	Datta (Naib), Gopal	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Arrested	
B	Datta, Jitendra	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
B	Datta, Sachindra	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Datta, Satish	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B&S	Datta Chaudhuri, Naresh	—	I	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	I	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	State prisoner	
S	De, Baroda	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
S	De, Debendra Nath	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	De, Dwarika	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	De, Jagat Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	Arrested	
S	De, Jamini Kumar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	De, Jitendra Kishor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	De, Jogendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	De, Mohendra Nath	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	De, Sachindra Kumar	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ghosh, Jyotish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	I	*Détenu*	
S	Ghosh, Kohinoor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	*Détenu*	
B&S	Gope, Ram Chandra (?)	—	—	I	—	I	I	I	—	—	I	—	I	I	I	—	—	I	I	I	—	—	Arrested	See Tables H and L.

	Sadhana Samaj and Bajitpur Gang	*Charshasa dacoity. 30th April 1911	*Sarachar, 27th July 1911	Subharampur, 19th March 1912	*Dhuldia, 4th February 1913	*Nagargaon, June 1913	Kharampur, 3rd December 1913	Kishorganj, December 1913	Chaliachar, January 1914	Chatalpur, June 1914	*Ukrasal, 13th November 1914	*Usti December 1914	*Satinokola, January 1915	Aurali, 25th May 1915	*Murder of Dhirendra Biswas, 19th November 1915	*Matia, 21st November 1915	*Rasulpur, 26th November 1915	Kaliachapra, 22nd December 1915	*Sultanpur, 15th January 1915	*Murder of Sashi Chakrabarti 19th January 1915	*Murder of Balai Lodh. July 1916	*Parai, 7th November 1916		Remarks
—	Guha, Arun (Barisal party)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	State prisoner	See Table M.
S	Guha, Kedar Nath	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Kar, Narendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Karkum, Pratap Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Karmakar, Ram Narain	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Lahiri, Jitendra Kanta	—	—	X[5]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment.	
S	Laskar, Bepin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Lodh, Bolai Das	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Murdered	See Table H.
B	Mali, Bacha	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Mali, Guru Charan	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Mali, Judhistir	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
S&B	Mali, Ram Dayal	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
B	Mali, Shib Dayal	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Mali, Shyam Sundar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Mistri, Brajabasi	—	—	—	—	I	I	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Mistri, Hardayal	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

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S	Mazumdar, Ananda Chandra	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	State prisoner	
S	Mazumdar, Sailendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
S	Mukharji, Bidhu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Nath, Narendra Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ray, Abhoy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Akhil Chandra	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
S	Ray, Amulya Charan	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Ray, Baneswar	—	—	—	—	I	I	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Benoy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Brajendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Debendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Dhirendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Durga Prasanna	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	I	—	I	—	—	X	—	I	—	—	Absconding	See Table L.
S	Ray, Dinesh	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	State prisoner	See Table K, L and M.
B	Ray, Girindra	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
S	Ray, Gyan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
B&S	Ray, Hem	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	I	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B	Ray, Kshitish	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
S	Ray, Mohini Mohan	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Mohini Sankar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	
B	Ray, Nishi Kanta	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	

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	Sadhana Samaj and Bajitpur Gang	* Charshasa dacoity. 30th April 1911	*Sarachar, 27th July 1911	Sobharampur, 19th March 1912	*Dhuldia, 4th February 1913	*Nagargaon, June 1913	Kharampur, 3rd December 1913	Kishorganj, December 1913	Chaliachar, January 1914	Chatalpur, June 1914	*Ukrasal, 13th November 1914	*Usti December 1914	*Satinokola, January 1915	Aurali, 25th May 1915	* Murder of Dhirendra Biswas, 19th November 1915	*Matia, 21st November 1915	*Rasulpur, 26th November 1915	Kaliachapra, 22nd December 1915	*Sultanpur, 15th January 1915	*Murder of Sashi Chakrabartti 19th January 1915	*Murder of Balai Lodh. July 1916	*Parsi. 7th November 1916		Remarks
S	Ray, Rajendra	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Ramani Mohan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Ramesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	
S	Ray, Saroda	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
B&S	Ray, Sanjib Chandra	—	I	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	I	—	—	X	—	I	—	I	I	—	—	—	Died in jail	
S	Ray, Satish Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Surendra Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Surendra Kumar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Ray, Upendra Kumar	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	See Table L
S	Sen, Debendra Nath	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Sen, Dhirendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	
B	Shah, Apratya	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Shah, Bepin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	Arrested	
S	Shome, Sishir	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	*Détenu*	
S	Shome, Surendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
S	Sil, Prakash	—	X	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	I	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*	

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Analysis.—It has been said that the *Surhid Samiti* does not indulge in crime, from which it may be assumed that all of the names in the table are those of members of the *Sadhana Samaj* or of its branch, the Bajitpur gang. If the outrages marked with an asterisk be taken together they disclose a set of names which have been marked "S." It may, perhaps, be taken that these are the members of the *Sadhana Samaj*. Members of the *Sadhana Samaj* seemed to have co-operated with the *Anusilan Samiti* in the commission of the following outrages :—

Sarachar dacoity	—	27th July 1911.
Dhuldia dacoity	—	4th February 1915.
Ukrasal dacoity	—	13th November 1914.

The remaining outrages may be considered as being the work of the Bajitpur gang, the names of the members of which are marked "B." In these outrages, the names of the following, which have been, according to this argument, shown to be members of the main *Sadhana Samaj*, have also participated, and they may be considered as belonging to both groups :—

Brindaban Barman	—	*Détenu.*
Ramesh Chaudhuri	—	*Détenu.*
Gopal Datta (naib).		
Naresh Datta Chaudhury	—	State prisoner.
Ram Gope.		
Ram Dayal Mali	—	*Détenu.*
Hem Ray		
Sanjib Charan Ray	—	Dead.

According to this analysis the crimes committed by the Mymensingh parties may be indicated as on the annexed diagram :—

(See Chart IV next page)

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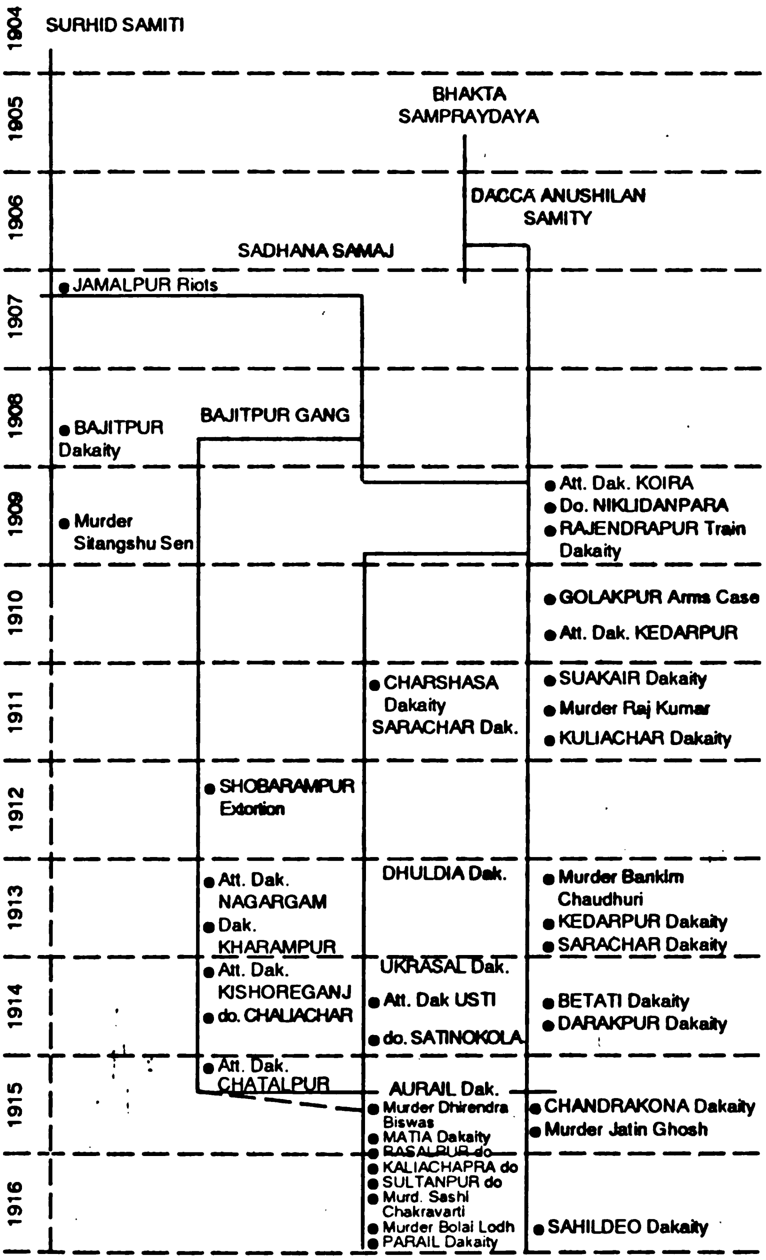
CHART IV



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Barisal Party.—During the partition agitation the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti*, composed of volunteers, was started in Barisal under the presidentship of Babu Aswini Kumar Datta. Satish Mukarji, then a teacher at the Braja Mohan Institution, was the Captain of the Volunteers. This *samiti* took up the boycott movement and established many centres in the villages of Bakarganj. Barin Ghosh visited Barisal and gave an impetus to the *samiti* and was warmly received by its members.

Probably in 1907, one Jatin Chakrabartti of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* came to Barisal with the intention of founding a branch of that *samiti* there. He remained there for some time instructing the members of the *Bandhab Samiti*, in *lathi*-play, but failed in his effort to start a branch of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* in Barisal.

At about this time Narendra Ghosh Chaudhuri, a former member of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*, came to Barisal and threw in his lot with the *Bandhab Samiti*, and was instrumental in infusing this society with ideas of violence. Under the general captaincy of Satish Mukharji, Jogendra Nath Basu was given charge of the organisation side of the *samiti* and Noren Chaudhuri became the leader of the violence branch. They attempted to found a training ground in Feni, Noakhali, but this scheme failed. However, they managed to start sub-centres at Comilla, Sylhet, Noakhali and Chittagong. The Chittagong branch soon decayed and disappeared, while the Sylhet party under the leadership of Debendra Chandra Chaudhuri seems not to have engaged in crime.

Noakhali branch.—The Noakhali branch under the leadership of one Nagendra Guha remained quiet till 1916, when it committed two murders, one of Srish Ray and another of an unknown member.

Tippera branch of the Barisal Party.—The principal mufassal branch of this society, which has been roughly designated the Barisal party, was established in Tippera by the exertions of Satya Ranjan Basu. Its activities in that district are best described in the attached diagram :—

(See Chart V next page)

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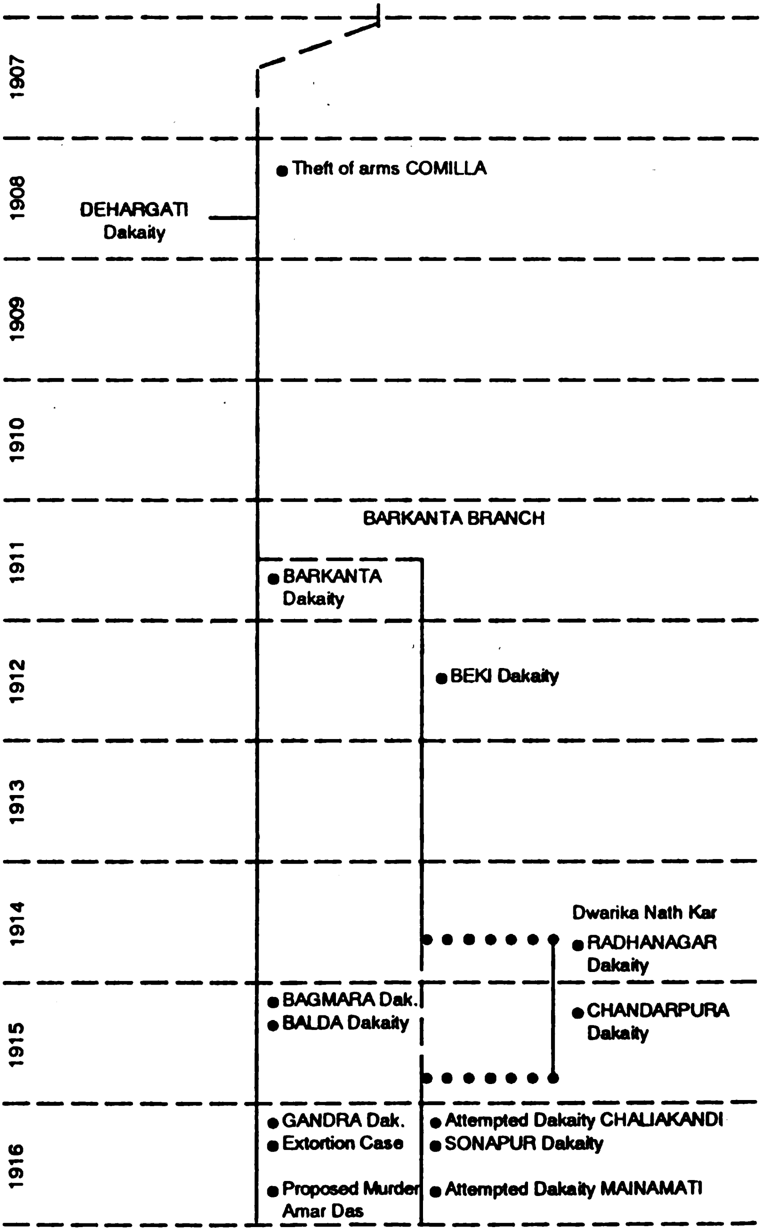
CHART V

SEBAK SAMITY



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To return to the Barisal centre. At some time in 1911 Satish Mukharji, later known as Pragnananda Swami, went to Benares, as noted later. Narendra Ghosh Chaudhuri was bound down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, on 6th December 1911. The local branch at Barisal was responsible for the following outrages :—

Theft of guns from Mr. Meyer—1908.

Alikanda dacoity	—	1908.
Dehargati dacoity	—	December 1908.
Mohanganj dacoity	—	4th March 1910.
Lakhankati dacoity	—	22nd April 1911.
Pratabpur dacoity	—	16th July 1912.
Gazipura dacoity	—	5th June 1915.
Dhanakati dacoity	—	9th June 1916.

Headquarters to Calcutta.—In July 1912 a centre was started in Calcutta at a mess at No. 68/1, Bechu Chatarji's Street, and Calcutta from that date became the headquarters of the party. Pragnananda Swami remained at Barisal as the guru and nominal head of the samiti, but Barisal from that date became merely a mufassal branch. The Barisal party under various leaders threw itself very thoroughly during 1915 into the combination known as the Western Bengal party and its members are responsible for more crime than any other secret society outside of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti.

A study of the various crimes which are attributable directly to the members of the Barisal party discloses the following names :—

[See Table H on next page]

Madaripur.—From the beginning of 1913 a series of dacoities and other outrages occurred in and around Madaripur town in the Faridpur district and disclosed the existence of a band of lawless youths which has been generally known as Purna Das's gang.

Political activity in Faridpur commences from July 1905. The district had strongly espoused the "National Volunteer" movement, and during 1907 the area was overspread with a network of *samitis* in common with all the districts of Bengal. The Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* exploited the neighbourhood round Palong in 1908, and with or without the cooperation of local members committed the following outrages within the limits of that district :—

23rd December 1907	—	Attempted murder of Mr. Allen, I.C.S. Mr. Allen seriously wounded.
30th October 1908	—	Naria dacoity. Loot Rs.1,177; damage by fire Rs.7,500.
2nd June 1909	—	Fatehjangpur murder. One man killed.

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Table H

X indicates good evidence; I indicates reasonably fair evidence

Barisal Party	Theft of arms, Mr. Meyer, 1908	Robbery at Alikanda, 1903	Debarghati dacoity, December 1908	Theft of arms, Comilla, 1st January 1909	Mohanganj dacoity, 4th March 1910	Lakhankati dacoity, 22nd April 1911	Barkanta dacoity 1911	Ikeki dacoity, 1912	Pratabpur dacoity, 1912	Radhanagar dacoity, 18th December 1914	Bagmara dacoity, 22nd January 1915	Ikelda dacoity, 11th April 1915	Chandrapura dacoity 1915	Gazipura dacoity, 15th March 1916	Murder of Srish Ray 10th Manuary 1916	Gandra dacoity, 6th March 1916	Murder, Noakhali, 1916	Attempted dacoity Chalitakandi 1916	Extortion case, Comilla, 29th May 1916	Dhanakali dacoity, 9th June 1916	Sonarpur dacoity, 1st September 1916	Proposed murder of Amar Das November 1916	Attempted dacoity Masiamati 22nd December 1916		
Barisal Debendra	—	I	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Banerji, Ramesh	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Banarji, Sailendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Basu, Achyulanda	I	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Basu, Hem	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Basu, Satyaranjan	—	—	X	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Setenced to transportation for life in Sibpur case.	See Table L.
Basu, Sudhin (Mymensingh)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Absconding.	
Basu, Trailakhya	X	—	X	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Bhattacharji, Aswini	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Bhattacharji, Kamini	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	*Détenu.*	

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Bhattacharji, Lalit	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	*Détenu.*	
Bhattacharji, Shyama Kamal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	*Détenu.*	
Bhattacharji, Suresh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	X	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bhattacharji, Tara Pada	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X'	—	—	—	—	Sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment.	See Table L.
Bhaumik, Sachindra M.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	Absconding.	
Chakrabartti, Hari Das	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	*Détenu.*	
Chakrabartti, Jatin	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Khitish	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Lalit	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Chakrabartti, Mohendra	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Man Mohan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Chakrabartti, Nagendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Nishi	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Revati Mohan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Chatarji, Keshab	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chaudhuri, Kshitish (Mymensingh)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Arrested.	See Tables G and L.
Chaudhuri, Man Mohan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	X	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	

Barisal Party	Theft of arms, Mr. Meyer, 1908	Robbery at Alikanda, 1908	Dehargati dacoity, December 1908	Theft of arms, Comilla, 1st January 1909	Mohanganj dacoity, 4th March 1910	Lakhankati dacoity, 22nd April 1911	Barkanta dacoity 1911	Beki dacoity, 1912	Pratabpur dacoity, 1912	Radhanagar dacoity, 18th December 1914	Bagmara dacoity, 22nd January 1915	Belda dacoity, 11th April 1915	Chandrapura dacoity 1915	Gazipura dacoity, 15th March 1916	Murder of Srish Ray 10th January 1916	Gandra dacoity, 5th June 1915	Murder, Noakhali, 1916	Attempted dacoity Chaliakandi 1916	Extortion case, Comilla, 29th May 1916	Dhanakati dacoity, 9th June 1916	Sonarpur dacoity, 1st September 1916	Proposed murder of Amar Das November 1916	Attempted dacoity Masiamati 22nd December 1916	
Chaudhuri, Surendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*
Chaudhuri, Suresh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chaudhuri, Upendra (?)	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*
Das, Satish (Ch.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	*Détenu.*
Das Gupta, Dhirendra N	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	*Détenu.*
Das Gupta, Hira Lal	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*
Das Gupta, Rebati Mohan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Datta, Bhupendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	State Prisoner.
Datta, Jogendra K.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*
Datta Chaudhuri, Debendra	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	State Prisoner.
De Sarkar, Rakhal Ray	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—
Ghosh, Debendra	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Murder.
Ghosh, Jatin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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Ghosh, Man Mohan	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Ghosh, Nirmal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Ghosh, Satyendra	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Ghosh Chaudhuri, Noren	X	I	X	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sentenced to transportation for life in Sibpur case.	See Tables L, M, J and K.
Gope, Ram Chandra (Mymensingh)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Arrested.	See Table G.
Guha, Nagendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Gupta, Manoranjan	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	State prisoner.	See Table M.
Gupta, Ramani Ranjan	—	—	X	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Kar, Abala Kanta	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	
Kar, Dwarika Nath	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Kar, Hara Prasanna	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	See Table L
Lodh, Balai (Mymensingh)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mudered	See Table G
Mazumdar, Atul	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	
Mitter, Bijay Ranjan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Mukharji, Kunja Bihari	—	—	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Mukharji, Satish	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Pal, Jasoda	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

Barisal Party	Ray, Bipin Bihari	Ray, Kalu Chandra Singh	Ray, Lal Mohan	Ray, Prasanna Kumar	Ray, Upendra	Ray Chaudhuri, Abani	Ray Chaudhuri, Narendra	Sarkar, Chandra Kumar	Sen, Hem Kanta	Sen, Jiten	Sen Gupta, Satindra	Talapatra, Bhupendra	Taran, Sashi Bhusan
Theft of arms, Mr. Meyer, 1908	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Robbery at Alikanda, 1908	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dehargati dacoity, December 1908	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Theft of arms, Comilla, 1st January 1909	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—
Mohanganj dacoity, 4th March 1910	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lakhankati dacoity, 22nd April 1911	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Barkanta dacoity 1911	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Beki dacoity, 1912	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pratabpur dacoity, 1912	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	I	—	—	—
Radhanagar dacoity, 18th December 1914	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bagmara dacoity, 22nd January 1915	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	I	—	—
Belda dacoity, 11th April 1915	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	I	—	—
Chandrapura dacoity 1915	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gazipura dacoity, 15th March 1916	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Murder of Srish Ray 10th January 1916	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gandra dacoity, 5th June 1915	—	—	I	—	—	X	I	X	—	X	—	—	I
Murder, Noakhali, 1916	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Attempted dacoity Chaliakandi 1916	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Extortion case, Comilla, 29th May 1916	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	X	—	—	X
Dhanakati dacoity, 9th June 1916	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sonarpur dacoity, 1st September 1916	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
Proposed murder of Amar Das November 1916	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—
Attempted dacoity Masiamati 22nd December 1916	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Détenu.	State Prisoner	*Détenu.*	—	—	Convicted.	—	*Détenu.*	*Détenu.*	*Détenu.*	*Détenu.*	*Détenu.*	*Détenu.*
		See Table M								See Table L	See Table L		

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16th October 1909	—	Dariapur dacoity. Loot Rs.2,000.
7th November 1910	—	Kalargaon dacoity. Loot Rs. 12,685.
3rd February 1911	—	Panditchar dacoity. Loot Rs. 6,209.

One of the earliest *samitis* to attain importance in the direction of violence was the *Brati Samiti,* which by the end of 1909, however, had practically died a natural death. An almost unique feature of political activities in this district was the attempt made in 1910 to gain over the depressed classes and especially the Namasudras by the empty promise of their being uplifted in the social scale. On the whole the endeavour seems to have been unsuccessful.

Hari Sabha.—The *Hari Sabha* is a society which has existed in Bengal for the last thirty years under this name. Its original purpose was the worship of Hari and the singing of religious songs. In its later days it took upon itself political tendencies and the various branches of this *samiti* strongly espoused the *swadeshi* and boycott cause in 1905-06. A branch of the *Hari Sabha* existed in Faridpur in 1906, and it seems that out of this grew Purna Das's gang under the influence of Purna Das and others. Purna Das was a student of the Madaripur High English School, which he left in 1911 to join the Bangabasi College in Calcutta. Apparently before this date he had gathered around him the gang which later became known as the Madaripur gang. The connection in its early days of this group with the other well-known *samitis* has not been cleared up. It was certainly not an ordinary branch of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti,* and yet some of its members were also members of that *samiti.* On the whole the view which seems to fit in most with what is known of it is that it was originally a sporadic, independent growth attempting in an elementary way to emulate the doings of this bigger society and prompted to activity by members of the *Anusilan Samiti.* One Ramesh Chakrabartti, a member of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti,* is said to have urged the Madaripur gang, as also the Bikrampur gang, to dacoities.

Bikrampur Gang.—Satyendra Nath Datta and Sarada Chakrabartti in the early part of 1911 seceded for a time from the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* and formed a gang of their own, mostly of Manikganj youths. Towards the end of 1911 this party was joined by a small party under Jatin Chatarji and with this party constituted a Bikrampur gang and committed the Ainapur dacoity of 21st February 1912.

Madaripur Gang.—Some of the party soon after this returned to the fold of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti,* while the remainder, under Jatin Chatarji, became amalgamated with the party which Purna Das had left in Madaripur. This joint gang acknowledged the leadership of Purna Das, who was at that time in Calcutta but who paid frequent visits to

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Madaripur. The local leader in Madaripur was Baman Chakrabartti while Jatin Chatarji was also of importance.

This combined gang then commenced a series of dacoities, of which the following is a list :—

(1) Kola dacoity.—16th November 1912.
(2) Attempted dacoity at Mainat.—12th January 1913.
(3) Bharakari dacoity, district Dacca.—4th February 1913.
(4) Gopalpur dacoity, district Faridpur.—3rd April 1913.
(5) Kawakuri dacoity, district Faridpur.—29th May 1913.
(6) Attempted dacoity, Bahar, district Faridpur.—October 1913.

The investigation in connection with this series of outrages disclosed the existence of this gang and their very close association with the Madaripur High School.

Its connections—It was shown that Purna Das, in Calcutta at that time, was in very close association with the members of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* and with Amrita Lal Hazra of the Raja Bazar conspiracy case of November 1913. At that stage it is moderately clear that the Madaripur gang considered itself a branch of the *Anusilan Samiti*. On 18th August 1913 some members of the Madaripur gang are found joining in the Kedarpur dacoity which was an *Anusilan* outrage. Curiously, also, in the house of Priya Nath Chakrabartti, certainly a member of the Madaripur gang, was found soon after the murder of Debendra Ghosh in Comilla on 14th January 1913 a sketch map, which was certainly a guide to the house of Debendra. This outrage is believed to be the work of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*. At some time, in 1913, Purna Das was found in communication with Pramatha Bhattacharji of the Khulna-Jessore gang, and with him there was an attempt made to murder a note-forger in the Jessore district. It was reported that later in that year Purna Das's party had formed a sort of combination with the party of Pramatha Bhattacharji of Mymensingh (probably the *Surhid Samiti*) and had agreed to work with it, while there is also evidence to show that this fickle group had been coquetting with the party of Hem Ghosh of Dacca. The later extortion activities of this gang during 1915 bear a very great resemblance to the similar cases committed by the Tippera branch of the Barisal party.

Madaripur Conspiracy Case.—Eventually a number of members were put up for trial under sections 395 and 120 B, Indian Penal Code, but the case had eventually to be withdrawn for various reasons. The accused were finally discharged on 19th April 1914. During the course of the trial, Baman Chandra Chakrabartti was sentenced to 15 months' rigorous imprisonment and also bound down for one year under section

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106, Criminal Procedure Code, for threatening witnesses in that case. There was also discovered at that time a plan for shooting the Subdivisional Officer in Madaripur, while he was in Court.

The continuance of the gang.—Purna Das continued to visit Madaripur from time to time, and it is very clear that this same gang was responsible for a renewed outbreak of political crime. On 19th November 1914 an attempt was made to bomb Babu Binod Lal Ghosh, who had given the police considerable assistance in the Madaripur conspiracy case. In this case, an empty Mauser pistol cartridge was recovered, indicating that the party was now in some sort of communication with the group in Calcutta responsible for the Rodda's consignment theft case. In fact, it is now known that certain of the loot in that theft found its way into the hands of Purna Das and his party. Between the 1st of October 1914 and the end of that year also occurred a series of political extortions in the vicinity of Madaripur, undoubtedly the work of this gang. The Kalimridha dacoity of 18th January 1915 was probably also one of the activities of this party. In February 1915 another case of attempted extortion was brought to notice, as a result of which various members of the gang were again arrested. The circumstances of these arrests were such that a clear case in Court could not be established, and in consequence they were all again released to continue their anarchical designs. In June 1915 a moderately harmless bomb was thrown into the house of one Debendra Nath Sarkar, a police informer, and a rifle was also stolen from that house in the same month. The Mustaphapur dacoity of 9th January 1916 was probably the work of some of the members of this gang.

A study of the evidence now on record concerning this party discloses the following names :—

(See Table I on next page)

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Table I

X indicates good evidence; I indicates resonably fair evidence

Madaripur Gang	Ainapur dacoity, 22nd February 1912	Kola dacoity, 18th November 1912	Mainat, 12th January 1913	Note-forger, 1913	Bharakair dacoity, 4th February 1913	Gopalpur dacoity, 3rd April 1913	Kawakuri dacoity, 29th May 1913	Kedarpur dacoity 16th August 1913	Bahar, October 1913	Bomb case, 19th November 1914	Political extortion, 1914	Kalamirdhi, 18th January 1915	Attempted extortion, February 1915	Deben Sarkar, June 1915	Mustaphapur, 9th January 1916		
Banarji, Kali Prasad	—	—	I	—	I	I	I	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Banarji, Dinesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Banik, Sita Nath	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	
Basu, Bhuban	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	
Basu, Kamini	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	
Basu, Nirode	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	
Basu, Subendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	
Basu Chaudhuri, Bhupendra	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bhattacharji, Bhabani	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bhattacharji, Monoranjan	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bhattacharji, Pramatha (Jessore)	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bhattacharji, Satya Narayan	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Biswas, Ashitaranjan	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Baman	—	—	I	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	

Chakrabartti, Bijoy	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Arrested.	See Tables D & M
Chakrabartti, Batta Krishna	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Bhuban	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Debendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Dhiresh	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Gopal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Hara Lal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Priya Nath	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Chakrabartti, Ram	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Sridhan	I	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chakrabartti, Srish Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chatarji, Jatin	X	I	X	I	X	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Chaudhuri, Prafulla	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Chaudhuri, Suresh	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Das, Abinash	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	
Das, Ashutosh	X	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Das, Harabilash	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Das, Kali	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	
Das, Makunda	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Das, Manoranjan (?)	—	—	X	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Das, Nagendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Das, Niranjan	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Das, Purna	—	I	X	I	X	X	I	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	State prisoner.	
Das, Rajendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	*Détenu.*	

Madaripur Gang	Ainapur dacoity, 22nd February 1912	Kola dacoity, 18th November 1912	Mainat, 12th January 1913	Note-forger. 1913	Bharakair dacoity, 4th February 1913	Gopalpur dacoity, 3rd April 1913	Kawakuri dacoity, 29th May 1913	Kedarpur dacoity 16th August 1913	Bahar, October 1913	Bomb case, 19th November 1914	Political extortion. 1914	Kalamirdhi, 18th January 1915	Attempted extortion, February 1915	Deben Sarkar, June 1915	Mustaphapur, 9th January 1916		
Das, Ram	X	X	—	X	X	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	Murdered.	
Das, Surendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Das Gupta, Nirendra	—	—	—	—	—	X	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Hanged at Balasore	See Table L
Datta, Adya Prasad	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	
Datta, Akhay	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	I	—	I	I	—	*Détenu.*	
Datta, Arindra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	
Datta, Gangacharan	X	I	X	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Datta, Hem	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	
Datta, Hira Lal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	
Datta, Jatindra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	
Datta, Paresh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	
Datta, Priya Nath	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Datta, Santosh	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	*Détenu.*	
Datta, Satyendra	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Datta, Sushil	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	
De, Hari Mohan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	
De, Madhusudan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	

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De, Rajendra	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	
De, Tarini	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	
De Sarkar, Upendra	—	—	I	—	—	I	X	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	
Ganguli, Birendra	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ganguli, Mon Mohan	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ghosal, Gyan	—	—	I	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ghosh, Aswini	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ghosh, Indu Bhusan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Ghosh, Kali Kalpataru	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Ghosh, Phani	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ghosh, Satish Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Ghosh Chaudhuri, Nogen	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Guha, Biraj	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	
Guha, Resharanjan	—	—	I	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mazumdar, Aswini	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mukharji, Hem Chandra	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Mukharji, Kula Ranjan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Nag, Kiran	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Nag, Rash Bihari	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Pathak, Purna	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	
Rauth, Upendra	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ray, Jatin	I	I	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Ray, Pran Gopal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	
Ray Chaudhuri, Chittya Priya	—	—	I	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Killed at Balasore.	See Tables L & M

Madaripur Gang	Ainapur dacoity, 22nd February 1912	Kola dacoity, 18th November 1912	Mainat, 12th January 1913	Note-forger, 1913	Bharakair dacoity, 4th February 1913	Gopalpur dacoity, 3rd April 1913	Kawakuri dacoity, 29th May 1913	Kedarpur dacoity 16th August 1913	Bihar, October 1913	Bomb case, 19th November 1914	Political extortion, 1914	Kalamirdhi, 18th January 1915	Attempted extortion, February 1915	Deben Sarkar, June 1915	Mustaphapur, 9th January 1916		
Ray Chaudhuri, Gopesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	—	
Sarkar, Annada	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	
Sarkar, Hara Kanta	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Sarkar, Jatindra	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Sarkar, Radhika	—	—	I	—	—	I	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Sarkar, Rasik	X	—	I	—	I	I	—	X	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	State prisoner.	
Sen, Girindra	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Sen Gupta, Manaranjan	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Hanged at Balasore.	See Table L
Shah, Ram Mohan	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Shah, Surendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Sil, Lalit	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Sil, Rameswar	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	

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Dacca and Hem Ghosh's Gang.—The district of Dacca has been mainly the hunting ground of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*, but there existed, at any rate in 1912, a separate party in Dacca town itself, under the leadership of one Hem Chandra Ghosh. It is probable that this party had at one time acknowledged a sort of attachment to the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*, and it is perhaps only a guess that it originated as a mufassal branch of the *Surhid Samiti* of Mymensingh. The attempted dacoity at Subadhya on 25th June 1912 was probably an effort of this particular gang. The information gathered at that time disclosed the names of the following persons :—

(1) Krishna Chandra Nandi.
(2) Suresh Chandra Ray.
(3) Narendra Nath Das.
(4) Hari Das Datta.
(5) Binod Bihari Pal.
(6) Hem Chandra Ghosh.
(7) Nishi Kanta Basu.
(8) Srish Chandra Pal.
(9) Jagabandhu Kobiraj.

As has already been said, there is evidence to show that at one time there was a certain amount of communication between this gang and the gang of Purna Das.

Alliance with Bipin Ganguli.—Apparently in 1913 Hem Ghosh's party formed a sort of alliance with the party of Bipin Ganguli in Calcutta. In conjunction with Bipin Ganguli's party it engaged in an attempt to murder Mr. O' Brien of the Alexander Jute Mills in about April 1914, and later, in an attempted dacoity at Bikrampur, Dacca, on 1st January 1915.

This combined party, which held Bipin Ganguli as its leader and was in that sense the offspring of the *Atmannati Samiti*, committed the Rodda's arms theft of 26th August 1914. By this means there fell into the hands of Bipin Ganguli and his associates fifty .300 bore Mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of ammunition. The consequences of these arms and ammunition falling into the hands of the party at such a critical stage as this were very serious. There is evidence to show that in all probability these arms and ammunition have been employed in 44 political crimes from that date onwards, and in these crimes 27 persons have been killed and 44 wounded, while a sum of Rs. 3,67,480 has been looted. Up to September 1917, 30 of these pistols had been recovered, and about 27,000 rounds of ammunition. The evidence at present to hand indicates that at the time of this theft, Noren Ghosh Chaudhuri of the

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Barisal party was closely in touch with Bipin Ganguli and that very shortly afterwards Bipin Ganguli formed an alliance with the party of Jatin Mukharji. A study of the crimes committed by the members of Bipin Ganguli's combined gang up to the end of 1915 discloses the following names :—

Table J

X indicates good evidence
I indicates reasonably fair evidence

Bipin Ganguli's Gang	Subedhya, 25th June 1912	Plan to murder Mr. O' Brien, April 1914	Rodda's arms, 29th August 1914	Bikramper, 1st January 1915		Remarks
Banarji, Girindra	—	I	—	—	State prisoner	See Tables K and L
Banarji, Nagendra Nath	—	—	X^2	—	Détenu	
Bhattacharji, Madhusudan	—	—	—	X	Détenu	
Biswas, Baidya Nath	—	—	X	—	Détenu	See Tables K and L
Bose, Kalidas	—	I	X^2	—	Détenu	
Bose, Nishi Kanta	I	—	—	—	—	
Bose, Rajani Kanta	—	—	I	—	—	
Bose, Rash Behari	—	—	I	—	Absconder	See Tables K and M
Chakrabartti, Abinash	—	—	I	—	State prisoner	See Tables A, B and M
Chakrabartti, Narendra Nath	—	—	I	—	Détenu	See Table L
Chakrabartti, Phanindra	—	—	I	—	Detained	See Tables L and M
Chatarji, Amarendra Nath	—	—	I	—	Absconder	See Table M
Chatarji, Pangshu Bhusan	—	—	—	X	Détenu	
Das, Khagendra	—	I	—	—	Détenu	
Das, Narendra Nath	I	—	—	—	—	
Datta, Benoy Bhusan	—	—	X	—	Detained	
Datta, Haridas	I	X	X^2	—	Détenu	
De, Satish	—	—	X	—	State prisoner	See Table L
Dhar, Bhujanga Bhusan	—	—	X^2	—	Détenu	

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Bipin Gangoli's Gang	Sobedbya, 25th June 1912	Plan to murder Mr. O' Brien, April 1914	Rodda's arms, 29th August 1914	Bikrampur, 1st January 1915		Remarks
Ganguli, Bepin	—	—	X	X	Sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment.	See Tables B, K, L and M
Ghosh, Atul	—	—	X	—	Absconding	See Tables K, L and M
Ghosh, Biman	—	—	X	—	Détenu	See Table L
Ghosh, Hem	I	—	—	—	State prisoner	
Ghosh, Srish (Chandernagore)	—	—	I	—	Detained	See Tables A and M
Ghosh, Tulsi	—	—	I	—	Détenu	See Table L
Ghosh Chaudhuri, Noren	—	—	X	—	Sentenced to transporation for life	See Tables H, K, L and M
Gupta, Jagat Ranjan	—	—	—	X	Détenu	
Kabiraj, Bijoy Ray	—	—	I	—	State prisoner	
Kabiraj, Jagabandhu	I	—	—	—	—	
Lahiri, Ashutosh	—	—	X	X	Sentenced to 17 years' transportation	See Table L
Mitra, Chuni Lal	—	—	—	X	Détenu	
Mitra, Srish	—	I	X	—	Absconding	
Mukharji, Anukul	—	I	X	—	State prisoner	See Tables K, L and M
Mukharji, Jadu Gopal	—	—	X	—	Absconder	See Table M
Mukharji, Jatin	—	—	X	—	Killed at Balasore	See Tables L and M
Mukharji, Phanindra	—	—	—	X	Détenu	
Mukharji, Pulin	—	—	X	—	State prisoner	See Tables L and M
Nandi, Krishna Chandra	I	—	—	—	—	
Pal, Binod Bihari	I	—	—	—	—	
Pal, Srish Chandra	I	—	X	X	State prisoner	See Tables K and L
Ray, Abinash	—	—	X	—	State prisoner	
Ray, Ashutosh	—	—	X	—	Absconding Détenu	See Table L
Ray, Baroda Kanta	—	—	I	—	State prisoner	See Tables K, L and M

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Bipin Ganguli's Gang	Subadhya, 25th June 1912	Plan to murder Mr. O' Brien, April 1914	Rodda's arms, 29th August 1914	Bikrampur, 1st January 1915		Remarks
Ray, Gopendra Lal	—	—	I	—	Sentenced to 8 years' transportation	See Table L
Ray, Moti Lal	—	—	X	—	Living in Chandernagore	See Table M
Ray, Suresh Chandra	I	—	—	—	Détenu	
Sanyal, Jnan Ranjan	—	—	—	X	Détenu	
Sarkar, Ram Lal	—	—	—	X	—	
Sikdar, Harish	—	—	X	—	State prisoner	See Tables K and L
Singh, Sailen	—	—	I	—	Détenu	

The Northern Bengal Organisation.—Northern Bengal for the purpose of this note may be said to consist of all of the Presidency north of the Ganges river, excluding the district of Mymensingh and all those districts falling east of the line of the Jamuna river. Rajshahi may be taken as its centre, and although the organisation started there was principally of indigenous origin, it was in all probability the fruit of the seed sown all over Bengal in the early days of the movement. The activities of the *Jugantar* party and of the Howrah gang in part of this area have already been described.

Rajshahi.—The leader of the Nationalist party at Rajshahi was one Jatindra Mohan Ray, known as Jatin Dada, a man apparently of religious and philanthropic ideas and with an immense influence amongst his associates. He is a native of Kushtia in Naida and served as a teacher in various schools. At Rajshahi he started two exercise clubs, one of which he managed himself and the other he put in the charge of Tara Nath Lahiri. As head of the Rajshahi association, he was succeeded by Hemendra Nath Mukhuti, who was followed by Dhirendra Mohan Ghattak. These men kept the Sri Ram Krishna *Utsab* and founded a new *utsab* to commemorate the memory of Swami Vivekananda. The organisation, although it was definitely working for the good of the mother-country, was a purely non-violent one and devoted its energies to philanthropy, exercise, self-improvement and recruiting. Subscriptions were quietly raised and spent on these purposes. It was during the leadership of Dhiren that the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* first came to the town of Rajshahi from Nator, where its divisional headquarters

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were situated. During this time Jatin Dada was the Head Master of the National School at Pabna, where he trained up Gopendra Ray, amongst others. After Jatin's departure from Pabna this group gradually took to violence under the influence of Kunja Lal Shah.

Rangpur.—Rangpur, as has been already shown, had had an organisation from the time of the *Jugantar* newspaper, and under such leaders as Abinash Chandra Ray, Upendra Nath Ray and Uma Nath Chakrabartti had indulged in various crimes of violence. The Rangpur group had branches at Jalpaiguri, Sirajganj and Cooch Behar.

Reorganisation.—At about the time when the headquarters of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* were transferred to Calcutta in 1910, Naren Sen and Nalini Ghosh began to reorganise the Northern Bengal section of that *samiti*, and in order to keep abreast with them, Dhirendra Ghattak representing the Rajshahi, Jnanendra Maitra, the representative of the Rangpur party, and Kshitish Chandra Mazumdar (Sambhu) of the Pabna party, held a conference and united these three groups into one Northern Bengal party to work under the guidance of Jatindra Mohan Ray, who was then Assistant Head Master of the Bogra Coronation School. This organisation had its representative in Calcutta in the person of Jogendra Nath De Sarkar, whose assistant was Tarini Charan Nandi. It was then supposed to be part of what was known loosely as the *Jugantar* party.

Malda.—The district of Malda was not included in this arrangement. Beside its having a branch of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*, Malda had an independent party under Benoy Sarkar which had a contract with the Northern Bengal party to respect the territory of its activity, namely, the Malda district.

Contact with Calcutta.—The Northan Bengal party proper at a later stage became imbued with the idea of military training, probably under the influence of Jogendra De Sarkar. In Calcutta, Jatindra Ray came into contact with Atul Chandra Ghosh, who introduced him to the project of the imminent revolution against the British Government in 1915. Jatindra Ray met Jatindra Mukharji and discussed this matter, but the former was strongly opposed to the scheme. The principal leaders of the Northern Bengal party apparently upheld Jatindra Ray in his decision, but the feeling of the party and the influence of Jogendra De Sarkar overcame this and Dhirendra Ghattak began to teach his party drill, marching and signalling.

Amulya Sarkar's Pamphlet.—In September 1916 in the house of one Amulya Sarkar of the Pabna party was discovered a pamphlet detailing in an elementary way the organisation of a secret revolutionary society in which violence should be prohibited. The whole pamphlet has

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been reproduced and discussed in another place, and it is only necessary here to draw attention to the fact that it is an effort of the Western Bengal organisation.

Information regarding the Northern Bengal party is scanty, but the following outrages are not known to be the work of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* and are therefore possibly the activities of this party :—

Malda.—Dacoity at English Bazar, 20th October 1908.
Pabna.—Dacoity at Kadimpara, 27th February 1916.
Rangpur.—(1) Dacoity, 1906; (2) Baliagram dacoity, 6th November 1911; (3) Kurul dacoity, 22nd January 1915; (4) attempt on life of Additional Superintendent of Police, 16th February 1915.

The Baranagar Gang.—Under the heading of the Baranagore gang it is intended to group a series of small *samitis* which operated on both sides of the river Hooghly in the area to the north of Calcutta and Howrah. This area had been thoroughly well exploited as early as 1907. At the time of Arabinda Ghosh the *Jubak Samiti* had started *akharas* and a *bhikshabhandar* in this locality. The Secretary of the original branch of the *Jubak Samiti* was Hemanta Kumar Chaudhuri, and one Janaki Sen Gupta used to give exciting lectures to the members. One Amulya Charan Das of Uttarpara exerted a considerable amount of influencee in this neighbourhood, which he continued to exert for many years.

At some time in 1907, through Priya Sankar Sen Gupta, this group seems to have come into contact with the *Surhid Samiti* of Mymensingh, and also later, in 1908, with some of the members of Kartik Datta's party. The principal activity of the group at this stage was the collection of arms. Apparently after the acquittal of Arabinda Ghosh in the Alipore conspiracy case, Priya Sankar lost touch with the group. One member of the gang, Amar Bhattacharji, had a press at Palpara and his press was used on more than one occasion to print the *Jugantar* newspaper. The area covered by the operations of this gang has previously come to notice in what was known as the Bhatpara gang, and inasmuch as Jogen Thakur and Kali Das Bhattacharji certainly came into contact with this group probably some time in 1912, it may be said that this gang is in a sense a descendant of the old Bhatpara gang. Jogen Thakur is a disreputable relation of the Tagore family, closely connected with the Ram Krishna Mission. He seems to be a person of the very smallest principles, who has from time to time given information to the police, who has dealt extensively in the purchase and traffic of arms, who has cheated in this matter his own companions, and who has yet wielded a considerable amount of influence in this neighbourhood.

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Some time probably late in 1912 he founded the *Brahmananda Math Asram* at Alambazar and with it various other *samitis*, which revived a spirit which at that time was in danger of being lost.

Contact with Bipin Ganguli.—During 1913 this gang commenced a series of dacoities on an elementary scale, largely under the direction of Jogen Thakur. One of the principal local figures was Tulsi Das Ghosh. Probably early in 1915 the gang got into contact with Bipin Ganguli of the old *Atmannati Samiti*, and one Srish Pal formed a sort of intermediate link between these two parties. Bipin Ganguli was eventually on 2nd August 1915 sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment in the Agarpara dacoity case. His idea apparently in urging this gang to commit dacoities was largely to create a state of unrest and panic amongst the public. As a gang of dacoits they were most miserable failures. The amount of loot which they gathered was small, and little, if any of it, found its way to any other use than that of the support of the members themselves. Through Bipin Ganguli, the gang came into contact with various members of other parties whose names are found figuring in the various outrages which this gang perpetrated. The study of those outrages on the information now to hand discloses the following names :—

(See Table K on next page)

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Table K

X indicates good evidence; I indicates reasonably fair evidence

Baranagar Gang	Dacoity Chatrabaria 7th November 1913	Attempted dacoity, Baidyabati, February 1914	Attempted dacoity, Baranagar, July 1914	Dacoity, Mamurabad, 7th November 1914	Attempted dacoity, Alambazar, November 1914	Dacoity, Arcadah, December 1914	Dacoity, Arcadah, 6th April 1915	Dacoity, Dakhineswar, April 1915	Attempt to seduce Sikh Soldiers, May 1915	Plan to rob Marwari, June 1915	Attempted looting, Rally, July 1915	Dacoity, Agarpara, 2nd August 1915	Conspiracy to rescue Bipin, August 1915	Murder Agarpara, 25th August 1915	Attempted dacoity, Janai, 2nd February 191a6	Dacoity, Daffarpur, 3rd March 1916		
Banarji, Durga Das	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Banarji, Girin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	X	—	—	State Prisoner.	See Tables J and L
Banarji, Rakhal	—	X	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Dead.	
Banarji, Sital •	X	X	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Basanta (Bow Bazar)	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Basu, Rash Bihari	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	Absconding	See Tables J and M
Bhattacharji, Kali•	—	—	I	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	*Détenu.*	
Biswas, Baidya Nath	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	I	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	See Tables J and L
Chatarji, Ashutosh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	See Table L
Chatarji, Girija	—	—	I	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Chatarji, Harendra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	*Détenu.*	
Chatarji, Khagendra	X	X	I	X	—	—	X	—	I	—	I	—	I	X	—	—	*Détenu.*	See Table L

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Chatarji, Krishna	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
Chatarji, Nepal	—	—	—	—	X	X	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Chaudhuri, Girija(Chatarji?)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	
Chaudhuri, Hemanta	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chaudhuri, Noren	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	Convicted (transportation for life).	See Tables H, J, L and M
Das, Hari (Domjur)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	
Das, Nagen*	—	—	I	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
De, Harisadhan	X	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
De, Hemanta	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	*Détenu.*	
De, Keshab Lal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	State prisoner.	
De, Provash	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	—	State prisoner.	See Tables B and L
De, Satish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	State prisoner.	
Ganguli, Bipin	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	I	X	—	—	—	—	Convicted (5 years' rigorous imprisonment).	See Tables B, J L and M
Ganguli, Shambhu	—	—	—	—	I	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ghosal, Bhadadeb	—	I	—	X	I	X	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	X	—	*Détenu.*	
Ghosal, Uma	—	—	I	—	X	I	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	*Détenu*, but released.	
Ghosh, Atul	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	Absconding	See Tables J, L and M
Ghosh, Baroda (Datta ?)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	*Détenu.*	See Table L
Ghosh, Biman*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	X	—	I	X	X	*Détenu.*	See Tables J and L

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Baranagar Gang	Dacoity Chatrabaria 7th November 1913	Attempted dacoity, Baidyabati, February 1914	Attempted dacoity, Baranagar, July 1914	Dacoity, Mamurabad, 7th November 1914	Attempted dacoity, Alambazar, November 1914	Dacoity, Arcadah, December 1914	Dacoity, Arcadah, 6th April 1915	Dacoity, Dakhineswar, April 1915	Attempt to seduce Sikh Soldiers, May 1915	Plan to rob Marwari, June 1915	Attempted looting, Rally, July 1915	Dacoity, Agarpara, 2nd August 1915	Conspiracy to rescue Bipin, August 1915	Murder Agarpara, 25th August 1915	Attempted dacoity, Janai, 2nd February 1916	Dacoity, Dalfarpur, 3rd March 1916		
Ghosh, Makhan*	—	—	I	X	X	—	—	X	X	X	—	X	I	X	X	X	State prisoner.	See Tables L
Ghosh, Satya Charan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	*Détenu.*	
Ghosh, Tulsi*	X	X	I	I	—	I	X	—	—	X	X	I	I	X	X	—	*Détenu.*	See Tables J and L
Haldar, Ananta	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	State prisoner	
Mitter, Bhupendra*	X	X	I	X	X	X	—	X	—	—	I	X	—	X	X	—	*Détenu.*	See Table K
Mitter, Khetra Mohan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	*Détenu.*	
Mitter, Shibapada	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	
Mukharji, Anakul	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	X	—	—	State prisoner.	See Tables J, L and M
Mukharji, Bhut Nath	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	See Table L
Mukharji, Kali	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	*Détenu.*	See Table L
Mukharji, Moni Mohan*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	*Détenu.*	
Mukharji, Parbati	X	X	I	X	—	I	X	X	—	—	I	X	I	X	—	—	*Détenu.*	See Table L
Mukharji, Shib Nath	—	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mukharji, Santosh	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	X	—	
Nibaran (Konnagar)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	—	

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Pal, Srish*	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	I	X	X	X	State prisoner.	See Table J and L
Paramanik, Ashutosh*	X	—	I	X	X	X	X	X	I	—	—	I	—	I	—	—	*Détenu.*	See Table L
Ray, Ashu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	Domiciled, but absconded.	See Tables J and L
Ray, Bankim	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	I	—	—	*Détenu.*	See Table L
Ray, Baroda	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	State prisoner.	See Tables J and L
Ray, Dinesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	State prisoner.	See Tables G. L and M
Sen, Shyama*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	I	State prisoner.	See Tables L and M
Sikdar, Harish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	I	I	—	—	State priosner.	See Tables J and L
Thakur, Jogen	—	—	—	X	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*Détenu.*	

CHAPTER VII

The Build-up of the Western Bengal Party

Although geographical Western Bengal was practically free from crime during the period of 1911–1913, the mufassal societies which eventually combined into the Western Bengal orgnisation were very far from inactive. In Mymensigh the *Sadhana Samaj* committed five outrages during that period, which also saw the rise into active crime of the bajitpur gang. The Barisal party was only spasmodically active during those years, but this period was that during which Purna Das's Madaripur party took to overt crime. The Northern Bengal party, as has been said, was reorganised in 1910-11.

All these organisations have been termed mufassal parties for the reason that they had at one time their headquarters and their principal figures in the mufassal. Commonly the members were students, and in ordinary course came to Calcutta to continue their studies. In Calcutta they grouped themselves mostly into separate messes, at any rate according to their districts. In 1912 it may be said that many of the bigger men in the various parties were living in Calcutta, surrounded each by a following of his own. Frequently in one mess lived members of different parties, and these vaguely knew that the other held such opinions but belonged to "*the* other party." Fresh youths coming to Calcutta were proselytised, and in some cases conversions were made from one party to the other. All of the parties so described recognised that they were in some way allied to the old *Jugantar* party, in contradistinction to the *Anusilan Samiti*, and in that sense there was a bond of union between them. Nevertheless, it appears not to have been till 1913 that actual amalgamations took place. The Madaripur gang was towards the end of 1913 on very intimate terms with the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* in Calcutta. Nogen Guha of the Barisal party and even Jatin Mukharji himself and the members of his party were found to have been connected with the same mess as Sasanka Hazra (Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*) at the time of the Raja Bazar find in November 1913.

It seems clear that the influence which brought these various parties into closer union at that time, either accidentally or possibly designedly, was the opportunity afforded by the Burdwan and Midnapore floods.

The Damodar Floods : In July and August 1913 the river Damodar overflooded its banks and inundated parts of Burdwan and Midnapore. Immediately, so-called flood-relief parties of volunteers, with their headquarters in Calcutta, established themselves at selected centres in the distressed area for the purpose of distributing relief. Bands of students

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from the colleges and schools of Calcutta and mufassal collected subscriptions and set out for the afflicted area to distribute clothes and flood-stuffs. This seems to have provided an opening for the activities of the, at that time largely suppressed, natures of the young Bengalis with political notions. The names of certain of the volunteer leaders indicated immediately the danger of allowing free intercourse between youths of such known tendencies.

Separate relief parties were organised by Satish Chandra Basu, Secretary of the defunct Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti*, Krishna Kumar Mitra, the Editor of the *Sanjibani*, Shyam Sundar Chakrabartti, Pran Krishna Acharji, Karunamoy Sarkar and Amarendra Nath Chatarji. These last two were both devotees of the Ram Krishna Mission, and they established themselves at Burdwan helped by such persons as Satish Basu, Jatin Mukharji, Ram Chandra Mazumdar, Kiran Mukharji and Jyanendra Nath Banarji. Later, Satish Basu turned his attention to Contai in Midnapore and was helped there by Rasik Lal Datta, Atul Ghosh and Sushil Chandra Mitra. The members of this section seem to have amused themselves by singing seditious and ribald songs, and by abusing the Government. Some of the men in this neighbourhood also engendered a feeling of hostility in the villagers by alleged acts of immorality and other forms of oppression.

A notorious figure found taking a keen interest in the movement was that of Mati Lal Ray of Chandernagore. In September he visited Burdwan, and sent some of the young men working there to Charu Chandra Ray in Chandernagore to collect funds.

Amarendra Nath Chatarji was the leader of the so-called "High Court Relief Party." In a note written by Amarendra himself on the subject of this relief work, the following passage appears:—"The flood. . . . . is no doubt a scourge and a curse, but when it rouses in the people a craving for social services, it is not an unqualified curse, but is a blessing indeed. . . .Always bear in mind that distribution is not the only aim. Our object is also to teach the people a higher ideal of life. Teach them to co-operate and to strive for spiritual, educational, social, physical and material improvement." Working with Amarendra Nath Chatarji in Midnapore was Makhan Lal Sen of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*. He seems to have exercised considerable control over his colleagues, and he displayed real talent in the organisation of this work. He was urged to go to Contai in order to settle the rivalries of opposing interests which were paralysing and wrecking the relief work.

Although it cannot be said definitely that the flood-relief as a whole was organised explicitly for political purposes, evidence now at hand

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shows quite conclusively that this opportunity was seized for the purpose of intercourse between members of different parties. The names of most of the bigger men of the revolutionary party of 1915 are found among the reports dealing with this event, and it seems probable that this opportunity was seized for the exchange of views and for the formulation of a settled and combined policy.

The Seva Samiti: Probably in about 1913, or perhaps a little before, certain of the old members of the Calcutta *Anusilan Samiti* who, in the meantime, had been members of various athletic clubs, formed themselves into a branch of the *Seva Samiti* under Atul Krishna Ghosh. The ostensible object of this *samiti* was a benevolent one. The first centre was at the house of Atul Ghosh. During the Burdwan floods, various of the members of this *samiti* went there for the purpose of affording relief to the afflicted people. The headquarters of the *samiti* were later shifted to the house of Jiban Tara Haldar, and later still to No. 83, Hari Ghosh's Street. Of this organisation Amar Ghosh, the brother of Atul, was an important figure. One Dr. Surendra Nath Basu delivered a course of lectures on first aid. The members read the lives of Mazzini, Garibaldi and various other books of that sort. In connection with this *samiti*, a library had been formed at Goabagan mostly composed of books formerly belonging to the old *Anusilan Samiti.*

In the usual manner, now thoroughly known, the members of this *samiti* were slowly and deliberately turned into political directions and the cause of the country became their prominent thought.

It was this *samiti* which formed the nucleus of the combined party which operated in Bengal in 1915. Purna Das of Madaripur brought some of his more audacious spirits along to it and later Pulin Mukharji *alias* Thakur, previously a member of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*, joined it and took a prominent part in the commission of outrages. Other members of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* severed their connection with that society and joined the party of Atul Ghosh. Bipin Ganguli was in close connection with it and also members of the Northern Bengal party. Jatin Mukharji seems to have been in touch with the members of this *samiti* from the time of its formation, and immediately he came into Calcutta, the *Seva Samiti* acknowledged his leadership and became the real Western Bengal party of 1915.

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CHAPTER VIII

The Western Bengal Organistion

The crop of political crime which inundated Bengal during the years 1914,1915 and 1916 indicated an intensity of revolutionary activity far beyond anything which had been previously experienced. The curve of crime activity which accompanies this volume proves this beyond any shadow of doubt. General argument would connect this circumstance with the fact of the outbreak of war in August 1914 and the information now at hand very conclusively confirms this. From earliest times the revolution was a future thing and activities were directed to the preparation of the ground. To ferment a spirit of dissatisfaction in the mind of youths and to raise this into overt anarchical crime seems to have been the main working principle of the organisers. To create a spirit of insecurity and unrest in the public was also probably one of their immediate aims . Doubtless the cause of crime of this sort was encouraged, during the period of the preparations, not with the hope of thereby upsetting the Government but with a view to forcing Government into the granting of political concessions. Barin Ghosh wished to do more than this. He wanted the British completely driven from the country, but even he saw eventually that the machinery for such an upheaval was not then available. The rank and file have always been taught the idea that the ultimate purpose of the organisation was to subvert British rule in India.

The outbreak of war made the possibility of a revolution a much more tangible thing, and brought to a possibly premature head the secret forces at work in this part of India. On a large scale in other parts of India there had, undoubtedly, previous to the war, been preparations for a revolution to take place at some time in 1915. The complete story of this is perhaps unknown , but that it had roots laid in the *Ghadr* party in America is certain. What part Bengal was to play in that conspiracy in again largely conjectural, but an account of what is known of that plot is given later.

The fact that outbreak of war provided a splendid opportunity for revolt seems to have struck Jatin Mukherjee very early , and for the next year he dominated the Western Bengal party, which was concerned principally in furthering this idea.

Jatin Mukherjee was born at Krishnanagar in Nadia in 1886. He took strongly to athletics and appears to heave had a very good physique. In 1907 he was acting as a stenographer under Sir Henry Wheeler in Darjeeling. He was sent up in the Howrah gang case but acquitted. He

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seems to have had a most extraodinary influence over his followers, who looked upon him with something approaching reverence and awe. Jatin appears to have come to Calcutta in September 1914 with the express purpose of organising the miscellaneous anarchist parties into a combination strong enough to bring about a revolution. His first activity was a project to murder Lalit Chakrabartti, the approve in the Howrah conspiracy case, and one of the men whose evidence had implicated Jatin in that case. He certainly managed to form a sort of alliance between the following parties:-

(1) His own followers.
(2) The party of Atul Ghosh
(3) The party of Purna Das (Madaripur gang)
(4) The party of Noren Ghosh Chaudhuri (the Barisal party, and with it a section of the Mymensingh party, the *Sadhana Samaj*, already described)
(5) The party of Bipin Ganguli (the old *Atmannati*, with its ragged following ,the Baranagar group)
(6) The Northern Bengal organisation.

The links by which the allegiance of the Barisal party was gained are not known, but it is likely that it was through the *Seva Samiti*, for Noren Chaudhuri was thoroughly in with the party as early as February 1915. This combined party had very distinct revolutionary aims as distinct from indefinite and more remote purposes of the separate societies before that period. As will be shown, it looked to German agencies for help during the whole of 1915, and during this period it gained to itself many adherents, to whom the idea of revolution was attractive but to whom mere anarchy was perhaps repulsive. At one time it seemed as if it would gain the support of the Dacca *Anushilan Samiti*, but on the whole it appears that it never succeeded in this.

In the earlier part of 1915, the outrages committed by this combined party were done distinctly for the purpose of aiding or protecting the immediate object, which was revolution. Money was required to organise and equip the members and to keep in touch with German agencies. Murders were perpetrated to keep the party intact. Towards the end of the year, when the hope of German help was dying, the outrages again took upon themselves the characteristics of anarchical criminality.

The outrages committed in 1915 in and around or from Calcutta by the members of this combined party are—

(1) February 1915 : Attempt to loot a remittance going by train between Midnapore and Calcutta.—The train was behind time and the attempt was therefore unsuccessful.

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(2) 12th February 1915 : Garden Reach motor dacoity.—Loot Rs. 18,000. One youth sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment.
(3) 22nd February 1915 : Belliaghata Road motor dacoity.—Loot Rs.22,000. Taxi driver killed and another man wounded.
(4) 24th February 1915 : Pathuriaghata Street murder.—A man was killed, as he was thought to be a police agent.
(5) 28th February 1915 : Cornwallis Square murder.—Inspector Suresh Mukharji killed and his orderly wounded.
(6) 30th April 1915 : Pragpur dacoity, Nadia.—Loot Rs. 2,700. One dacoit accidentally killed during the retreat by one of themselves. Three men sentenced to 17 years' transportation each, and one to 8 years' transportation.
(7) June 1915 : Attempt to rob a Marwari of a promissory note.
(8) July 1915 : Attempted dacoity, Chitpur Road.
(9) August 1915 : Plan to rescue Bipin Ganguli (arrested in connection with the Agarpara dacoity) from *hajat.*
(10) 25th August 1915 : Agarpara murder, 24-Parganas.—One man killed and a child wounded. The deceased was a witness in the case against Bipin Ganguli.
(11) 1915 : Attempted dacoity, Ahiritola.
(12) 9th September 1915 : Balasore affray.—One villager killed and one wounded. Chittya Priya Ray Chaudhuri killed and Jatin Mukharji fatally wounded. Three others captured. Two sentenced to death and one to transportation for life.
(13) 30th September 1915 : Sibpur dacoity, Nadia.—Loot Rs. 20,700, of which much was lost. Three men and a constable killed and eleven persons wounded. Eight men, including Noren Ghosh Chaudhuri, sentenced to transportation for life and one man for 10 years.
(14) October 1915 : Attempted dacoity, Cornwallis Street.
(15) 21st October 1915 : Musjidbari Street murder.—Sub-Inspector Girindra Banarji killed and Sub-Inspector Upendra Chatarji wounded.
(16) 6th November 1915 : Dacoity at Kansaripara Road.—Loot Rs. 15,000 (?).
(17) 14th November 1915 : Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore.
(18) 17th November 1915 : Dacoity at Cornwallis Street.—Loot Rs.800.
(19) November 1915 : Attempted dacoity, Bartola.
(20) November 1915 : Attempted dacoity, Bird's remittance.
(21) 30th November 1915 : Serpentine Lane murders.—A constable and another person killed.

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(22) 2nd December 1915 : Corporation Street dacoity.—Loot about Rs. 25,000. Hardayal Singh sentenced to 13 years' rigorous imprisonment, one person to 2 years' and another to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment.

(23) 14th December 1915 : Sett Bagan Lane dacoity.—Loot Rs. 6,100.

(24) 27th December 1915 : Robbery at Chaulpati Road from a book-maker.—Loot Rs. 750. One man wounded.

This formidable list of outrages was added to in 1916 by the following :—

(1) 16th January 1916 : College Street murder.—Sub-Inspector Madhusudan Bhattacharji killed.

(2) 17th January 1916 : Dacoity at Salkia, Howrah.—Loot Rs. 6,000.

(3) January 1916 : Attempted dacoity, Kalitola.

(4) February 1916 : Dacoity at Upper Chitpur Road.

(5) 27th February 1916 : Dacoity at Kadimpara, Pabna.—Loot Rs. 1,850.

(6) 1st June 1916 : Attempted dacoity, Buxara, Howrah, and other Howrah activities.

(7) June 1916 : Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore.

(8) 26th June 1916 : Dacoity at Gopi Nath Ray's Lane.—Loot about Rs. 10,500.

(9) 5th August 1916 : Domepara affair.—A house was searched; one of the occupants fled and attempted to shoot a Head Constable. He was sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment.

(10) 10th August 1916 : Secret murder of Upen Ghosh, a member.

(11) 21st December 1916 : Dacoity at Daulatpur, Khulna.—Loot Rs. 1,052.

In a period of two years this combination of parties committed six deliberate outrages resulting in the deaths of four police officers and three other persons and in the wounding of two police officers and another person. They were concerned in two dacoities with murder, thus causing the deaths of five persons and the wounding of 12 others. They also engaged in 12 other dacoities and at least 12 unsuccessful attempts to commit dacoities. The amount of loot reported to have been collected by dacoity is Rs. 1,28,600.

A study of the evidence now available concerning these outrages discloses the following set of names :—

(See Table L on next page)

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Table L

X indicates good evidence; I indicates reasonably fair evidence

	Attempt to loot remittance, Feb. 1915	Garden Reach dacoity, 12th Feb. 1915	Belliaghatta dacoity, 22nd Feb. 1915	Pathuriaghata, 24th February 1915	Cornwallis St. murder, 28th Feb. 1915	Pragpur, 30th April 1915	Attempt to rob a Marwari, June 1915	Attempted dacoity, Chitpur Rd., July 1915	Plan to rescue Bipin Ganguli, Aug. 1915	Agarpara murder, 25th August 1915	Attempted dacoity, Ahiritola, 1915	Balasore affray, 9th Sept. 1915	Sibpur dacoity, 30th Sept. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Cornwallis St., Oct. 1915	Musjidbari murder, 21st Oct. 1915	Dacoity, Kansaripara Rd., 6th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, 14th Nov. 1915	Dacoity, Cornwallis St., 17th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bartola, Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bird's remittance, Nov. 1915	Serpentine Lane, 21st Nov. 1915	Corporation St. dacoity, Dec. 1915	Sett Bagan, 14th Dec. 1915	Chaulpati Rd., 27th Dec. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Howrah, January 1916	College St. murder, 16th Jan. 1916	Dacoity, Salkia, 17th Jan. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Kalitola, Jan. 1916	Dacoity Upper Chitpur Rd., Feb. 1916	Dacoity, Kadampara, 27th Feb. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Buxara, Howrah, 1st June 1916	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, June 1916	Gopi Nath Ray, 26th June 1916	Domepara affair, 5th Aug. 1916	Murder Upen Ghosh, 10th Aug. 1916	Dacoity, Daulatpur, 21st December 1916		
Acharji, Hem	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State priosner.	See Tables G and M
Babu Singh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Expelled from the province.	
Banarji, Amar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Banarji, Anil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Banarji, Braja	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	
Banarji, Girin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State prisoner.	See Tables J and K
Banarji, Jatindra Nath	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	
Banarji, Menu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	—	
Banarji, Pramatha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	

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	Attempt to loot remittance, Feb. 1915	Garden Reach dacoity, 12th Feb. 1915	Belliaghatta dacoity, 22nd Feb. 1915	Pathuriaghata, 24th February 1915	Cornwallis St. murder, 28th Feb. 1915	Pragpur, 30th April 1915	Attempt to rob a Marwari, June 1915	Attempted dacoity, Chitpur Rd., July 1915	Plan to rescue Bipin Ganguli, Aug. 1915	Agarpara murder, 25th August 1915	Attempted dacoity, Ahiritola, 1915	Balasore affray, 9th Sept. 1915	Sibpur dacoity, 30th Sept. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Cornwallis St., Oct. 1915	Musjidbari murder, 21st Oct. 1915	Dacoity, Kansaripara Rd., 6th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, 14th Nov. 1915	Dacoity, Cornwallis St., 17th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bartola, Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bird's remittance, Nov. 1915	Serpentine Lane, 21st Nov. 1915	Corporation St. dacoity, Dec. 1915	Sett Bagan, 14th Dec. 1915	Chaulpati Rd., 27th Dec. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Howrah, January 1916	College St. murder, 16th Jan. 1916	Dacoity, Salkia, 17th Jan. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Kalitola, Jan. 1916	Dacoity Upper Chitpur Rd., Feb. 1916	Dacoity, Kadimpara, 27th Feb. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Buxara, Howrah, 1st June 1916	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, June 1916	Gopi Nath Ray, 26th June 1916	Domepara affair, 5th Aug. 1916	Murder Upen Ghosh, 10th Aug. 1916	Dacoity, Daulatpur, 21st December 1916		
Banarji, Ram Charan	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	I	·	·	·	·	·	·	*Détenu* ; now released.	
Basu, Amar	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	State prisoner.	
Basu, Dinesh	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	I	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	—	
Basu, Pulin	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	X	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	*Détenu.*	
Basu, Satya Ranjan	·	·	X	·	I	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	X[1]	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	Convicted (transportation for life).	See Table H
Basu, Sudhin	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	X	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	Absconding.	
Bhattacharji, Harendra	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	X[10]	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	Convicted : 10 years' rigorous imprisonment.	
Bhattacharji, Narendra Nath	I	X	I	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	Arrested in America.	See Table M

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Bhattacharji, Ram	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Bhattacharji, Tarapada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Convicted (7 years' rigorous imprisonment.)	See Table H
Biswas, Baidyanath	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	See Tables J and K
Biswas, Khagendra	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Biswas, Nandalal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	Under trial.	
Biswas, Surendra Nath	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X[1]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Convicted.	
Chakrabartti, Kuntal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	Absconding.	
Chakrabartti, Nagendra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	In jail.	
Chakrabartti, Naren	-	-	-	I	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Absconding.	See Table J
Chakrabartti, Phanindra	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	See Tables J and M
Chakrabartti, Satish	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	I	I	I	-	-	Absconding.	See Table M
Chakrabartti, Tunu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	—	
Chatarji, Ashutosh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	See Table K
Chatarji, Bhola Nath	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Committed Suicide.	See Table M
Chatarji, Jiban Lal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State prisoner.	
Chatarji, Khagendra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	See Table K
Chatarji, Ram Prasad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	

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	Attempt to loot remittance, Feb. 1915	Garden Reach dacoity, 12th Feb. 1915	Belliaghatta dacoity, 22nd Feb. 1915	Pathuriaghata, 24th February 1915	Cornwallis St. murder, 28th Feb. 1915	Pragpur, 30th April 1915	Attempt to rob a Marwari, June 1915	Attempted dacoity, Chitpur Rd., July 1915	Plan to rescue Bipin Ganguli, Aug. 1915	Agarpara murder, 25th August 1915	Attempted dacoity, Ahiritola, 1915	Balasore affray, 9th Sept. 1915	Sibpur dacoity, 30th Sept. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Cornwallis St., Oct. 1915	Musjidbari murder, 21st Oct. 1915	Dacoity, Kansaripara Rd., 6th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, 14th Nov. 1915	Dacoity, Cornwallis St., 17th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bartola, Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bird's remittance, Nov. 1915	Serpentine Lane, 21st Nov. 1915	Corporation St. dacoity, Dec. 1915	Sett Bagan, 14th Dec. 1915	Chaulpati Rd., 27th Dec. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Howrah, January 1916	College St. murder, 16th Jan. 1916	Dacoity, Salkia, 17th Jan. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Kalitola, Jan. 1916	Dacoity Upper Chitpur Rd., Feb. 1916	Dacoity, Kadampara, 27th Feb. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Buxara, Howrah, 1st June 1916	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, June 1916	Gopi Nath Ray, 26th June 1916	Domepara affair, 5th Aug. 1916	Murder Upen Ghosh, 10th Aug. 1916	Dacoity, Daulatpur, 21st December 1916		
Chatarji, Samakul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	X[L]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Convicted (transportation for life).	See Table M
Chandhuri, Debendra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	X	-	-	-	X	-	I	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State prisoner.	
Chaudhuri, Jyotish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	
Chaudhuri, Kshitish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I(?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Absconding.	See Tables G and H
Chaudhuri, Nogen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Chaudhuri, Suresh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	See Table L
Das, Ramendra	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Das Gupta, Nirendra	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X[H]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Hanged at Balasore.	See Tables I and M

Datta, Baroda													I																								*Détenu.*	See Table K
Datta, Benoy Ray		I																																			—	See Table M
Datta, Brajendra Lal		X													I								X														State prisoner.	
Datta, Jugal Kishor																									I		I				I		I	X			Sentenced (5 years' rigorous imprisonment.)	
Datta, Nagen								I						I			I		I																		*Détenu.*	
Daw, Phani Bhusan																				I																	*Détenu.*	
De, Aswini													X	X						X																	*Détenu.*	
De, Kali Charan													I																								*Détenu.*	
De, Provash									I	X																											State prisoner.	See Table P and K
De, Satish (?)							I		X																												State prisoner.	See Table J
Dhar, Suresh																											X										*Détenu.*	
Ganguli, Bipin		X		I			X																														Sentenced (5 years' rigorous imprisonment).	See Tables B, C, J, K and M
Ganguli, Radhika Ranjan												X																									*Détenu.*	
Ganguli, Rash Mohan																											I										—	
Ghattak, Haradhan																							X														Expelled from the province.	
Ghosh, Amar		I																																I			State prisoner.	

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	Attempt to loot remittance, Feb. 1915	Garden Reach dacoity, 12th Feb. 1915	Belliaghatta dacoity, 22nd Feb. 1915	Pathuriaghata, 24th February 1915	Cornwallis St. murder, 28th Feb. 1915	Pragpur, 30th April 1915	Attempt to rob a Marwari, June 1915	Attempted dacoity, Chitpur Rd., July 1915	Plan to rescue Bipin Ganguli, Aug. 1915	Agarpara murder, 25th August 1915	Attempted dacoity, Ahiritola, 1915	Balasore affray, 9th Sept. 1915	Sibpur dacoity, 30th Sept. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Cornwallis St., Oct. 1915	Musjidban murder, 21st Oct. 1915	Dacoity, Kansaripara Rd., 6th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, 14th Nov. 1915	Dacoity, Cornwallis St., 17th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bartola, Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bird's remittance, Nov. 1915	Serpentine Lane, 21st Nov. 1915	Corporation St. dacoity, Dec. 1915	Sett Bagan, 14th Dec. 1915	Chaulpati Rd., 27th Dec. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Howrah, January 1916	College St. murder, 16th Jan. 1916	Dacoity, Salkia, 17th Jan. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Kalitola, Jan. 1916	Dacoity Upper Chitpur Rd., Feb. 1916	Dacoity, Kadimpara, 27th Feb. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Buxara, Howrah, 1st June 1916	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, June 1916	Gopi Nath Ray, 26th June 1916	Domepara affair, 5th Aug. 1916	Murder Upen Ghosh, 10th Aug. 1916	Dacoity, Daulatpur, 21st December 1916		
Ghosh, Atul	I	X	X	-	I	I	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Absconding.	See Table J, K and M
Ghosh, Biman	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	See Tables J and K
Ghosh, Baroda Kanta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	See Table K
Ghosh, Bhupendra N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	X^L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Convicted.	
Ghosh, Kalpataru	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Ghosh, Makhan Lal	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	I	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State prisoner.	See Table K
Ghosh, Mohini	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Ghosh, Patit Paban	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.
Ghosh, Sailen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Arrested in America.	See Table M

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Ghosh, Tulsi	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	I	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	See Tables J and K
Ghosh Chaudhuri, Noren	I	I	X	-	X	-	I	-	-	I	-	-	X[L]	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Convicted (transportation for life).	See Tables H J and K
Gope, Ram Charan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Absconding.	See Table G
Guha Ray, Nikhil Ranjan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X[L]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Convicted (transportation for life).	
Haldar, Jatin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	*Détenu.*	
Kar, Hara Prasanna	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	See Table H
Kar, Haridas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Kar, Nalini Kanta	L	L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Absconding.	See Table M
Lahiri, Ashutosh	-	I	-	-	-	X[1]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Sentenced to 17 years' rigorous imprisonment.	See Table J
Lahiri, Nishi Kanta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State prisoner.	
Mazumdar, Annada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State prisoner.	
Mazumdar, Bhupati	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Detained.	See Table M
Mazumdar, Shambhu	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Mitra, Bejoy	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Mitra, Bhupen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	See Table K
Mukharji, Anukul	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	I	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State priosner	See Table J, K and M

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	Attempt to loot remittance, Feb. 1915	Garden Reach dacoity, 12th Feb. 1915	Belliaghatta dacoity, 22nd Feb. 1915	Pathuriaghata, 24th February 1915	Cornwallis St. murder, 28th Feb. 1915	Pragpur, 30th April 1915	Attempt to rob a Marwari, June 1915	Attempted dacoity, Chitpur Rd., July 1915	Plan to rescue Bipin Ganguli, Aug. 1915	Agarpara murder, 25th August 1915	Attempted dacoity, Ahiritola, 1915	Balasore affray, 9th Sept. 1915	Sibpur dacoity, 30th Sept. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Cornwallis St., Oct. 1915	Musjidbari murder, 21st Oct. 1915	Dacoity, Kansaripara Rd., 6th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, 14th Nov. 1915	Dacoity, Cornwallis St., 17th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bartola, Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bird's remittance, Nov. 1915	Serpentine Lane, 21st Nov. 1915	Corporation St. dacoity, Dec. 1915	Sett Bagan, 14th Dec. 1915	Chaulpati Rd., 27th Dec. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Howrah, January 1916	College St. murder, 16th Jan. 1916	Dacoity, Salkia, 17th Jan. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Kalitola, Jan. 1916	Dacoity Upper Chitpur Rd., Feb. 1916	Dacoity, Kadimpara, 27th Feb. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Buxara, Howrah, 1st June 1916	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, June 1916	Gopi Nath Ray, 26th June 1916	Domepara affair, 5th Aug. 1916	Murder Upen Ghosh, 10th Aug. 1916	Dacoity, Daulatpur, 21st December 1916		
Mukharji, Bhutnath	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Absconding.	See Table K and M
Mukharji, Jatindra Nath	-	X	X	X	I	-	-	-	-	-	X*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Killed at Balasore.	See Tables J and M
Mukharji, Jotin (Santragachi)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Mukharji, Kali Prasad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	See Table K
Mukharji, Kalu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Mukharji, Kiran	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State prisoner.	
Mukharji, Parikhit	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	I	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State prisoner.	See Table M
Mukharji, Parbati	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	See Table K
Mukharji, Pulin	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	I	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	State prisoner.	See Tables J and M

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Mukharji, Sailen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	*Détenu.*	
Nandan, Panna Lal	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	*Détenu.*	
Nandi, Jatindra Nath	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X[L]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Sentenced to transportation for life.	
Pal, Bejoy	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	Under trial.	
Pal, Bhupen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	
Pal, Jyotish Chandra	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X[L]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Convicted.	See Table M
Pal, Sarat	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	*Détenu.*	
Pal, Srish	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	I	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	State prisoner.	See Tables J and K
Paramanik, Ashutosh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	*Détenu.*	See Table K
Paramanik, Radha Charan	.	X'	X	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment.	
Pyne, Kali	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	*Détenu.*	
Ray, Ashutosh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	*Détenu*, now absconding.	See Table J and K
Ray, Bankim	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	*Détenu.*	See Table K
Ray, Baroda	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	State prisoner.	See Tables J K and M
Ray, Bolai Lal	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	*Détenu.*	
Ray, Dinesh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	State prisoner.	See Table G, K and M

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	Ray, Durga Prasanna	Ray, Gopendra	Ray, Harish	Ray, Jagat Kishor	Ray, Phanindra	Ray, Sishir	Ray, Sudhin	Ray, Upendra Kishor	Ray Chaudhuri, Anil
Attempt to loot remittance, Feb. 1915	.	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Garden Reach dacoity, 12th Feb. 1915	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Belliaghatta dacoity, 22nd Feb. 1915	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Pathuriaghata, 24th February 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Cornwallis St. murder, 28th Feb. 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Pragpur, 30th April 1915	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	.
Attempt to rob a Marwari, June 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Attempted dacoity, Chitpur Rd., July 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Plan to rescue Bipin Ganguli, Aug. 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Agarpara murder, 25th August 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Attempted dacoity, Ahiritola, 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Balasore affray, 9th Sept. 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sibpur dacoity, 30th Sept. 1915	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Attempted dacoity, Cornwallis St., Oct. 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Musjidbari murder, 21st Oct. 1915	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X
Dacoity, Kansaripara Rd., 6th Nov. 1915	I	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, 14th Nov. 1915	.	.	.	.	.	I	.	.	.
Dacoity, Cornwallis St., 17th Nov. 1915	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.
Attempted dacoity, Bartola, Nov. 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Attempted dacoity, Bird's remittance, Nov. 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.
Serpentine Lane, 21st Nov. 1915	.	.	.	I	.	.	.	.	.
Corporation St. dacoity, Dec. 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.
Sett Bagan, 14th Dec. 1915	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.
Chaulpati Rd., 27th Dec. 1915	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Attempted dacoity, Howrah, January 1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
College St. murder, 16th Jan. 1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Dacoity, Salkia, 17th Jan. 1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	I	.
Attempted dacoity, Kalitola, Jan. 1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Dacoity Upper Chitpur Rd., Feb. 1916	.	.	I	.	.	.	I	.	.
Dacoity, Kadimpara, 27th Feb. 1916	.	.	I	.	.	.	I	I	.
Attempted dacoity, Buxara, Howrah, 1st June 1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, June 1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gopi Nath Ray, 26th June 1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Domepara affair, 5th Aug. 1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Murder Upen Ghosh, 10th Aug. 1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Dacoity, Daulatpur, 21st December 1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Détenu.	Sentenced to 8 years' rigorous imprisonment.	*Détenu.*	*Détenu.*	Convicted.	*Détenu.*	*Détenu.*	*Détenu.*	*Détenu.*
	See Table G	See Table J						See Table G	

Ray, Chittya Prio	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X[K]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Killed at Balasore.	See Tables L and M
Ray, Girin Mohan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	
Ray, Haripada	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Samanta, Mohini	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Sanyal, Kshitish	-	-	I	-	-	X[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Sentenced to 17 years' rigorous imprisonment.	
Sarkar, Hem	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	
Sarkar, Manindra	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	Under trial.	
Sarkar, Nalini Kanta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	
Sarkar, Noren	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—	
Sarkar, Panchanan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	Under trial.	
Sarkar, Tripura	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Sen, Jitendra	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	I	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	I	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	I	I	-	-	*Détenu.*	See Table H
Sen, Mohendra Nath	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*Détenu.*	
Sen, Shyama Charan	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State prisoner.	See Tables K and M
Sen, Sushil	-	-	I	I	I	X[K]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Killed.	
Sen Gupta, Manoranjan	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X[H]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Hanged at Balasore.	See Tables L and M
Sen Gupta, Manoranjan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	I	X	I	-	I	I	I	-	X	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	State prisoner.	

	Attempt to loot remittance, Feb. 1915	Garden Reach dacoity, 12th Feb. 1915	Beliaghatta dacoity, 22nd Feb. 1915	Pathuriaghata, 24th February 1915	Cornwallis St. murder, 28th Feb. 1915	Pragpur, 30th April 1915	Attempt to rob a Marwari, June 1915	Attempted dacoity, Chitpur Rd., July 1915	Plan to rescue Bipin Ganguli, Aug. 1915	Agarpara murder, 25th August 1915	Attempted dacoity, Ahiritola, 1915	Balasore affray, 9th Sept. 1915	Sibpur dacoity, 30th Sept. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Cornwallis St., Oct. 1915	Musjidbari murder, 21st Oct. 1915	Dacoity, Kansaripara Rd., 6th Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, 14th Nov. 1915	Dacoity, Cornwallis St., 17th Nov. 1915
Sen Gupta, Satyendra	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.
Shome, Sudhir	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sikdar, Harish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	—	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Singh, Chaitan	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	.	—
Singh, Hardayal	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	.
Sur, Tribeni	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	.	.	.	.

	Attempted dacoity, Baniola, Nov. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Bird's remittance, Nov. 1915	Serpentine Lane, 21st Nov. 1915	Corporation St. dacoity, Dec. 1915	Sett Bagan, 14th Dec. 1915	Chaulpati Rd., 27th Dec. 1915	Attempted dacoity, Howrah, January 1916	College Sq. murder, 16th Jan. 1916	Dacoity, Salkia, 17th Jan. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Kalitola, Jan. 1916	Dacoity Upper Chitpur Rd., Feb. 1916	Dacoity, Kadinpara, 27th Feb. 1916	Attempted dacoity, Buxara, Howrah, 1st June 1916	Attempted dacoity, Bhowanipore, June 1916	Gopi Nath Ray, 26th June 1916	Domepara affair, 5th Aug. 1916	Murder Upen Ghosh, 10th Aug. 1916	Dacoity, Daulatpur, 21st December 1916		
Sen Gupta, Satyendra	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Dead	See Table H
Shome, Sudhir	.	.	.	—	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	*Détenu.*	See Table M
Sikdar, Harish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	State prisoner.	See Tables B, J and K
Singh, Chaitan	.	—	.	—	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	State prisoner.	
Singh, Hardayal	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Sentenced.	
Sur, Tribeni	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	*Détenu.*	

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An analysis of the outrages of 1915 is difficult. The first six were committed by the combined party, and names of members of all the parties are found participating in them. Noren Ghosh Chaudhuri was an important agent in nearly all of them. The Pragpur dacoity introduces Pulin Bihar Mukharji *alias* Thakur, Satish Chakrabartti, and members of the new Howrah party. In the convictions which resulted from this case, the Northern Bengal section suffered most. Jatin Mukharji had at this time gone to Balasore, and Atul Ghosh was a big figure in the arrangement for these outrages. Nos. 7 and 8 seem to have been the work of Bipin Ganguli's gang, helped by members of the Barisal party. No. 9 was probably almost whole the work of Bipin Ganguli's party, prompted by Atul Ghosh, while the same gang was responsible for No. 10 with some aid from the Barisal party. No.11 is probably the first outrage of the party of Satish Chakrabartti and Thakur which emerged from the combination. No.12–the Balasore affray–struck off the head of Jatin Mukharji's party. No. 13 seems the emergence of the Barisal party, but probably helped by the members of the Northern Bengal party. The Barisal party received a big blow by the convictions resulting from this case. No. 14 is again the Barisal party, while No. 15 is Satish Chakrabartti's party still in collusion with the Barisal party, with which it has probably never lost touch. No. 16 sees the Barisal party in combination with the members of Hardayal Singh's disreputable following. No. 17 is a nondescript affair, probably of youths connected with the Barisal party, while No. 18 is by the same hands as No. 16. Nos. 19, 20 and 21 are the Barisal party again, while in No. 22 the Barisal party is again operating with Hardayal Singh, who was arrested after this dacoity and sentenced altogether to 13 years' rigorous imprisonment. The members of Satish Chakrabartti's party were also concerned in this. Nos. 23 and 24 are the work of the party of Satish Chakrabartti and Thakur.

There emerge at the end of 1915 practically three parties only—

(1) The Northern Bengal party.
(2) The Barisal party.
(3) The party of Satish Chakrabartti.

With regard to the first little is known. At no time did it indulge in crime to any large extent and consequently it is difficult to unearth. Many of its principal characters have been dealt with under the Defence of India Act or otherwise.

The Barisal party seems in some sense to have kept a certain amount of its individuality throughout the period, and after the collapse of the arms-running scheme it certainly regained largely its separate identity.

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It was in July 1912 that the headquarters of the Barisal party were shifted to Calcutta and a mess was opened at No. 68-1, Bechu Chatarji's Street. Noren Chaudhuri and Jogendra Nath Basu were the principal members of the Barisal party in Calcutta at that time, and they used frequently to visit this mess. Chittya Priya Ray Chaudhuri of the Madaripur gang lived there at one time. The Mymensingh *Sadhana Samaj* had similarly opened a mess at No. 62-2, Harrison Road, with Manindra Chaudhuri as its leading personality. Debendra Chandra Chaudhuri of Sylhet, an old member of the Barisal party, was a frequent visitor to this mess. During the summer of 1913 Debendra Chaudhuri had been brought into contact with the Calcutta members of the *Sadhana Samaj* at No. 26-1-1, Scott's Lane, and it was through him that they formed an alliance with the Barisal party. It was probably, however, not until July 1915, when Noren Chaudhuri went to Mymensingh to meet Hemendra Acharji, that the whole-hearted support of that party was gained. After that date Hemendra Acharji and Ananda Mazumdar were found in Calcutta closely associating with the members of the Barisal party.

During the Christmas holidays in 1914, Satya Ranjan Basu went to Comilla and stirred the organisation there into activity, which was followed by the commission of the Bagmara dacoity of 22nd January 1915. During the next few months the Barisal party was engaged principally in the preparations for the expected revolt against the British power. Probably in order to gain funds for this purpose the Balda dacoity of 11th April 1915 was arranged in the Tippera district (in which are distinctly members of the Mymensingh party), and the Gazipura dacoity of 5th June 1915 in the Bakarganj district. Certainly in July 1915 the Barisal party, led by Noren Ghosh Chaudhuri with Manoranjan Gupta and Sanakul Chatarji as his assistants, was well in with Jadu Gopal Mukharji and the plot to smuggle arms into India; and it is said that the Barisal party received a sum of Rs. 6,000 from Jadu Gopal. It was at this time that Noren Chaudhuri gained the full support of the party of Hemendra Acharji at Mymensingh.

It is after the arms-running scheme was "off" that this party turned its attention again to dacoity, and, in conjunction with the Northern Bengal party, committed the Sibpur dacoity of 30th October 1915. The investigation subsequent on this outrage was a big blow to the organisation of this party. Noren Chaudhuri was arrested on 30th November 1915, and in the early part of 1915 he, with seven others, was transported for life and one man for 10 years. As a result of the arrest of Noren Ghosh Chaudhuri, the Serpentine Lane murders of 30th November 1915 were committed by the Barisal party, helped by certain

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members of Thakur's party. Before this, however, the Barisal party had been operating with Satish Chakrabartti and Thakur and the party which was really the descendant of the *Seva Samiti*, for there is distinct evidence to show that members of the Barisal party were concerned in the Musjidbari murder of 21st October 1915. After the arrest of Noren Chaudhuri, Manoranjan Gupta became the leading figure of the Barisal party, and his principal assistants were Debendra Chandra Chaudhuri and Kshitish Ray. In conjunction with certain help from Hardayal Singh and his associates, the Barisal party under Manoranjan Gupta committed the Corporation Street dacoity of 2nd December 1915, Manoranjan Gupta was arrested on 11th January 1916, and Debendra Chaudhuri of Sylhet became the leader of the society. With the help of members of the Mymensingh party, Debendra Chaudhuri arranged and committed the College Square murder on 16th January 1916. Debendra was arrested on 29th January 1916, whereupon Arun Guha *alias* Pran Kumar took charge of this *samiti*, helped by Jitendra Sen. During the whole of these operations, the real directing spirit behind the society was the general organiser ,Satyendra Nath Mitra, a Vakil of the High Court. On 6th March 1916 the Gandra dacoity was committed in Comilla for the purpose of supplying the *samiti* with funds. Satyendranath Mitra was intended on 9th March 1916. After this date the remaining principal members of the Barisal party fled to the mufassal, partly for the purpose of concealing themselves, and partly to arrange matters for the rising against the British which was still thought to be possible. Arun Guha went off to Mymensingh in the company of Thakur. These travelled on to Comilla, where they found Jadu Gopal Mukharji. They were present in Comilla on 29th May 1916 when the Comilla extortion case occurred. Arun Guha was arrested on 8th July1916, and Jiten Sen on 29th July 1916. These arrest seems to have broken up the Barisal party, and to all intents and purpose from that date it probably cased to exist.

The party of Satish Chakrabartti and Thakur is the lineal dissent of Jatin Mukherjee's party. It is this party principally which continued operation in 1917. With it must be considered some of the remaining members of Bipin Ganguli's party and also a Howrah group.

From the beginning of 1916 to the end of July 1916, occurred a series of small attempted dacoities and robberies in the locality of Sibpur, Howrah. Apparently this gang came into existence some time in 1913 and its leaders appears to have been one Hari Das Kar of Betori, while another important member was Jatin Mukharji of Satragachha. Towards the end of 1915, the gang came into contact with Satish Chakraborty and Thakur and by these they were supplied with certain firearms including

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some of the Mauser pistols from the theft of Rodda's consignment. Two students of the Sibpur college, namely, Anil Ganguli and Bhut Nath Mukharji *alias* Bibhuti were probably members of the gang, while the shop of one Mohini Ghose in Howrah was one of their places of association. Santosh Dutta of the Madaripur gang also came into contact with them. Apparently the tactics of the local members of this party so disgusted Thakur, that he demanded back the arms which he had supplied them. In July 1916 the most important members of this gang were dealt with under the Defence of India Act.

Atul Ghose was still the prompting spirit of all these gangs, and in the Barisal party too he seems to have wielded some influence.

Of the outrages of 1916, the College Street murder was the work of the Barisal party. Nos. 2,6 and the other activities in Howrah were the work of Satish Chakrabartti's party and of the Howrah party already described. No.3 and No.4 are activities of the Barisal party, No. 5 (the Kadimpara dacoity) probably of the Northern Bengal party and miscellaneous Calcutta people. No. 7 and No. 8 are again the work of the party of Satish Chakrabartti and Thakur. At this time Amar Ghose, the brother of Atul, is the prompting spirit. No.9 is an activity directed against the party of Satish Chakrabartti, Thakur having been arrested on 27th July 1916. No.10 was the activity of what has been called the Taltola gang, apparently an offshoot of the gang of Bipin Ganguli.

The party of Satish Chakrabartti towards the end of 1916 was perhaps the only strong party still existing of the original combination. Previous to this date it had gathered among its members certain of the members of the Comilla branch of the Barisal party and it had apparently established a very strong centre at Daulatpur College, Khulna. No. 11 was again the work of this remaining party, of which the activities extended into 1917.

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CHAPTER IX

Intrigues with Foreign Countries

Note— *This account has been compiled from such information as is on record in Bengal. A full history could best be written on the basis of the papers in the office of the Director of Criminal Intelligence.*

During the early months of 1915 various hints and rumours were afloat of a combination between the revoluntionaries in India and German agents. On 11th July 1915, it was reported that a certain Indian, in close touch with the German Secret Service at Berlin, had inadvertently communicated information which had been passed on to the Government of India, that a cargo of 170,000 rifles destined for India had already arrived at Sumatra and that they were to be sent from that place in small consignments to India. This stock was said to have been purchased in the United States and despatched *via* South America to Sumatra.

There is now no doubt that by April 1915 there existed a general idea among active revolutionaries in Bengal that help of some sort was coming from abroad and that big events were to take place in October 1915. The notion was very widespread and the revolutionaries evidently considered it necessary to get their organisations into proper order so as to be ready for these events.

It had been known for some time that the *Ghadr* party in America had been receiving arms and ammunition from the Germans and it was also certainly a suspicious circumstance that the Hamburg-American steamer S. S. *Bayern*, which left Hamburg for a "Far Eastern port" in July 1914, and was later interned at Naples, was found to contain vast quantities of rifles, revolvers, ammunition and other war stores.

In July 1915 a certain German secret service agent, X, was caught in Singapore with very incriminating documents on him. He proceeded to give a detailed account of some of the German schemes for assisting a rising which was to take place in India in October 1915. The Government of India's information was largely derived from this source. On 16th July 1915 the Government of Bengal received a telegram from the Government of India to the effect that reliable information had been received that an American steamer, S. S. *Maverick*, apparently chartered and manned by Germans, would probably arrive shortly in Indian waters carrying a cargo of 400 cases of powder, 4,000,000 cartridges, and 14,000 rifles. It was also reported that an American auxiliary schooner, *Henry S*, was about to leave Manilla in the Philippine Islands, with the

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possible intention of meeting the *Maverick*. The *Henry S* had itself carried a cargo of arms and ammunition, but under the insistence of the American authorities at Manilla, had landed it there. Four Germans and two Indians were reported to be on board the *Henry S*. This information had been conveyed to the Government of India in a telegram dated 12th July 1915. Before the end of that month the information became more detailed, and was to the effect that the arms were to be unloaded at a place in the Sundarbans, some 60 or 70 miles from Canning Town. The *Maverick* was to proceed to Rai Mangal Island in the Sundarbans. A further telegram from the Government of India on 28th July 1915 stated that the Government of the Straits Settlements had reported that the *Maverick* was said to be then on offer for sale, and it was supposed that she had transhipped her cargo before reaching Batavia.

Briefly put, X's information was that the conspiracy was to take effect from three centres, Batavia (Java), Bangkok (Siam), and Persia, all working under general orders from Shanghai. The real centre of the conspiracy was the German Embassy at Washington, where Indians were said to be helping. It was reported that 5,000 rifles had already been smuggled into Burma, and that certain German officers, who had come to Batavia with false passports, were waiting in Bangkok to lead the revolution. In Burma, the Indian troops and the Military police were relied on to join the rising. Calcutta and Bengal were to be run by the Batavia centre, where the chief agent was said to be a man who called himself "Martin." Bangkok was stated to be working the *Henry S*, which was to land arms near Chittagong. Arms and ammunition were to be smuggled through Siam into Burma, through Persia and Afghanistan into India, and by means of ships to be landed at various points on the coast of India, at such places as Rangoon, around Calcutta and at the mouth of the Indus. In the Andaman Islands, it was intended to get help from the important political prisoners incarcerated there, but, on enquiry, nothing was found to show that any of the inhabitants of the islands knew of this plot.

In consequence of this information, naval and military precautions were taken in Burma and at various places in the Bay of Bengal.

X agreed to help the British authorities, and during the next few months he furnished a considerable amount of exceedingly useful information. In order to learn further details of the plot he visited Shanghai, and reported in September that there were 22,000 Mauser rifles and 8 million cartridges in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, awaiting removal to India, and that one of the places chosen for landing the arms was at the mouth of the Burhabang river on the Balasore coast.

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Previous to this, information had been received that two Indians, then residing in or near Calcutta, had been in Batavia from January to May 1915 and had recently received 5,000 guilders from an agent of Germany in Batavia. One of these Indians called himself "Martin" and was said to be named Narendra Patahari. On 20th August 1917, secret information was received in Calcutta to the effect that one Narendra Bhattacharji was in charge of the work of the importation of arms from abroad, and that in this connection there had been recently established a firm in Calcutta, and telegrams from this firm were addressed to a German in Java by name Layard. A search in various telegraph offices on information received by the Director of Criminal Intelligence had meanwhile produced a series of telegrams throwing considerable light on the internal workings of this conspiracy.

The following are the telegrams discovered, although some of them were not found until various other lines of investigation had been opened up, and it is probable that others were missed :—

(1)

15th May 1915. Weltevreden (Java).

Harry & Sons,
41, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Sugar business helpful; myself going out; send man sharp.

Martin.

(2)

29th May 1917. Weltevredennoordwyk.

Harry & Sons,
41, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Back here; business good; sugar contracted; shipment after 2 weeks; anxious for affaires there. Wire.

Martin.
Hotel des Indes.

(3)

2nd June 1915. Calcutta.

C. A. Martin,
Hotel Indes, Batavia.
Postpone; business suffers; send Mr. Money.

White.
(J. White, 22, Entally Road.)

(4)

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6th June 1915 (?). Singapore.

Layard,

Weltevreden.

Inform regarding sugar contracts.

Harry & Sons, 41, Clive Street.
(Sd.) Martin.

(5)

13th June 1915. Bangkok.

B. K. Roy,

159, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.

Goods already despatched; reach in 10 or 15 days.

Atmaram.

(6)

17th June 1915. Bangkok.

Bhola Nath Chatarji,

62, Beneatola Street, Calcutta.

Ivory and sandalwood already despatched. Reach in 10 days.

Atmaram.

(7)

18th June 1915.

Chotirmull,

Batavia, Java.

Detain shipment until next message; market very dull.

White.
(Geo. White, 131, Middle Road.)

(8)

21st June 1915. Calcutta.

Mr. C. Layard,

C/o *Postmaster, Weltevreden.*

Market good; cargo to stock at Rangoon thirtieth June.

Harry & Sons,
41, Clive Street.

(9)

24th June 1915. Calcutta.

Mr. Chotirmull, *Batavia.*

Send 5,000 tons; cable quantity already shipped.

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S. P. Mukharji,
Sonua Stone & Lime Co.,
101/1, Clive Street.

(10)

28th June 1915. Weltevreden.

Sramjibi Samabaya, Ltd.,
Crossing Harrison Road-College Street, Calcutta.
Goods probably delayed.

Layard.

(11)

29th June 1915. Calcutta.

Mr. Layard,
C/o Postmaster, Weltevreden.
Cable us soon when sugar despatched.

Harry & Sons,
41, Clive Street.

(12)

29th June 1915. Weltevreden.

Harry & Sons,
41, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Remitted 5,000; confirm wire.

Thakurdas.

(13)

29th June 1915. Calcutta.

Mr. Chotirmull,
Batavia.
Send immediately 10,000 bags sugar. Wire.

S. P. Mukharji,
Sonua Stone & Lime Co.,
101/1, Clive Street.

(14)

3rd July 1915. Calcutta.

Mr. Chotirmull,
Batavia.
Received payment full; remit more.

Harry.

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(15)

6th July 1915. Weltevreden.

Sramajibi Samabaya, Ltd.,
Crossing Harrison Road-College Street, Calcutta.
Sorry goods delayed; shall wire soonest again.

Layard.

(16)

6th July 1915. Calcutta.

Mr. Chotirmull,
Batavia.
Send immediately 10,000 bags sugar.

Bajon Lal.
(13, Balakram Datta Lane.)

(17)

6th July 1915. Calcutta.

Layard,
Weltevreden.
Inform regarding sugar contracts. Harry & Sons, 41, Clive Street, Calcutta.

Martin.

(18)

12th July 1915. Weltevreden.

Harry & Sons,
41, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Remitted 10,000; inform. Wire.

Thakurdas.

(19)

5th August 1915. Calcutta.

Mr. Chotirmull,
Batavia.
Send 10,000 bags sugar.

Harry.

(20)

14th August 1915. Weltevreden.

Harry & Sons,
Clive Street, Calcutta.

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Remitted 9,670, Chartered Bank. Confirm.

Chotirmull.

(21)

14th August 1915. Batavia.

Chartered Bank,
Calcutta.
Pay to Harry & Sons, 41, Clive Street, nine six hundred rupees.

Chartered Bank,
Batavia.

The firm of Chotirmull was traced to be—
K. A. J. Chotir Mull & Co.,
Jewellers and Silk Merchants.
Proprietor : Assoo Mall Chotirmall.

In the meantime search warrants were obtained under section 5, Act IV of 1915 and on 7th August 1915 the office of Harry & Sons at No. 41, Clive Street, Calcutta, was searched, and the following residents of Chingripota arrested under section 54, Indian Penal Code :—

(1) Hari Kumar Chakrabartti.
(2) Makhan Lal Chakrabartti.
(3) Shyam Sundar Basu.

The office of Bhola Nath Chatarji at No. 5, Goabagan Street, which was found from the papers discovered, to be connected with Harry & Sons, was also searched on the same day, as also were the houses of the three persons arrested. Bhola Nath was not found there nor at his home address. On 13th August, the office of the Sramjibi Samabaya, Ltd., at No. 90-2 A, Harrison Road, was searched. This was a *swadeshi* cloth shop inaugurated in the *swadeshi* days and under a company of which Amarendra Nath Chatarji was the Managing Agent and Secretary. This company was found to have been largely financed by Sudhangshu Bhusan Mukharji, who had put abut Rs. 20,000 into the business. Amarendra was examined on 13th August 1915, and later, orders were issued for his arrest, but he was found then to have absconded. A search was also made on 14th August 1915 of the offices of the Sonua Stone and Lime Company at No. 101-1, Clive Street, and also of the effects of its proprietor, Sudhangshu Bhusan Mukharji, at Chakradarpore. Sudhangshu was arrested.

An examination of the papers and documents discovered in the search of the firm of Harry & Sons, showed that the business was a small concern with a turnover of less than Rs. 500 a month and that it had been in existence for several years without a banking account. On 19th July

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1915, with the help of Nagendra Nath Datta, Hari Kumar Chakrabartti, who was then its sole proprietor, had opened an account with the Hindustan Bank and deposited Rs. 500. On 21st July 1915, on the strength of being identified by the Hindustan Bank, Hari Kumar had had paid to his account from the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank the sum of Rs 10,000, the exchange value of a telegraphic transfer in the name of Harry & Sons for 8,000 guilders from one Thakur Das of Batavia. This sum had been lying at the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank from 13th July 1915.

On 26th July 1915, Hari Kumar withdrew Rs. 5,000 on a cheque made payable to self, while on 4th August 1915 he withdrew Rs. 3,000 in a similar manner. This transaction appears to be that referred to in a series of telegrams commencing with No. 13, to which No. 16, seems to be a reminder and No. 18 an advice of the payment. Certain of the notes received in the Rs. 5,000 withdrawn were traced to one Benoy Bhusan Datta.

Another transaction of this firm appears in the request for "5,000 tons" in No. 9, to which No. 11 appears to be a reminder and No. 12 the advice. On the 29th June 1915, Rs. 5,000 was remitted by the National Trading Society from Batavia to the Eastern Bank, Calcutta, to be paid to Harry & Sons. On the 3rd of July, Hari Kumar Chakrabartti, on behalf of Harry & Sons, received payment of Rs. 5,000 on the Eastern Bank, and on the 3rd July telegram No. 14 was sent to Mr. Chotirmull, Batavia, by Harry & Sons, acknowledging the receipt of the money.

The trend of the remainder of the telegrams may be deducted from these analysed transactions. Nos. 5 and 6 seemed to indicate transmissions of arms and ammunition from Bangkok to Calcutta.

As Harry & Sons had been closed down by the date of the receipt of telegram No. 20, the money was allowed to lie at the Bank and the following bogus reply despatched on 16th August 1915 :—

Mr. Chotirmull,

Batavia.

Remittance received; are sugar contracts good ?

Harry.

On the 1st of October a further wire to Harry & Sons, No. 41, Clive Street, was intercepted. It was dated the 1st October, Samarang, and read :—

Terms payment arranged; expect delivery goods about two months; reply to Batavia.

Burton.

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The following concocted reply was sent to Mr. Chotirmull, Batavia :—

Market here fair; will arrange take delivery goods as proposed.

Harry.

The whole of the money received from Bangkok and Batavia was not completely traced, but some of it certainly found its way into the hands of such people as Abinash Chandra Chakrabartti (recalling the Alipore conspiracy case, 1908), Benoy Bhusan Datta, Harendra Datta Chaudhuri, Amarendra Nath Chatarji, Jitendra Basu, and Gopal Chandra Ray. Altogether Rs. 43,000 were received in Calcutta, of which the local revolutionaries drew out approximately Rs. 33,000. Besides this, it was shown that a sum of Rs. 2,500 was paid in Bangkok to a Bengali named Kumud Nath Mukharji, who brought the money to India.

However, another of the remittances from Batavia was partially traced. Sudhangshu Mukharji, on 20th August 1915, said that in June of that year, Amarendra Nath Chatarji visited him and showed him a draft on the National Bank of India, Madras, from a Dutch Bank in Java, for Rs. 18,000 odd in favour of C. A. Martin or bearer. Amarendra wanted Sudhangshu to pass the draft through his bank, but Sudhangshu pointed out to him that he could cash it himself by presenting it at the National Bank of India, Calcutta. Amarendra cashed the draft in that manner and he told Sudhangsu that he expected another Rs. 40,000, which would be sent in the name of Sudhangshu or in that of the Sonua Stone and Lime Company. With regard to this Rs. 18,000 enquiries at the National Bank, Calcutta, showed that on July 7th the sum of Rs. 18,246-14-10 was paid to Amarendra Nath Chatarji. The receipt was in the handwriting of Amarendra. One of the thousand-rupee notes drawn by Amarendra found its way into the hands of Benoy Bhusan Datta.

Enquiries at Madras showed that a man calling himself "Martin" had called at the National Bank there at about midday on June 15th to present a cheque. Payment of the cheque was not made for some reason. The outward telegrams from Madras on 15th June 1915 were examined, and the following discovered of that date : —

To Jadu Gopal Mukharji

62, Beneatola Street, Calcutta.

Arrived here; starting to-night for Balasore; expect to see someone there.

(Sd.) White.

The Beneatola address recalled telegram No. 6, and at this address lived Bhola Nath Chatarji with Jadu Gopal Mukharji.

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The Balasore connection also brought to mind the fact Harry & Sons had had dealings with the Universal Emporium, Balasore, a business under Saileswar Basu, the brother of Shyam Sundar Basu. Further, as early as March 1915, information had been received that Jatin Mukharji and some of his associates had gone to a place in Balasore. In this connection, too, on the person of the German secret agent arrested in Singapore had been found a reproduction of a tracing of the mouths of the Hooghly, showing the Sundarbans from the Cuttack coast practically to the Meghna river. It gave the position of Calcutta and of the railways along the Cuttack coast. It may be mentioned here that on the original tracing were found two pin-pricks marking respectively the north points of Rai Mangal and Dalhousie Islands.

In consequence of this focusing of information on the Balasore district, the premises of the Universal Emporium at Balasore were searched on 4th September 1915 and Saileswar Basu arrested. It was found that Saileswar had a friend and associate, one Gopal Babu, who had land at Kaptipada in the hills of the Mayurbhanj State. This Gopal Babu, who was subsequently proved to be Nalini Kanta Kar, had apparently gone to Kaptipada in February 1915 and purchased some land there, ostensibly for the purpose of building houses on it. This place was also searched. Among the things discovered were—

(1) A cutting from a Penang paper referring to the *Maverick*.
(2) A trace map of the Sundarbans.
(3) A bottle of poison wrapped up in a piece of paper bearing the address "41, Clive Street."
(4) Some bullets and gunpowder.

Gopal Babu was absent in Calcutta, and three other Bengalis, who had apparently been living there, and who seem to have been on the look-out, had left the place before the search party got to it. Information was received at the time that two other Bengalis were living at Taldiha, a place 15 miles north of Kaptipada, and enquiries were therefore directed to that neighbourhood.

In the meantime, enquiries showed that C. A. Martin had arrived at Balasore on 17th June 1915 and had received a visit there from Saileswar Basu. Another suggestive fact brought to light at that time was that, prior to the war, a German subject named Meyer had leased an island off the coast of Balasore and had been found making suspicious soundings around it. He disappeared from the neighbourhood soon after the war started. Investigation also showed that in the first week of August 1915, Saileswar Basu had undertaken a suspicious boat journey along the low

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river canal which follows the coast line of the district of Balasore to Chandbali, where the German Meyer formerly resided.

The wires received and despatched from Balasore on 15th June 1915 were examined and the following discovered :—

To Saileswar,

Universal Emporium, Balasore.

Send Makhan first train available. Chatarji starting Mail. Wait station.

(Sd.) Jogesh Maitra.

The Makhan was very probably Makhan Lal Chakrabartti, who admitted afterwards that he had stayed with Saileswar for about three weeks on one occasion. Another telegram was recovered, dated 27th June 1915 and despatched from Nilgiri telegraph office, Orissa :—

Jadu Gopal Mukharji,

62, Beneatola Street, Calcutta.

Attend to-morrow night passenger.

Gopal Chandra Ray,
Kaptipada.

On 9th September 1915 information was received that the Bengalis near Taldiha had been rounded up and that they had killed one villager and wounded another. The Magistrate of Balasore took out some armed constables, and after a dangerous skirmish, captured a party consisting of five Bengali youths, one of whom, Chittya Priya Ray Chaudhuri, had been killed in the fight, while two others, Jatindra Nath Mukharji and Jyotish Chandra Pal, were found to be seriously wounded. Jatin died on 18th September 1915. The two uninjured men were found to be Manoranjan Sen Gupta and Nirendra Das Gupta. The three surviving men were subsequently put up before a Special Tribunal on the charge of murder, and on 16th October 1916 Manoranjan and Nirendra were sentenced to death and Jyotish to transportation for life.

During the investigation of the circumstances in which this asylum at Kaptipada had originated, besides the Gopal Babu already referred to, the names of Bhabataran and Ananda transpired. The former was said to be Narendra Nath Bhattacharji and the latter Phanindra Chakrabartti of Chingripota, 24-Parganas. It was proved that these two men went to Cuttack from Kaptipada on 29th August 1915 and left for the direction of Howrah on 31st August 1915.

It was not clear at the time whether this retreat in Balasore was intended to be used definitely for the furtherance of the scheme for the

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importation of arms somewhere in that neighbourhood, or merely as an asylum for absconders and as a place where rifle and revolver practice could be held. It was thought that the latter was the correct view, as, at about the same time it was reported that two Bengalis had been visiting Monoharpur, Kalanga and some other places in the districts south of the Bengal Presidency, in Bihar and Orissa. These youths were subsequently proved to be Bhola Nath Chatarji and Parikhit Mukharji. Parikhit Mukharji was arrested on 4th February 1916, and acknowledged his tour along the Bengal-Nagpur Railway with Bhola Nath Chatarji, and subsequently made a partial statement describing the plans of the revolutionary party to establish retreats in various remote parts in the province of Orissa. Bhola Nath Chatarji, it was known, had been for some years friendly with Narendra Nath Bhattacharji, with whom at one period he had lived. At some time in 1914 he had gone abroad to Burma and China, and it was probable that he had visited Sailcswar's shop in Balasore in June 1915.

At the end of September one Abani Nath Mukharji was arrested at Singapore on his way from Shanghai. In a note-book found on his person the following names occurred :—

(1) Mati Lal Ray.
(2) Manindra Nayak.
(3) Jyotish Chandra Singh.
(4) Jotindra M. Rakshit.
(5) Suresh Chandra Das Gupta.
(6) Girija.
(7) Chandra Chur.
(8) Girin Ch. Sen.
(9) Kulo Chandra Singh Ray.
(10) Jotindra Sanyal.
(11) Jotindra Sett.
(12) Hemendra K. Rakshit.

He was also found to be in possession of a letter in the handwriting of Rash Bihari Basu and signed "Bhagwan Singh Jakh of Tokyo."

As a result of private information received, Kumud Nath Mukharji was arrested on 14th October 1915 in Singapore by the military authorities. Kumud had left Bangkok for India on the 17th June with the Rs. 2,500 already referred to. He arrived in Calcutta on the 3rd of July and lived in a house next to No. 159, Bow Bazar Street, the residence of B. K. Ray. On the 20th July he had left for Madras. One Phanindra Chakrabartti was also arrested in Shanghai on 27th December 1915.

In the meantime, on the 21st October 1915, the Director of Criminal

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Intelligence reported that apparently the people engineering the German scheme had discovered that the original plan of sending arms to India had been exposed, and that he thought that the stock of arms, ammunition and explosives supplied by the Germans was concentrated in and around Shanghai. Certain information, however, seems to indicate that there would still be attempts to send, at any rate, small stocks to India. On the 16th of October the Shanghai Municipal Police had discovered 129 pistols and 12,000 rounds of ammunition in the hands of two Chinese suspects, who declared that these had been made over to them by a local German firm to be packed and sent to Calcutta. The following addresses were found in a note-book belonging to one of these men :—

(1) Man Mohan Bhattacharji, M.A.
Co-Operative Hindu Bank, Ltd.
139, Canning Road, Calcutta.

(2) Amarendra Nath Chatarji
General Merchant
Secretary, Sramajibi Samabaya, Ltd.
Y.M.C.A. Building
College Square, Calcutta.

A third address was given in a mutilated form, which apparently refer to Mati Lal Ray of Chandernagore.

In October 1915 a Chinaman was arrested in Singapore in possession of the equivalent of 66,000 guilders and 10,000 dollars, which he had just cashed by drafts on a Singapore Bank. He admitted that this money had been entrusted to him by a German, Helfferich, to make over to a Bengali either at Penang or at Rangoon. If he did not discover the Bengali at these places, he was to go to either of the addresses given in a note-book which was found on him. These addresses were—

(1) Harish Ch. Singh
10, Badurbagan Lane
Calcutta, and

(2) Bejoy K. Chaudhuri
1, Sarkar Bijer Lane
Chorebagan, Calcutta.

On the 3rd of December 1915, an order was issued from the Military Department of the Government of India that the precautionary stage of the Defence Scheme and examination service would be suspended at all ports in India with effect from December 5th, subject to reinstitution with three hours' notice.

It was, however, believed that the scheme for landing arms in India was still abroad and that possibly something might be attempted during

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the Christmas holidays. Owing to the receipt of specific information of possible trouble off the Balasore coast, an armoured train with a regiment of Gurkhas was sent with secret orders to Kharagpur, Midnapore, to be ready to deal with any emergency in that direction.

However, on 16th January 1916 the Government of India decided that the preventive measures in connection with the landing of arms on the coast of India could be discontinued, though it was ordered that plans should be in readiness to re-establish the measures at short notice in case of necessity.

On 3rd January 1916 information was received that a telegram had been sent from Nova Goa to F. J. Ray, care of A. Laird, Weltevreden, to the following effect :—

No news, how doing, very anxious.

B. Chatterton,
Pundalick Kamat's Place,
Panjim.

As the nature of this telegram was thought to be suspicious, certain officers proceeded to Goa to investigate it, and it was discovered that the senders of this wire were Benoy Bhusan Datta and Bhola Nath Chatarji. These two men were arrested and made over to the British police by the Goanese authorities. Bhola Nath soon afterwards committed suicide in jail by hanging himself with his *dhoti.*

On 10th February 1916 it was reported that there was a plot in Shanghai, engineered by a German named A. Neilsen, to smuggle bombs into India. In a house recently occupied by Neilsen in Shanghai were discovered 8 cases containing 200,65 mm. Hotchkiss shells. Neilsen was known to have charge of certain Chinese premises in Shanghai where, it was believed, he was making bombs with the intention of sending them to India, or of placing them on board British ships. This scheme seems to have been put on foot with the active connivance or, at any rate, with the approval of the German Consulate, Shanghai.

Such is a brief summary of the events as they unfolded themselves during the investigation.

The story of this plot on the internal side has been told in a series of statements made mostly in 1916. From these, it appears certainly that there existed a big Indo-German combination which acted as a fillip to an already widespread design for an active rising against the British power which was intended to take place probably some time early in 1915. This plot was certainly on foot before the war. It was an extensive affair, with its roots laid in the American *Ghadr* party, and the *Komagata*

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Maru incident in the *Pujas* of 1914 drew aside its wrappings for an instant. Much information was laid bare in the Lahore, Meerut, Delhi and Benares conspiracy cases, but here it is proposed merely to deal with the matter in so far as it affects Bengal and Bengal revolutionaries.

It has been alleged that during the visit of the Crown Prince of Germany to Calcutta in 1912, Narendra Bhattacharji and Jatin Mukharji had an interview with him and that he had given them an assurance that arms and ammunition would be supplied to them.

The Chinese revolution and the personality of Dr. Sum Yat Sen seem to have inspired young India during 1913, and there are various points of evidence to show that Sun Yat Sen was approached for help on behalf of the Indian aspirants to liberty. As far as can be discovered, they received no help and but little real encouragement from him. Nevertheless, certain Chinamen had dealings with Bengalis in Calcutta in connection with the general conspiracy.

Bengali students in America had certainly come into contact with the *Ghadr* party in that country, but that party was probably shrewd enough to see that the rising must be effected mainly by up-country Indians. Still, it has been said that some time in the latter half of 1914, a young Sikh, who called himself Parmanand, from the Jhansi district (now a State prisoner in the Andaman Islands), visited Bengal and got into communication with Shyam Sundar Chakrabartti of the *Bengalee* newspaper, Srish Ghosh of Chandernagore, and with other revolutionaries. He had apparently been sent by the revolutionary party of the Punjab to get assistance and co-operation from Bengal and particularly to procure arms. He was ready to pay for the arms if they could be supplied. Another Sikh, named Sundar Singh, was also said to have visited Bengal on the same mission. Certain meetings were undoubtedly held in conference with the up-country representative, and it seems that it was decided that Bengal should throw in its lot with the Punjab people. Mati Lal Ray of Chandernagore invited Jatindra Mukharji and Norendra Bhattacharji to meet him at Chandernagore. The three were said to have proceeded to Benares to confer with the Punjabis, and it was decided at this conference that the standard of rebellion was to be raised in the Punjab and in Bengal simultaneously. The task of continuing touch with the Punjab party was entrusted to Mati Lal Ray, who was to work through the medium of Rash Bihari Basu. Rash Bihari was to use Benares as a base, and arms and bombs from Bengal were to be sent to Benares and thence up-country. Practically the whole of the Chandernagore store of arms, ammunition and bombs was said to have

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been sent for this purpose to Benares. At this stage even, there were vague rumours of German help, and Parmanand was said to have disclosed that certain of the Sikh leaders had been to see the German Consul at Shanghai and the German Ambassador at Pekin. The arrests at Lahore and the subsequent conspiracy case seem to have considerably disorganised this plot.

In all of these conspiracy cases, it was proved that an important item in the preparations for the revolution was the seduction of the native troops. In Bengali itself, too, some attempts were made to seduce the Indian troops. During the concentration around Dacca in January 1914, some of them were said to have been approached and asked to throw in their lot with the revolutionary party. In August 1915, again, a distinct attempt was made to tamper with the Rajput regiments stationed in and around Calcutta.

Independently of the other parties, it seems that the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* had been in touch with Japan through Rash Bihari Basu for some time, and this society certainly expected to get arms from that country, and had apparently provided large sums of money for that purpose. Rash Behari, with one Thakur, was said to have been for a time in Tokyo, where they were joined by another Bengali called Sarat.

From the plot connected with the *Maverick* and Batavia, the *Anusilan* on the whole seems to have held aloof. Mati Lal Ray, who was a member of the Dacca *Anusilan* party, certainly at some period broke with Jatindra Mukharji, but though he had apparently severed his connection with that portion of the plot which was at work in Calcutta and centered around the personality of Jatindra Mukharji, yet it is very doubtful whether he had entirely dissociated himself from such an opportunity to do harm to the British Government. It is fairly clear, however, that the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* as a local Bengal party, was outside the conspiracy connected with the name of Jatindra Mukharji. This conspiracy was confined more particularly to the other parties of Bengal, which, as has been indicated, had amalgamated towards the beginning of 1915.

There is evidence to show that previous to the outbreak of war in Europe in August 1914, several of the revolutionaries had left India for foreign countries for the purpose of getting some training which would be useful in case of an active revolution. Such a training was spoken of as a "military training," and these youths, upon returning to India, expected to impart their knowledge to others. At the outbreak of war, it was alleged that several Indian students who had been arrested in Germany were allowed to leave that country on the condition that they

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took messages to the revolutionary parties in India. Among these people were said to be two Bengalis and a Mahratta. One of these Bengalis appears to have been one Benoy Sarkar, who found his way in some manner to Japan.

The actual arrangements in Bengal have been described in a very full statement by one of the participators while he was in the hands of the military authorities at Singapore. From this and the statements of others, the following account has been compiled.

The outbreak of war revivified the vague ideas of revolution which had been floating about in the mind of young Bengal for the last ten years and the hopes of those who had throughout been waiting for the opportunity, and the possibility of a successful revolt seemed imminent. It was probably some time in September 1914 that Jatin Mukharji came to Calcutta in order to take such steps as England's participation in a war with Germany seemed to call for in this direction. He conferred with Norendra Bhattacharji and Phanindra Chakrabartti, and they decided that the time was ripe for them to make full preparations for a revolution in Bengal. In order to provide funds for this purpose the Garden Reach (12th February 1915) and Belliaghata (22nd February 1915) dacoities were undertaken. One of their members, Bhola Nath Chatarji, was in communication with the Germans in Siam, and had got an assurance that they would help a revolution in India. Bhola Nath, accompanied by one Noni Gopal Basu of Jessore, had been in Bangkok, Siam, from the beginning of 1914 to September of that year, for the purpose of "military training," and had got into contact there with Kumud Mukharji, a lawyer. Kumud had been in Bangkok from March 1912 and had come into contact there with a Punjabi called Atma Ram. Bhola Nath was given to understand in Siam that there were already independent influences at work in this direction and all that was now required was co-operation from India. Although the Bangkok connection has not been cleared up, Bhola Nath Chatarji certainly played quite a large part in the Batavian plot. He wrote two of the telegrams to Java, one of which is probably No. 13. In the early part of 1915 he had been watched, and had been found associating with Narendra Bhattacharji and Atul Ghosh.

It seems that early in 1915 a meeting was held, at which the following were present :—Jatindra Mukharji, Atul Ghosh, Jadu Gopal Mukharji, Bipin Ganguli, and Anukul Mukharji. Mati Lal Ray of Chandernagore, who was invited to attend, refused to do so. It was decided at this meeting that Narendra Bhattacharji should be sent to Batavia to get into communication with the German Consul there, and also that Hari Kumar Chakrabartti's firm in Calcutta should be used as

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a centre of communication. Narendra, under the name of C. A. Martin, went to Batavia *via* Madras and Penang in April 1915. He made himself known to the Consul, and was introduced to a man called Theodore Helfferich, who stated that they were willing to help India with arms and funds. Helfferich further said that a cargo of arms and ammuniton was already on its way to Karachi to assist the Indians in a revolution.

Noren apparently gave an exaggerated idea of the actual state of affairs in Bengal and of the preparedness of the Bengali revolutionaries. He strongly advised that the ship-load of arms should be diverted to Bengal, but Helfferich said that this matter would require the approval of the German Consul-General in Shanghai. Helfferich wired to Shanghai for such instructions, but in the meantime he sent Noren by boat to Shanghai to advance his own arguments. Just before reaching Hongkong, Noren got a wireless message from Helfferich to the effect that the "business was settled," so he got transferred to another steamer and returned to Batavia. There he learnt that the S. S. *Maverick*, with 30,000 rifles and 400 rounds per rifle and 2 lakhs of rupees aboard, had been diverted and was to go to Rai Mangal in the Sundarbans. There were a few German officers aboard her, and Helfferich suggested that Noren should accompany the *Maverick*. Noren, however, argued that it would be useless for the *Maverick* to arrive at the shores of Bengal before proper arrangemènts were made to receive her cargo, and urged that he himself had better return to Calcutta at once to make such arrangements. Noren accordingly returned to India *via* Madras, bringing a certain sum of money with him. In the meantime, the Germans had been sending money to Harry & Sons, Calcutta, through one Salem and the firm of Chotir Mull, Batavia.

Upon Noren's return to Calcutta, the conspirators, consisting of Jatindra Mukharji, Noren Chaudhuri, Jadu Gopal Mukharji, Noren Bhattacharji, Satish Chakrabartti, Bhola Nath Chatarji and Phanindra Chakrabartti, set about the making and maturing of plans to receive the cargo of the *Maverick* and for the subsequent employment of the arms. It was decided to divide the arms into three parts, to be sent respectively to—

(1) Hatia, for the Eastern Bengal districts to be worked by the members of the Barisal party.
(2) Calcutta.
(3) Balasore.

They considered that they were numerically strong enough to deal with the troops in Bengal, but they feared reinforcements from outside. With the idea in view they decided to hold up the three main railways

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into Bengal by blowing up the principal bridges. Jatindra was to deal with the Madras Railway from Balasore, Bhola Nath Chatarji was sent Chakradharpur to take charge of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, while Satish Chakrabartti was to go to Adjoy and blow up the bridge on the East Indian Railway. The asylum at Chakradharpur had apparently been arranged for by Bhola Nath Chatarji in March 1915, and Bhola Nath was kept there (joined later by one Girish and another, Durga Das Mukharji) till some time in August. Noren Chaudhuri and Phanindra Chakrabartti were told off to go to Hatia, where a force was to collect, first, to obtain control of the Eastern Bengal districts, and then to march on Calcutta. The Calcutta party, under Noren Bhattacharji and Bipin Ganguli, were first to take possession of all the arms and arsenals around Calcutta, then to take Fort William, and afterwards to sack the town of Calcutta. The German officers arriving in the *Maverick* were to stay in Eastern Bengal and raise and train armies.

These were the outlines of the bold project which this group of young enthusiasts proposed to effect. With regard to numbers, in Calcutta they counted on 5,000 youths, to be augmented to 20,000 as soon as the first signs of success were advertised. In the mufassal they expected 50,000 to join the first rising. These figures can be nothing but very sanguine guesses.

In the meantime, the work of taking delivery of the cargo of the *Maverick* was apparently arranged by Jadu Gopal Mukharji, who is said to have placed himself in communication with a zamindar in the locality of Rai Mangal, called Raja Protapaditya, who had promised to provide men, lighters, etc., for the unloading of the vessel. The *Maverick* would arrive at night and would be recognised by a series of lamps hung horizontally. It was hoped that the first distribution of arms would take place by the 1st of July 1915.

There is no doubt that some men, under instructions from Atul Ghosh, actually went down by boat to the neighbourhood of Rai Mangal to help in the unloading of the *Maverick*. Pulin Bihari Mukharji was one of these. They seemed to have stayed there for about ten days, but by the end of June the *Maverick* had not arrived, nor had any message been received from Batavia to explain this.

The revolutionary party, in common with the public at about this time, found that Government had got some inkling of the plot for landing arms in the Sundarbans, and that certain precautionary meausres had been taken.

In the meantime, however, the preparations for the proposed rising had gone on. With the inducement of German help, recruiting in the

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revolutionary ranks was brisk. In the Imperial Legislative Council hints had been thrown out of a German plot and this stiffened the belief of waverers. Persons were posted to different places in Eastern Bengal to be ready for the rising. Jadu Gopal Mukharji and Nalini Kar went to Sylhet, Pran Kumar and Dinesh Ray to Mymensingh, Sudhir Shome and Bejoy Chakrabartti to Comilla to be ready for it. It was arranged with certain *détenus* that they should abscond as soon as news was brought of the arrival of arms. Noren Chaudhuri apparently visited Mymensingh to get the support of the party of Hemendra Acharji, while Jadu Gopal Mukharji, with Pran Kumar and Jogendra Nath Basu, had visited Satish Mukharji at Barisal to get his advice about the rising. In fact the Barisal party under Satyendra Nath Mitter took up the cause of the revolution very enthusiastically.

Each centre was given a trunk containing arms, ammunition, binoculars, documents and plans. These plans were said to give all the details of the number of Europeans at various stations, the strength of the police force, the state of the jails, the positions of the post and telegraph offices and other means of communication. Four ponies were purchased in Calcutta and despatched to the mufassal—one to Noakhali, another to Chittagong, and two to other places. Some binoculars, hurricane lanterns, telescopes, water bags, bugles, etc., were also purchased and distributed. Signalling with flags was being taught, and, as far as possible, practice in the use of pistols and revolvers. Such books as "Boy Scouting," "Active Service Hints," "How to use a Pistol, Revolver and Rifle," "The Training and Equipment of the Indian Army," "How a German makes War," "Germany and the next War," were purchased and studied. Foreign troops were expected from the direction of Assam, and Sanakul Chatarji and Manoranjan Gupta were sent to Sylhet to meet them, and one Chandra Bhusan to Dibrugarh. The type of these preparations would indicate very clearly the immature and childish conceptions of the member of the revolutionary party which was to effect the overthrow of the British Government.

In Calcutta, a house was engaged by one Shyama Charan Sen in Kansaripara Road for the purpose of holding secret meetings. Among the visitors to this house were, Noren Bhattacharji, Phanindra Chakrabartti, Nalini Kar, Pulin Bihari Mukharji, Atul Ghosh, Jadu Gopal Mukharji, Bhupati Mazumdar, Sailen Ghosh, Jyotish Ghosh, Satish Chakrabortti, Benoy Bhusan Datta, one Jagabandhu and Bhut Nath Mukharji. In that house Jadu Gopal Mukharji used to teach telegraphy and signalling. The members of this house were in communication with Jatin Mukharji, who had at that time settled with others of the party near

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Balasore. Bhupati Mazumdar was eventually arrested on his way to Java.

While the party in Calcutta was still waiting for the *Maverick* to turn up, Bipin Ganguli, who knew nothing of the *Maverick* scheme, one day said that Bejoy Ray had heard that one Atma Ram in Bangkok had communicated the fact that shipment of arms was to come from that place. At about this time, too, Bhola Nath Chatarji turned up and said that Kumud Nath Mukharji had arrived from Bangkok with the news that the German Consul there was sending by boat a consignment of 5,000 rifles, some ammunition and a lakh of rupees to Rai Mangal. Kumud himself came and confirmed this news. The Calcutta group, knowing at that time nothing of a change of plans of the *Maverick*, supposed that this new arrangement was in lieu of the previously arranged consignment to come by the *Maverick*, and they thoroughly understood that the change would make a rising on the scale anticipated impossible. In their dismay they held a consultation and decided to send Kumud Nath Mukharji to Batavia to one Salem with a letter for Helfferich, urging him to stick to his original plan of sending a large quantity of arms and a large sum of money. They pointed out that, in addition to Rai Mangal, there were three other places where arms could be conveniently landed :—

(1) Hatia (Sandip).

(2) Balasore.

(3) Gokarni, a place on the Bombay coast.

Kumud was apparently given a large amount of information about the conspiracy, and much of the information he was to carry to Java was by word of mouth. Bhola Nath Chatarji arranged for Kumud's journey. Kumud got to Batavia and got into contact with Salem, who was an Indian, and also with Helfferich.

It was after Kumud had already left that the conspirators learnt that Government had got some inkling about the state of affairs at Rai Mangal. The search of Harry & Sons, the Sramajibi Samabaya and the Sonua Stone and Lime Company had taken place. Noren Bhattacharji, Jadu Gopal Mukharji and Phanindra Chakrabartti took counsel, and after looking up maps, arrived at the conclusion that the land route across China through the Northern Shan States and Assam was the only way now by which they could hope to smuggle arms into India. They realised that this was a desperate and uncertain plan, but felt that they had no alternative left. Noren and Phanindra went to Kaptipada to consult Jatindra Mukharji, and in the absence of a more suitable plan, Jatindra agreed to this one. Jatin ordered that Noren and Phanindra should go to Batavia immediately and consult the Germans there.

Some time in August 1915, Noren and Phanindra left for Batavia

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via Madras and Penang. On arriving at Batavia, Noren made an appointment with Helfferich. Theodore Helfferich was not there, but Emile Helfferich, the German Consul, and X, recently arrived from Shanghai, met them and discussed the state of affairs with them. Noren and Phanindra greatly exaggerated the real condition of things in Bengal and complained bitterly of the alterations in plans. The Consul pointed out that although the *Maverick* have failed, they were still making attempts to send arms and that X had just arrived from Shanghai with fresh plans.

It appeared that the German Consul-General at Shanghai was in touch with an Indian who called himself William Dull, who had just arrived from India. Their new plan was to send two ships with arms, one to go to Rai Mangal and the other to Balasore. The Rai Mangal ship was to carry 20,000 rifles, eight million cartridges, 2,000 Brownings, some hand grenades, dynamite and other explosives, and a sum of two lakhs of rupees. The Balasore ship was to carry 10,000 rifles, a million cartridges, some grenades and explosives. The Bengalis pointed out that Rai Mangal was no longer a safe place and suggested Hatia as an alternative. At a subsequent meeting, Theodore Helfferich was also present. The plan discussed at the last meeting was approved, subject to the sanction of the Consul-General at Shanghai. The vessel destined for Hatia was to come direct from Shanghai, flying the Japanese flag, and was to arrive there on the 24th December. The ship intended for Balasore was a German war-equipped steamer lying somewhere in the Dutch East Indies. She was to pick up her cargo in mid-ocean. Another war-bound German steamer was to proceed to the Andamans, pick up a cargo of arms at sea on the way, and raid Port Blair, where they expected to get considerable support from the convicts, political and otherwise, and especially from the men of the Indian regiment which had mutinied at Singapore, and who were thought to be interned in the Andamans. After completing the subjection of the Andamans, this boat was to go on to Rangoon and raid that place.

The Bengalis suggested the following alternatives to this scheme :—

(1) That the raiding of the Andamans should be postponed until the Hatia ship had actually reached her destination, *i.e.* until after the 24th December.

(2) That the Balasore ship should proceed first to the Andamans with the third vessel and should then go on to Balasore with a complement of the political prisoners shipped from Port Blair.

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It was decided that a certain sum of money and a letter containing the details of this plan should be taken by two Chinaman to the party in Calcutta. In Batavia, Phani and Noren had met Kumud, who had himself arrived on 8th September, and they tried to get him to take this money to India but he declined. It was also agreed that Phanindra should go to Shanghai to see the German Consul-General there, and return from Shanghai on the ship destined for Hatia.

Phanindra, who had taken the name of "Payne," left Batavia at some time about the middle of October, and arrived at Manilla on the 2nd of November, where he experienced some difficulty in finding a ship to take him on to Shanghai. While at Manilla, Phanindra met Dhirendra Sen who, it seems, had come from America in the company of a German officer, probably on the Henry S, bringing with them various arms and ammunition intended for Chittagong. Their boat was stopped by Japanese war-ships, and it was only with difficulty that Dhiren Sen and the German had reached the Philippines. Dhiren Sen gave Phanindra a letter of introduction to one Heramba Lal Gupta in Tokyo, but Phanindra actually never went to Tokyo. Phanindra arrived at Shanghai on the 24th of November and met there Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Before he could get into contact with the German Consulate, he was arrested by the French Police on the 27th November and made over to the British Police on the 28th.

To return to affairs in Calcutta, after the searches and arrests of July and August the remaining conspirators attempted to find safe retreats. Bhola Nath Chatarji, Nalini Kar and Benoy Bhusan Datta went to Chandernagore, and Jadu Gopal Mukharji used to come and stay with them for days at a time, till the end of October, when he went to live there permanently. Benoy and Bhola apparently held Jadu in great reverence. They had learnt of the non-success of the *Maverick* scheme. They believed that another attempt would be made, but they were apparently vague about its particulars. Atul Ghosh, who was also then living in Chandernagore, seems to have considered that the whole affair was a finished failure.

In order to regain contact with the Germans, some time in September, Bhim Rao Handur with Bhupati Mazumdar was sent to Bombay by Jadu Gopal to despatch a telegram to Java. Later, in October, Bhim Rao went to Madras to send another telegram for the same purpose.

In the middle of November, Amarendra Chatarji also went to live at Chandernagore. In Chandernagore these absconders used to confer with Mati Lal Ray and Manindra Naik. Bhupati Mazumdar used to visit them from Calcutta, and when Benoy went to Calcutta, he used to put up with Bhupati.

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At Jadu's instructions, on 19th December 1915 Bhola Nath Chatarji and Benoy Bhusan Datta with Bhim Rao set off for Goa to try and get into communication again with the Germans at Java. They intended eventually to go to Java and see C. A. Martin there. They were also to meet one Dr. Salem. Jadu Gopal gave these men the following address, so that they could keep in communication with him :

Sudhir K. Shome,
76-1, Upper Circular Road.

In Goa these youths tried to get into communication with the Germans on the ships in the harbour, but without any decided success. They were eventually arrested there, as already described.

Undoubtedly the plot just described was only a small portion of a larger concern. An account of probably quite a distinct plot in the revolution which was to take place in India under the ægis of Germany, was given by another deponent, who was also arrested at Singapore. This young man had previously travelled in Japan, England and in Germany. In April 1915 he again visited Japan as the agent of some business concern. About the middle of June of that year he went to Tokyo and met a Japanese friend of his, named Dr. Ishibashi, with whom he had first become acquainted in Germany. He also met there Professor Benoy Sarkar, who was there with another Indian, Shiv Prasad Gupta, a United Provinces man. During his stay in Tokyo, he also came into contact with Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who left him with the impression that he thought that India was not taking sufficient advantage of the opportunity presented by the British being engaged in a big war. Towards the end of June he got into communication with Bhagwan Singh in Tokyo by means of certain letters. In these letters, Bhagwan Singh mentioned a friend of his, P. N. Thakur. In the beginning of August, the deponent actually met Thakur in Tokyo, and he proved to be a Bengali aged about 30 years. He also met for the first time Bhagwan Singh and a Punjabi who was known by the name of Singh. About this time, too, he got into contact with Lala Lajpat Ray, who asked to be introduced to Bhagwan Singh. Bhagwan referred to Lala as an old fool, a moderate, and a man whom Government had deported, while Lala, on the other hand, seemed not to have a very good opinion of Bhagwan.

The deponent identified a photograph of Rash Bihari Basu as that of Thakur. Lajpat Ray told him some details of the German conspiracy to aid a revolt in India. Lajpat had apparently been in America, where he had learnt the details of this plot. The principal intention was in some manner to divert the attention of the English from the European arena. The Germans had promised the Indian pecuniary assistance and also

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offered to help Indian leaders to put the country into working order after the revolution had been accomplished. The German Government appears to have taken into its confidence some of the Bengali students interned in Berlin, as described before. One of these, according to Lajpat Ray, was Dhiren Sarkar, the brother of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Dhiren apparently took up the idea eagerly and proceeded to Switzerland, where he interviewed Hardayal Singh and Biren Chatarji. Biren Chatarji also fell in strongly with the notion and accompanied Dhiren Sarkar back to Berlin. Later Dhiren went to America with a letter of introduction from Hardayal Singh to the *Ghadr* party there to get their co-operation. In America the idea of an Indian revolution under the ægis of Germany was well received among the Indian students. They received considerable financial support from the German Consular authorities. It seems that the principal notion, among at any rate a section of the *Ghadr* party, was that it was not time for India to engineer a successful revolution, but they thought that they should not miss this opportunity of extracting as much money and as many arms from Germany as possible. The deponent believed that in consequence of the information of possible German help having got to Rash Bihari Basu, he had left India intending to proceed to America, but meeting Bhagwan Singh in Japan, he had changed his plan and remained there.

At the instructions of Bhagwan Singh, the deponent left Tokyo on the 6th September 1915 to get to Shanghai, where, under the same instructions, he met a Bengali, who said his name was Abinash Chandra Ray *alias* J. N. Sanyal of Eastern Bengal. Abinash was apparently in communication with a German called Müller. At Abinash's house he met unexpectedly P. N. Thakur again and one Tahl Singh. Thakur was there apparently in communication with the Germans, posing as the chief Indian revolutionary leader, and was busy with them maturing plans. The deponent learnt while in Shanghai that Atma Ram was the agent of these persons in Siam, but, as he had been arrested, Tahl Singh was to go there and take his place to work with another man called Amar Singh.

Abinash Ray gave him a message to carry to India to the effect that everything was all right, and that they must devise some means by which he, Abinash could safely get back to India. He was to carry this message to Mati Lal Ray at Chandernagore and to various other addresses, among which were those of Manindra Naik, Nalini Chandra Datta, Jyotish Chandra Singh, all of Phatakgora, Chandernagore; Jatindra Mohan Rakshit, New Market, Calcutta; Dr. Suresh Chandra Das Gupta, Dacca; Girija or Chandra Chur, also of Dacca. The addresses of these last two men were to be obtained from Dr. Das Gupta. If he could not find Dr. Das Gupta, he was to go to Girin Chandra Sen of Comilla, or to Kula Chandra Ray Singha of the National College, Calcutta.

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Abinash gave the deponent to understand that he was concerned with the raising of a revolt in India, and that the Germans were supplying him, Abinash, with arms, ammunition and money, and that it was very necessary that he himself should go to India to arrange for their delivery. It was arranged that as soon as the deponent had delivered his message, he was to send a telegram to Shanghai, addressed either to Dr. King, care of Wah Tah Dispensary, Shanghai, or to another address there. The wire was to consist of only one word, "Coming."

There seems to be no doubt that in the early stages of the war, and perhaps before, the German authorities conceived the notion of fermenting trouble in the Asiatic possessions of the British Empire. The massing of material for this purpose was certainly undertaken before an attempt was made to gain the co-operation of, at any rate, the Bengalis. The Germans had seemingly worked on the assumption that the conditions were all favourable for a revolution in India. The study of Indian conditions before the war had certainly not escaped the German diplomats.

It is doubtful, however, whether the scale and nature of the preparations were ever intended to do more than to harass the British Government to the extent that they would have to withdraw troops from other parts of the Empire to help in the suppression of the revolution. It was unlikely that the Germans would have disclosed this intention to the Indians with whom they were conspiring.

Certainly in Bengal at the beginning of the war the various revolutionary groups did not possess strength or cohesion enough to effect the overthrow of the British Government, but even a rising of the description contemplated would have resulted in very serious trouble in India and a large loss of European life in outstations. The *personnel* of the conspiracy was entirely unsuited to open revolt, as history has perhaps shown. Its ideas were childish and unformed, and its notions of foreign policy, as clearly disclosed in the letter of Jyotish Ghosh discovered later at Chandernagore immature, crooked and little. At the beginning of 1915, Bengal can be said to have been seething with anarchical tendencies. Covert crime was rampant. It induced an attitude of awe and terror in the public, and ordinary police investigation proved powerless to cope with it. In these circumstances a revolution would seem to have been a very possible contingency, in view of the presence of an immense mass of revolutionary material ready to ignite on the first signs of success. Yet with the weapons which Regulation III of 1818 and the Defence of India Act put into the hands of the authorities, the whole conspiracy collapsed at the first attack and the conspirators fled to shelter. The shelter was ready to hand at Chandernagore, and it is well known that practically all of the persons whose names have transpired in this note who have not already been restrained are living quietly in Chandernagore and

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still attempting to incite the youth of Bengal from that comparatively safe retreat.

The following is a list of names of the more important persons known in some manner to have been concerned in these plots :—

Table M

Acharji, Hemendra	State prisoner	Mymensingh party	See Tables G and L
Bhattacharji, Mon Mohan	—	—	—
Bhattacharji, Narendra	Arrested in America	Jatin Mukharji's party	See Table L
Bhusan, Chandra (Bose)	Détenu	—	—
Bose, Jitendra	Do	—	—
Bose, Jogendra Nath	Do	Barisal party	
Bose, Nani Gopal	Do	—	—
Bose, Rash Behari	Absconding	—	See Tables J and K
Bose, Saileswar	State prisoner	—	
Bose, Sham Sundar	Détenu	—	—
Chakrabartti, Abinash Chandra	State prisoner	Jugantar	See Tables A, B and J
Chakrabartti, Bijoy	Arrested	Madaripur gang	See Tables D and I
Chakrabartti, Hari Kumar	State prisoner	—	—
Chakrabartti, Makhan Lal	Ditto	—	—
Chakrabartti, Phanindra	In hands of Military authorities, Singapore	Jatin Mukharji's party.	See Tables J and L
Chakrabartti, Satish	Absconder	Atul Ghosh's Party	See Table L
Chakrabartti, Sham Sundar	State prisoner	—	—
Chatarji, Amarendra Nath	Absconder	—	See Table J
Chatarji, Bhola Nath	Committed suicide	Atul Ghosh's party	See Table L
Chatarji, Biren	—	—	—
Chatarji, Sanakul	State prisoner	Barisal party	See Table L
Chaudhuri, Bejoy Kumr	Détenu	Dacca Anusilan Samiti	—
Chaudhuri, Noren	Convicted and sentenced to transportation for life in Sibpur dacoity case.	Barisal party	See Tables H, J, K and L
Chur, Chandra (Anukul Chakrabartti)	State Prisoner	Dacca Anusilan Samiti	—

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Das Gupta, Nirendra	Hanged in Balasore	Madaripur gang	See Tables I and L
Das, Suresh Chandra	Détenu	Dacca Anusilan Samiti	See Tables I and L
Datta, Benoy Bhusan	Dotained in custoday of Government of India	Atul Ghosh's party	See Table L
Datta, Nagendra Nath, alias Girija	Sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment in Benares conspiracy case	Dacca Anusilan Samiti	—
Datta, Nalini Chandra	—	—	—
Ganguli, Bepin	Sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment in Agarpara dacoity case	Bepin Ganguli's party	See Tables B.J.K and L
Ghosh, Atul	Absconding	Atul Ghosh's party	See Table J, K and L
Ghosh, Sailen	Arrestéd in America	Ditto	See Table L
Ghosh, Srish	Detained under Ingress Act.	Chandernagore	See Tables A and J
Guha, Arun, alias Pran Kumar	State prisoner	Barisal party	See Table G
Gupta, Heramba Lal	—	—	—
Gupta, Manoranjan	State prisoner	Barisal party	See Tables H and L
Gupta, Shiv Prasad	—	—	—
Handur, Bhim Rao	Detained	—	—
Kar, Nalini Kanta	Abscondingg	Atul Ghosh's party	See Table L
Lal, Bajon	—	—	—
Mazumdar, Bhupati	Arrested	—	See Table L
Mazumdar, Ram	State prisoner	—	—
Mitter, Jogesh	—	—	—
Mukharji, Aboni	Detained	—	—
Mukharji, Anakul	State prisoner	Bepin Ganguli's party	See Tables J, K and L
Mukharji, Bhutnath	Absconding	Howrah party	See Tables K and L
Mukharji, Durga Das	—	—	—
Mukharji, Jadu Gopal	Absconding	Atul Ghosh's party	See Table J
Mukharji, Jatin	Killed in Balasore	Jatin Mukharji's party	See Tables J and L
Mukharji, Kumud Nath	Under detention	—	—
Mukharji, Parakhit	State prisoner	Atul Ghosh's party	See Table L
Mukharji, Pulin Bihari	Ditto	Ditto	See Tables J and L

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Mukharji, Satish	Détenu	Barisal party	—
Mukharji, Sudhangsu Bhusan	—	—	—
Mukharji, S. P.	—	—	—
Nayak, Manindra	Living in Chandernagore	Chandernagore	—
Pal, Jyotish Chandra	Sentenced to transportation for life in Balasore case	—	See Table L
Parmanand	State Prisoner in Andamans	—	—
Pratopaditya, Raja	—	—	—
Rakhit, Hemendra Kumar	—	—	—
Rakhit, Jotindra Mohan	Détenu	—	—
Ray, Abinash Chandra (?)	State prisoner	Northern Bengal party	—
Ray, Bejoy Gopal, alias Ray, B.K.	Ditto	—	See Tables J, K and L ?
Ray, Dinesh	State prisoner	Mymensingh	See Tables G, K and L
Ray, Gopal Chandra (Nalini Kanta Kar)	Absconding	—	—
Ray, Lal Lajpat	—	—	—
Ray, Moti Lal	Living in Chandernagore	Chandernagore	See Table J
Ray Chaudhuri, Chittapriya	Killed in Balasore	Midnapore gang	See Tables I and L
Sarkar, Benoy Kumar	In Japan	—	—
Sarkar, Dhirendra	—	—	—
Sen, Dhirendra	—	—	—
Sen, Shyama Charan	State prisoner	Bepin Ganguli's party	See Tables K and L
Shome, Sudhir Kumar	Détenu	—	See Table L
Singh, Hardayal	—	—	—
Singh, Harish Chandra	Détenu	—	—
Singh, Jyotish Chandra	—	Chandernagore	—
Singh, Sundar	—	—	—
Singh, Tahl	—	—	—
Singh Ray, Kula Chand	State prisoner	—	See Table H
Thakur, P. N.	—	—	—

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CHAPTER X

Chandernagore

The important part played by Chandernagore in the revolutionary movement in Bengal has partly been indicated previously. It will be necessary now to describe the growing importance of Chandernagore in the scheme of revolutionary activity in Bengal. In this connection the most important figure is perhaps that of Mati Lal Ray. Mati Lal was born in 1882 and had settled in Chandernagore in 1908. His name transpired during the Alipore conspiracy case and again with more prominence in the investigation consequent on the Dalhousie Square bomb outrage. Another important name connected with Chandernagore is that of Manindra Nayak, who, according to many pieces of evidence, is by profession a bomb-maker of the party. There is no doubt at all that Amrita Hazra *alias* Sasanka, arrested on 21st November 1913 in what is known as the Raja Bazar case, was a close associate of the anarchist party at Chandernagore, and it is said that he learnt the art of bomb-making from Manindra Nayak. During 1914 it was reported that Rabindra Sen Gupta and Protal Ganguli were visiting Mati Lal Ray in Chandernagore.

From various statements it has been proved that the Chandernagore party was strongly in favour of the assassination of Deputy Superintendent Basanta Chatarji. It is alleged to have recorded its displeasure that the party of Bipin Ganguli did not carry this outrage into effect and to have then arranged with the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* to attempt it. The attempt was the Mussalmanpara bomb case of 25th November 1914. There is little doubt but that the bombs used in that outrage came from Chandernagore. In this manner the Chandernagore party has, as can be seen, associated itself with the members of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*. In fact it has been said that Mati Lal Ray and Manindra Nayak are initiated members of that *samiti*. Eventually the murder of Basanta Babu was carried out by the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* on 30th June 1916. Amrita Sarkar, one of the participants in that outrage, had been living at Chandernagore for the ten months previous to this outrage, while the leader at that time of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*, Jogendra Das Bhattacharji, was in the habit of visiting Chandernagore before this murder. Previous even to this, the Benares conspiracy case clearly showed that members of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*, together with other revolutionaries, had been living in Chandernagore. Probably in the early part of 1915 one Nikunja Bihari Pal had opened a cycle shop at Ranaghat on the Strand Road in Chandernagore, as an *adda* for the members of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*. It is clear that other members of the *Samiti* in

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Calcutta used to go to Chandernagore to meet Amrita Sarkar in that cycle shop. This shop and the house in which Amrita Sarkar resided at Haldarpara wee searched on 1st December 1916, as subsequently described. To complete the description of the connections of the Dacca *Anusilan* party with Chandernagore, it may be noted that when Nalini Ghosh and Probodh Biswas escaped from Dullanda House, Calcutta, on 23rd December 1916, they went immediately to Mati Lal Ray at Chandernagore, who arranged a retreat form them at that place, while Krishna Lal Shah and Chandra Kumar have also been reported to have visited the place comparatively recently.

At the time of its rise into prominence, the Baranagar party is said to have sought advice from Chandernagore and to have purchased arms there. During the Burdwan floods Mati Lal Ray got into contact with various of the revolutionary leaders in the affected area and in particular with Jatin Mukharji, Amarendra Chatarji and Makhan Lal Sen. Certain of the loot of Rodda's arms case of 26th August 1914 probably found its way to Mati Lal Ray at Chandernagore, and at the very commencement of the war, Noren Ghosh Chaudhuri is said to have sent to Chandernagore for bombs for the purpose of assassinating Messrs. Denham and Tegart and Basanta Chatarji.

The concern of Mati Lal Ray with the early stages of the arms-running case has been described. Mati Lal seems later to have forsaken the party of Jatin Mukharji. However, Rash Bihari Basu, perhaps one of the biggest figures amongst Bengalis in the revolutionary movement throughout India, has always been a frequent visitor to Chandernagore and a close associate of Mati Lal Ray. It seems probable, therefore, that Mati Lal Ray only forsook the activities directly connected with Bengal for a larger project in which Rash Bihari Basu was concerned. After the Pathuriaghata murder of 24th February 1915, there was a proposal to find a refuge for Jatin Mukharji and some of his followers at Chandernagore, and Mati Lal Ray agreed to arrange this. After the collaps of the arms-running case many of the important figures connected with it sought refuge in Chandernagore.

These included Atul Ghosh, Amarendra Chatarji, Benoy Bhusan Datta, Bhola Nath Chatarji, Nalini Kanta Kar and Jadu Gopal Mukharji. The house in which these people lived was arranged by Benoy Datta with the help of Manindra Nayak, and Mati Lal Ray used to visit that house. It was from this retreat that Jadu Gopal Mukharji arranged to send Benoy Bhusan Datta and Bhola Nath Chatarji to Goa, as already described. Towards the end of 1916 the main party then in existence, namely, that of Satish Chakrabartti, had a strong headquarters in Chandernagore, and

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Satish Chakrabartti himself probably lived there. It is reported that recently the following members of that party were living in Chandernagore :—

(1) Atul Ghosh.
(2) Amarendra Chatarji.
(3) Satish Chakrabartti.
(4) Kuntal Chakrabartti.
(5) Nalini Kar.
(6) Jadu Gopal Mukharji.

On the 1st of December 1916, with the permission of the Administrateur of Chandernagore, three houses were searched by officers of the Intelligence Branch, with the assistance of the French Police. These houses were—

(1) The former residence of Amrita Sarkar in Haldarpara.
(2) The cycle shop of Nikunja Pal.
(3) The house of Tincowrie Banarji of Gondalpara.

In the cycle shop, Nikunja Pal was arrested. The Gondalpara house of Tincowrie Banarji produced an interesting series of things. The family of Tincowrie Banarji has been associated with anarchy in Bengal since 1911. In the house were discovered four Mauser pistols of the Rodda's consignment and 241 Mauser cartridges in clips, one .380 revolver, 125 .12 bore cartridges, five "Desher Kathas", various military works, maps of several districts of Bengal and of the neighbouring provinces, and two brass seals of the revolutionary camp. In addition to this, there was a large quantity of highly seditious literature. In the papers seized were references to one Pal and also to Ranaghat, which seemed to indicate the connection between this house and the Dacca *Anusilan* refuge. Another of the finds amongst the literature were several letters addressed to Sri Pratap, which recalled similar letters discovered in the possession of Ashutosh Ray Chaudhuri in September 1916. This correspondence undoubtedly dealt with the movements of the remaining members and the new recruits to the party of Satish Chakrabartti.

The most important find at this house was a letter of thirty-two pages in Bengali, proved to have been written by Professor Jyotish Ghosh. As a result of the information obtained in that letter, seven Mauser pistols and something over a thousand Mauser cartridges were recovered in the house of one Nibaran Ghattak. The following are some extracts from the letter :—

"The first thing is–we do not wish for 'decisive' victory on one side or the other in the 'European War.' It will be well if the war is prolonged and if we guide our 'foreign affairs' in accordance with that. It is true that the result will be an increase of oppression and *zulum* on us, but we

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need not take that as a bad omen. In spite of all the losses we have suffered during these two years we have advanced, far as a nation. We could not have thought of attaining our aim so soon had it not been for the war. We need not be afraid of 'internments.' We have been able to rectify our mistakes and omissions on account of them. Of course it will take time to make good our losses, but those amongst us who will be able to escape by throwing dust will be our 'Brain' and our main hope. We should not select as organisers of our mission those who expose themselves. Of course we will get them all in the end; they will not be able to get them out of our way by 'internment.' We have only got to decide the best way in which to get them on the final day... We must judge whether both the parties" (*i.e.*, Hindus and Muhammadans) "could by any menas stand on a common basis of 'Indian Nationalism.'

If that is not possible, it is necessary to deceive the Muhammadans with tact. On the other hand we should let the Germans know (if necessary, false evidence is to be adduced) that both the parties have united in order to bring about a revolution in our country, that everything regarding the 'Provisional Government' has been settled; that it will be a 'Republic' and that the majority will be Muhammadans, etc. We must also be on the look-out to see that Germany does not play off one party against the other. It will not be possible to place very much reliance on the Muhammadan organisation, though it is working jointly with us. (I am speaking in a general way, as I have no accurate knowledge.) They can spoil everything in the long run. We must sketch out our plan of operations excluding them. If we can get their help, so much the better, but we must not depend too much on them; and if they are against our plans, they should be tactfully deceived... After the war broke out, we became a bit alarmed, we saw that the whole country was Pro-German, that India was regarding Germany as her saviour.

As days passed we saw that it was only an echo of the hatred for the English... Then there is another thing–we must exclude religion from our movement (for policy's sake); there must be no sign of Hinduism; on the contrary we should, if necessary, give out that we will convert the whole of India to the Muhammadan faith (after freedom is achieved). It will be necessary to win over the Muhammadans by means of such tactics. The movement must be based on political ideals which will include everything... My opinion is that everything depends on this 'European War.' If the war continues for a lengthy period and if we can wait, it will be good for us. My idea is that when we find the war is drawing to an end, we should at once commence and make the 'situation' more 'complex,' our aim being not to allow the war to come to an end;

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and as a consequence of the war the power of the world will be ruined. If there remains a bit of the old power there will be no help for our rising. If Europe is doomed and all the Powers are to begin anew, we must get a 'start' in that 'race,' and then nobody will be able to defeat us. If we rise at a time when Germany's defeat is apprehended, Germany will be encouraged and will exert her utmost once more; and if the British are defeated, then there will be a great demand for money from India, and if we commence taking it as our opportunity they (*i.e.*, the British) will be put into great difficulties... Now the principal point for consideration is to see that if possible the war is prolonged and that all the Powers join in, but we must also see that one side may not come out stronger than the other. If one side gets the mastery, attempts must be made to weaken that Power, and to re-establish by some means enmity between them... England should not be allowed to remain in peace. . . If we are to commence, then, from what place ? If Germany invades India at all, then probably there will be a land invasion and they (*i.e.*, the British) will fortify the Punjab side and will remain on the alert in that quarter. They (*i.e.*, the Germans) will expect some sort of demonstration on the Punjab side to welcome them.

In that case it would be necessary to begin either from Bombay or from Bengal. It is better to begin from Bengal, as in that case Bengal will rise first and try to advance towards Bombay and the Punjab. On the one hand there will be an advance from this side and at the same time Germany will also come in, then the Punjab will rise. I do not know what is the situation in other Provinces; they will join when the movement passes through them. If Japan or America helps, and if it is thought safe to accept their help, then let them attack Madras or Bengal with their Navy; and let the rising commence first from Bombay, and then push on towards this side through the Punjab. The point is that the rising must begin on the side opposite to that where the invasion takes place; if there be no invasion then in my opinion it is better that Bengal should rise last. Government has roughly studied the situation in Bengal, and if there be no sign whatever of any disturbance in other provinces, when the rising starts here, Government will take advantage of it and will crush this side.

For that reason it is necessary to 'commit' other provinces, as soon as it is settled that we are to rise. If the three provinces–Bombay, the Punjab and Bengal–rise, then there is some chance of success. In my opinion, therefore, Bombay should rise first, then the Punjab and lastly Bengal. If I see that success is impossible but still that there is some hope for the future, then Bengal with the permission of the other provinces will remain quiet. The reason for this is that Bengal has kept up the

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movement, and if Bengal is crushed then there will be no chance for better in this country... If we can keep up 'continuity' and if our 'Brain' be not 'interned,' then in my opinion, we ought to be able to manage things... There is one word more to say. On what terms can we accept outside help? At first I was never inclined to place any special reliance on any outside help (if that is to be considered as help at all) and I was never in favour of taking such help directly. But being engaged in this European War everybody will help us indirectly and we require that help. .. We would gladly accept that help if any nation considers it a part of its duty to help with encouragement, sympathy and co-operation the noble cause of another subject nation in attempting to regain its liberty, and we would give preference in certain matters to those Powers over others as a token of gratitude, but they must not be allowed to make any demands based on the ground that they have helped us.... Then, as a last resort, we must take the 'risk.' These Powers–after helping us and driving away the invaders (*i.e.*, the British)–may in future devour this country in their own interests. Then, we must act according to the exigencies of the moment. At that time 'revolution' would be palatable to the people of this country.

There would be no difficulty in bringing about a state of anarchy. Once you can get the wheels in motion, it will roll on itself. But, first of all, at the outset, we must take a review of our own 'strength.' If possible, let Japan or America attack India with their Navy, and simultaneously with that let Germany attack India from the north-west. Let every Power have secret treaties of its own. We will not object to grant them everything on the minimum condition–provided the freedom of our country is maintained... Do not let Military Department get out of our hands. It is essential that the organisation and the administration remain in our hands. We will keep them under control by holding out to them the hopes of money. We are ready to forego for the present many things regarding trade, but they will have to pay heavy duty for them–otherwise if money be not available, then how will the Government be maintained?... We have awakened after many centuries. We are not going to sleep again. And yet, preserving our independence, the other Powers of the world may keep to themselves the powers and privileges which Britain is now enjoying and may divide among themselves the monopoly of Britain.... Another anomaly has appeared, and that is the Double Company. It would certainly have been better if the people of our country had kept aloof from this organisation. We could certainly

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have got them when we wanted them for action. Will there be an attempt to cripple the strength of our country by opening out this channel ?

Please consider what is the remedy for this evil. Can we not make some arrangement so that no more men join this Double Company, or if they do at all, they may be induced to desert the Company and join hands with us at the time of action ? . . . . Then the next point is this–my conviction was that perhaps the English do not suspect the Japanese. We can derive a great deal of advantage if the Japanese are willing to help us. Now I see that the motive of Japan is getting to be open secret through Bazar rumours. Then what is the alternative ? Is America still unsuspected ? I want to know the state of the foreign Powers and to what extent Great Britain has suspected each of them. . . If it is settled to weaken all the Powers, then can we not bring on an engagement in Eastern waters between Japan and America by taking up the 'question' of 'Colonisation,' etc ? Japan and America are always at loggerheads regarding labour questions. We can perhaps get good results if we can cause a war by organising an Indo-Japanese Labour Federation in America and telling Japan that she will be driven out of America in the same manner as Hindu Labour was expelled by legislation. Of course we must find out some means to establish a common meeting ground for India and Japan as regards labour questions.

Probably the law (to expel the Hindus) has not yet been enacted, but I think I remember to have seen in some papers that it has been placed before the 'House.' If Japan wants to delay matters, then in the meantime let China begin. We will give the control to 'San Yat Sen's party' in China. In the future we may get some help from China. If we can succeed in doing something in these parts, then perhaps it will be of advantage to us, but care must also be taken that China and Japan do not unite; in that case it would not be possible for any other Power to cope with them. .. America is willing to help us by declaring war. Let us obtain materials from them and let them try to effect an invasion of India with the assistance of their Navy after training the Indian people somewhere in America. We will naturally accord them privileges in proportion to the amount of help we receive."

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CHAPTER XI

Extra-Provincial Connection

The connection in Bengal with other parts of India in the revolutionary programme opens an immense field, of which only a skeleton can be given.

The Lahore Conspiracy Case : The plot disclosed in the Lahore conspiracy case, judgment in which was delivered on the 13th September 1915, was perhaps the most dangerous section of the movement. At the beginning of 1913 there was a considerable amount of inflammatory material in the Pacific Coast States of America, and this centred particularly in Vancouver and San Francisco. Under the influence of various well-educated emigrants and particularly of one Hardayal Singh, the Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast was started, of which the open purpose was to effect the expulsion of the British from India. The "Jugantar Asram" Press was founded in San Francisco, and the *Ghadr* newspaper was issued on the 1st November 1913. This newspaper was of a violent anti-British nature, preaching murder and mutiny in every sentence, and urging all Indians to go to India for the purpose of expelling the British Government by any and every means. It urged the establishment of secret societies both in India and in America. In the early months of 1914 various meetings were held by the members of the association and it was announced that the time for the rebellion was near. There is ground for supposing that the leaders knew beforehand of Germany's intention to start the Great War months before it broke out. The *Komagata Maru* set sail from Vancouver in July 1914, and it seems that a large part of the purpose of its journey was to create an episode which would inflame Indians.

There is no doubt that the *Komagata Maru* incidents in Vancouver and in Calcutta had a large influence in leading up to the general migration of Indians from America soon after this date. Bodies of men for this purpose collected at Vancouver, San Francisco and at Shanghai, with the express object of creating a rising against the British in conjunction with the enemies of the Empire. Before the departure of the main body of men from America it appears that a certain number had been sent on in advance. From San Francisco, Manilla, and Victoria returned immigrants collected at Hongkong in September and October 1914. At Honkong apparently negotiations were opened with the German Consulate. The people gathered at Hongkong, left that place in two ships, one reaching Calcutta on the 29th of October and the other reaching Colombo on the 25th of October. These formed the main body

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of immigrant revolutionaries, but there is no doubt that thousand of others came to India for a similar purpose by other boats.

Of the men who returned by the various ships, a number were interned on arrival, and the rest seem to have found their way to the Punjab by various means, where many of them gathered in a big meeting at Moga on the 19th November 1914. There they decided upon the starting of the rising, the collection of money, the committing of dacoities, the seduction of troops, and the looting of treasuries. It was decided to attack the magazine of Meinmir of the 25th of November, but this affair resolved itself into a miserable fiasco. Another project was to attack the Ferozepur arsenal on the 30th of November. In this attack two men were murdered, some of the gang were killed, some captured and duly hanged, while others escaped.

The Contemplated Rising: Various other detached gangs seem to have melted away, but again in December, matters began to assume a more serious aspect. In that month Vishnu Gonesh Pingley came up-country with the information that the Bengal party was prepared to co-operate. Pingley was a poorly educated man, but one with a large amount of personality. He had been also to America. He came into contact through one Satyendra Nath Sen with Rash Bihari Basu, with whom he kept in touch. Emissaries were sent to Lahore to collect materials for bomb-making. Rash Bihari Basu was brought to Amritsar with some other Bengalis, and seems to have assumed the direction of affairs. In February, Rash Bihari Basu moved his headquarters to Lahore, and it was decided to start the general rising against the British on 21st February 1915. Bombs were prepared, arms got together, flags obtained, a declaration of war drawn up, instruments for destroying railways and telegraph wires collected, and everything brought hastily in readiness for the general rising on that date. Certain troops had been prepared for the rising and were to await the signal from Lahore. On certain suspicion arising in the minds of the revolutionaries, the day of the rising was antedated to 19th February, which night was to see a conflagration start in Lahore. The police on the afternoon of the 19th raided the headquarters of this conspiracy and captured some of the leading revolutionaries. Rash Bihari Basu fled and others of the revolutionists disappeared, but the centre was broken and the proposed risings in India collapsed as the signal from Lahore was never given.

The Delhi Conspiracy Case: The Delhi conspiracy case, of which the judgement was issued in October 1914, concerned a minor section of the preparations made in India for the projected rising just described. In Delhi during 1908 there existed a group of followers of Hardayal's

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doctrines. Apparently in 1909 Rash Bihari Basu, with his centre in Lahore, came into contact with this Delhi group. Rash Bihari had brought a young Bengali, Basanta Kumar Biswas, as one of his assistants. These conspirators were responsible for the throwing of the bomb at the Viceroy at Delhi on 23rd December 1912, and circumstantial evidence indicates that Basanta Biswas actually threw this bomb. In May 1913 it was again by the hand of Basanta Kumar Biswas that the Lahore bomb outrage took place. In the Delhi case, also, Rash Bihari Basu managed to escape.

The Benares Conspiracy Case : The Benares conspiracy case of 1915 was another aspect of the same subject and indicated much closer relationships with Bengal. The judgement in that case showed that in 1908 one Sachindra Nath Sanyal opened a society under the title of the *Anusilan Samiti* at Benares, the name of which has later changed to the Young Men's Association. Two of the members of this association were Bibhuti Bhusan Halder and Moni Lal. In 1913, a split occurred in the association and the seceders, consisting of the most violent members of the association, headed by Sachindra, formed a new party, the object of which was to get into touch with the Bengal anarchists and to take a much more active part in revolutionary work. Agents in the garb of *sanyasis* were sent into Bengal to obtain recruits to go to Benares to be trained in the principles of the organisation.

Apparently Sachindra brought a band of his followers down to the Burdwan floods, where he came into contact with Makhan Lal Sen, who introduced him to Amrita Hazra. From that date, Sachindra used to visit Bengal from time to time and obtain both funds and bombs from that source. At about the beginning of 1914 Rash Bihari Basu appeared in Benares and immediately took the active leadership of the movement. He lived at Benares from February to November 1914, and was visited there by Vishnu Gonesh Pingley. In January 1915, a meeting was held in Benares attended by Sachindra Sanyal, Pingley, Narendra Nath Banarji, Vinayak Rao and Bibhuti Haldar, at which Rash Bihari announced that the rebellion was to take place, and that the time had come when they must prepare to die for their country. Two men were assigned to bring bombs and arms from Bengal, and projects wee arranged to seduce the troops at Benares and at Jubbulpore. Rash Bihari and Sachindra left Benares for Lahore, while Bibhut was left in charge of Benares, and kept up communications with Bengal and particularly with Chandernagore and Calcutta. The conspirators at Benares were given 21st February as the date of the rising. They never heard of the change of date to the 19th, and they actually went to the maidan on the

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evening of the 21st in the hope of a rising taking place. Owing to the arrests in Lahore, the Benares people were given to understand that the rising was postponed for two months. Rash Bihari's last known movements in this connection brought him to Calcutta, where apparently in June 1915 in a meeting attended by Bibhuti Haldar and others, Rash Bihari informed his listeners that he would be leaving them for two years, but that they were to continue their efforts. He introduced them to Nagendra Nath Datta who, he said, with Sachindra, would look after the work in his absence.

It will be necessary later to give further particulars with respect to Benares and its connection with Bengali revolutionaries.

The Contemplated Rising in Bengal : As a sequel to the previous accounts it is necessary to mention the information supplied concerning the activities of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* at about the time of this projected rising. Apparently in December 1914, the local leader in Dacca, one Anakul Chakrabartti, gave out that a rising was contemplated throughout India, including Bengal. At this time, too, Nagendra Nath Datta was mixing confidentially with Anakul Chakrabartti, Prakash Chaudhuri and Satyendra Nath Sarkar. During January 1915 there were big movements of arms amongst the various members. Attempts were made in Dacca to tamper with the troops. Members were told off to collect information about the houses of the Europeans living there, and undoubtedly the intention was to massacre all Europeans and to take charge of the country. The month of February passed, however, with no incident.

Some Dacca members were apparently sent to join in the up-country plots and they were said to have returned safely after their failures. An attempt was made from the Dacca *Anusilan* direct to get into contact with Shanghai, but as far as is known without success.

Rash Bihari Basu : A sinister figure in all these conspiracies and obviously a person very near the head of the movement is that of Rash Bihari Basu, who has so far managed to evade arrest. He was born in about 1886 and hails from Burdwan, but his father had settled at Phatakgora, French Chandernagore, and Rash Bihari is a relation of Srish Ghosh of that place, and an associate of Mati Lal Ray. In about 1906 he took a post as clerk at Rs. 80 in the Forest Institute at Dehra Dun. Practically since that date he has been a leading figure in every conspiracy throughout Upper India. He has paid frequent visits to Calcutta and Chandernagore. He was said to be in Shanghai in September 1915, and in 1916 he was almost certainly in Japan. Apparently all the up-country revolutionists considered that Rash Bihari Basu was the

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leader of the Bengali party, and there is very good reasons to believe that this is in a sense true. His communications have been mostly through Chandernagore, and from the material so far described his dealings would seem to have been principally with the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*. There is little doubt, however, but that he considered all the Bengal parties to be his province. The name of Amarendra Nath Chatarji, already mentioned, indicates this, while Rash Bihari's association with Mati Lal Ray puts him in direct communication practically with all parties in Bengal. It is, however, in a study of the activities in Benares that the Western Bengal parties become linked with the larger revolution.

Benares : The Bengali colony in Benares is an old-established one, but its connectiond with revolutionary matters probably dates from 1908. There is evidence to show that in 1907 Indra Nath Nandi sent members of the *Atmannati Samiti*, including Pabitra Datta and Chuni Mitra, to found a *samiti* at Benares which was called the *Matri Sebak Samiti*. This society exists still and is distinctly suspicious. Makhoda Charan Samadhya and Suresh Chandra Mitra were arrested in Benares in connection with the Bighati dacoity case of 16th September 1908. Makhoda was connected with the *Jugantar* and *Sandhya* newspapers.

A branch of the *Anusilan Samiti* was established at Benares, probably in May 1908, by Deb Narayan Mukharji, Sudhangshu Mitra, Sachindra Nath Sanyal and Sura Nath Bhaduri. Makhoda was apparently in Benares for the purpose of advising the members of this association as to their future course of conduct. As an outcome of the *Anusilan Samiti* were founded by Sachindra Sanyal—

(1) The Young Men's Association.

(2) The Students' Union League.

In 1910 a connection existed between Sura Nath Bhaduri and Amarendra Chatarji, the editor of the *Karmajogin* newspaper, and the latter, with the help of Suren Mukharji, sent Basanta Kumar Biswas to Benares. Amarendra at this time also was in touch with Gyanendra Swami (Jogeswar Mukharji), a member of the *Bharat Dharma Maha Mandal* of Benares. In 1910 Abinash Chandra Ray of Rangpur was living in Benares on friendly terms with Sachindra. In 1911 one Gopesh Ray of Pabna appeared on the scene. He had been a member of the *Sebak Samiti* at Benares, had come to Calcutta to study, and had returned to Benares and associated with Sachindra Sanyal, Ram Taran Bhattacharji, Sushil Lahiri, Jatindra Ganguli and Hari Charan Banarji. Gopesh Ray was serving as the cook of Rash Bihari Basu at one time, probably in 1914. In November 1914 he was found residing at No. 133, Lower Circular Road, with Nirmal Kanta Ray, and both Amarendra Nath

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Chatarji and Makhan Lal Sen used to visit that house. In 1911, also, Kiran Mukharji visited Makhoda Samadhya at Benares. Rash Bihari Basu appears to have come into contact with Benares first during May 1912, and to have associated with Sachindra Sanyal. During the enquiries into the Raja Bazar case of November 1913, the address of one Hiranmoy Banarji in Benares was discovered, and in a search of this man's house a letter was recovered written by Srish Ghosh of Chandernagore. Srish Ghosh was reported to have visited Rash Bihari at Benares. In the *Pujas* of 1913 Kali Pada Ghosh and Pratul Ganguli were said to have visited Sachindra Sanyal at Benares. In March 1914, Makhoda Samadhya and Sura Nath Bhaduri were convicted in the Benares insurance fraud case and apparently the whole leadership of Benares affairs fell into the hands of Sachindra Sanyal, who apparently was the lieutenant of Rash Bihari Basu in this half-way house between the Punjab and Bengal. A prominent member of the Benares party was Vinayak Rao Kapile, who was found associating with the members of the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti* in a house in Pathuriaghata Street in September 1916. Kulu Chand Singh Ray of Tippera is said to have visited Rash Bihari Basu at Benares, and he, with Bejoy Ray, was responsible for introducing Pingley to Benares upon his return from America.

Towards the end of 1914 Gopesh Ray and Narendra Banarji (absconder in the Benares case) had obtained employment in the Union Jute Mill, Garden Reach, through Nirmal Chandra Bakshi, a resident of Chandernagore and a friend of Mati Lal Ray. It was to this mill that the money looted in the Garden Reach dacoity of 12th February 1915 was consigned.

Babu Sarada Kumar Moitra, a wealthy zamindar of Rangpur, is a person of some position and influence in Benares. He was formerly a lavish patron of the Barisal party in Bengal and he used to assist the Young Men's Association in Benares. Satish Chandra Mukharji of the Barisal party has frequently visited Benares, where in 1914 he used to associate with Makoda Samadhya and the members of the *Sebak Samiti*.

Arabinda Ghosh : The figure of Arabinda Ghosh, now in Pondicherry, is said still to loom large behind Bengal anarchy. He was visited there by Mati Lal Ray, and it is said that all the parties of Bengal subscribe monthly to his unkeep. He has certainly been in written communication with some of the members since the commencement of the war, and is said to have advised them that they should take advantage of the state of war. It is difficult, however, to estimate clearly Arabinda's influence on Bengal politics, and it is possible that the reflection of the past alone accounts for his mention at all.

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Note on the "Jugantar" gang, subsequent to the search of Manicktola Garden

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Note on the "Jugantar" gang, subsequent to the search of Manicktola Garden

Before narrating the history of this gang, it is necessary to show what was the condition of the *Jugantar* at the time of the first raids in Calcutta. We have information which shows that, shortly before the discovery of the revolution conspiracy, there had been a split in the ranks of the managers of the *Jugantar* paper. The split appears to have been the results of a quarrel between Nikeleswar Ray Moulik and Barendra Ghosh; the cause of the quarrel was the expediency of continuing the publication of the *Jugantar*. Baren and his party contended that the Jugantar was attracting too much attention from the police, an attention which might result in other discoveries which would be unpleasant for all concerned. Nikeleswar wished to continue publication. We know that Nikeleswar was a keen businessman, and with volunteer printers, and large sale, and no danger to himself, he naturally wished to continue his business.

From a letter filed in the Alipur bomb case, we see that Abinash Chakrabartti, the Munsif, wrote to Arabinda Ghosh to try to bring about a reconciliation, but it apparently was not successful. The result of the breach was that Nikeleswar continued the publication of the *Jugantar* under the patronage of Abinash Chakrabartti and Annada Prasad Ray; while Abinash Bhattacharji, the former manager of the Jugantar, took over the defunct *Navasakti*, which he was going to publish under the guidance and advice of Arabinda Ghosh, with whom he lived.

There is no reason to believe that there was any difference of opinion between the two factions over their methods of working for the liberation of the "Mother", but the fact that the two Ghoshes were called "Christians" in the heat of the argument caused a distinct coolness.

The *Jugantar* press, or rather the Samiti press as it was called, was situated at 60, Manicktola Street, and it was at this house that Nikeleswar, Kartick Dutt, and the chief workers of the paper used to reside. After the arrest of the conspirators at Muraripukur Garden, 48 Grey Street, and other anarchist centres in Calcutta, the *Jugantar* articles became even more violent than they were originally, with the result that several prosecutions were launched against them; two of the printers or rather the signatories of the printers' declaration, Phanindra Nath Mitter and Birendra Nath Banarji were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. It is said that arrangements had been made for the supply of printers till June 27th, the date of release from jail of Bhupendra Nath Dutta, the first editor of the *Jugantar* to be convicted for sedition, but the paper collapsed a fortnight or so previous to this date.

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The constitution of the *Jugantar* office, it is believed, was at this time, as follows : — Manager, Nikeleswar Ray Moulik; Sub-Manager, Rukhini Mohan Ray; Assistant Manager, Gyanendra Nath Mittra; compositor, Bistu Charan Ghose, assistant compositor, Atul Bhattacharji,. The above people usually resided at 68, Manicktola ; the other members of the household were Jagjiban Ray Moulik, Kiran Chandra Mukherji and the Dakaity party leader, Kartick Chandra Dutta. The *Jugantar* office was naturally the headquarters of the followers of Kartick Dutt and Nikeleswar Ray Moulik, and every day members of their band used to visit the place and take instructions from their leaders. On 23rd June 1908 Nikeleswar Ray Moulik was arrested on a charge of conspiracy in connection with the Alipore bomb case and at the time of the police raid several youths among whome were Lalit Ganguli, Ramesh Sil, Jagjiban Ray Moulik, Panna Lal Chatarji, and Ram Chandra Lal Sarma, were found by Inspector P. C. Lahiri who made the arrests.

The house at 68, Manicktola had been under surveillance and it is noticeable, and it is noticeable that Nikeleswar and his brother Jagjiban were away from Calcutta at their home Dhamrai, in Dacca on the very days on which the famous Barrah Dakaity took place; Dhamarai is but a few miles from the sense of occurrence of the dakaity. We also know that shortly after this dakaity Nikeleswar had a large box of sovereigns in his room; these sovereigns are believed to have been stolen by Jogesh Ray of Santipur, another member of the band.

The arrest of Nikeleswar effectually broke up the organisation which had been formed for the publication of the *Jugantar*, but the remaining conspirators before leaving 68, Manicktola, with the help of Chandra Kanta Chakrabartti, now a much-sought after absconder in the Alipore bomb case, printed what is known as the first *Jugantar* leaflet in which is given in detail the recipe for the manufacture of picric acid bombs. It is said that the proofs of this pamphlet, which was printed with the greatest secrecy at night, were corrected by the prisoners in Alipore jail. After the arrest of Nikeleswar Ray Moulik, Kartick Chandra Dutta became the leader of the party, and everything was done under his directions. Kartick had been from the very beginning a member of the revolutionary party, and had been a close friend of Birendra K. Ghosh, from whom he received his really instruction in the whole art of revolution. It was, as we know from various statements, and from letters found in the house, of Annada Ray, the especial duty of Kartick to organise bands for the commission of dakaities for the purpose of supplying funds for the revolution.

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On leaving 68, Manicktola, Kartick began work in earnest, his chief advisers and supporters at the time being Annada Ray, Norendra Sett, pleader, Kalipada Banarji, and Bhupati Bose, men of some standing and position, who are known to have held revolutionary ideas, and to have given advice and help to the actual workers. At first Kartick and his principal lieutenants put up in a mess at 20, Cornwallis Street, and while there hired two houses, one at 28, Syampukur, and the other at Chetla Durgapur near the Judge's Court at Alipore. The printing press at 68, Manicktola, which belonged to Nikeleswar, and which, though now in the hands of the police, he is likely to claim, was secretly removed at night to 28, Shampukur Street, a place from which a short-lived but very seditious monthly magazine, named the *Sarathi*, was published. This place was used for the publication of the various *Jugantar* leaflets, which attracted such attention in the press, and which were circulated broadcast over the two Bengals. Enquiries now show that, with the exception of the bomb recipe leaflet printed by Chandra Kanta Chakrabartti and another leaflet in Bengali, the work of Probash Dey, all the leaflets were the work of Kartick Dutt, who with the help of Rukhini Ray, Kiran Mukharji, and Panna Lal Chatarji, composed the violently seditious writings which are to be found in these leaflets. With the exception of Chandra Kanta and Probash's leaflets which were printed at 68, Manicktola, and another leaflet headed "What are our duties now ?" Which Kartick Dutt had printed surreptitiously at Baranagar, the various leaflets emanated from 28, Shampukur, and were printed on a small hand press, which was concealed there. 28, Shampukur, was merely used as the headquarters of the secret printing part of the programme, and the house at Chetla was the rendezvous for the members of the party and the place from which Kartick and his followers set out on their depredation. This policy of separation is that advocated by Barendra Ghosh, who at the time of the raid in Manicktola Garden was trying to divide his "workers" from his "missionary" and recruiting staff. Kartick's gang had also a common meeting place in Calcutta at the eating house of one Kalipada Ray, of Goabagan. After Kartick and his following had settled down at Chetla, their ranks were strengthened by the advent of Keshab Chandra Dey. This man had just been released from jail after serving two years rigorous imprisonment for throwing vitriol at a Bengali booking clerk in Howrah station who refused to go out on strike at the time of the strike of the native staff on the East Indian Railway in 1906. Keshab was well known to Kartick as both had been followers of Brahma Bandhab Upadhaya, the editor of the *Sandhya*, who died while under trial in a sedition case, and had frequently met at the *Sanshya* office, the

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headquarters of the strikers. It is said that Keshab was instigated to commit the crime by Brahma Bandhab, and in fact, took Kartick's place for the outrage, as the latter did not relish the job.

Before actually going on dakaity expeditions Kartick put his followers through a system of training, the chief feature of which was the learning of the use of firearms and how to shoot accurately. In order to perfect his followers as marksmen, Kartick took parties of them to Burdwan where the President Panchayet of Uplati, one Kalipada Goala, Kumar Babu, the zamindar of Boinches, and the zamindar of Taipara, whose son Bhupati Goswami, was one of the founders of the *Chatra Bhandar*, and a member of the band, used to lend them firearms, and let them practise shooting on their lands. The party owned one rifle and two or three revolvers. These arms were obtained by Kartick and Mukhoda Pandit, and eventually passed into the hands of Keshab Dey, who had other arms of his own, which he used to make over to his own immediate followers, who were not known to the members of Kartick's gang and are believed to have belonged to Howrah. Some arms ere also purchased from a shoe-maker in Machuabazar in Calcutta. The first dakaity committed by the band though, of course, previous to the searches, Kartick, Keshab, and some of the other principal leaders had taken part in other dakaities, was the Bajipur dakaity in Mymensingh. The dakaits were said to have been five in umber — (i) Kartick Dutt, (2) Keshab Dey, (3) Birendra Nath Mullick, (4) Monmohan Barman, and (5) Behari Lal Ray, though certain witnesses from Bajitpur identified as one of the dakaits, a sixth man Suresh Mazumdar. No. 4 was resident of the place, but had joined the band in Calcutta. The dakaits pretended to be police officers, in order to obtain an entrance to the house, and then frightened the inmates, by threatening them with the revolver they had brought with them. The dakaity was a complete success, as they had punished a person who was not in favour with their cause, and had brought in a good sum to the funds of the band. After the return of the successful dakaits to Chetla a goat was sacrificed to *Kali* at Kalighat, and a great feast was provided for the members of the party. The complete success of the whole proceedings was only marred by a quarrel between Keshab and Kartick as to the disposal of the spoil, as to how much should go for the expenses, and how much should go into the fund at the disposal of the band for patriotic work.

It is not definitely known how the stolen ornaments were disposed of, but there is very little doubt Mukhoda Pandit had some part of the share, in fact, he admitted that such was the case to the police. There is also in evidence the statement of Prasanna Kumar Bose, a master of the

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National School, that in the first week of September—the dakaity took place on August 16th — Mukhoda gave him certain jewellery to sell to a goldsmith, and the *talika* of the goldsmith showing the jewellery given to him tallies exactly in weight and description with a portion of the property stolen at Bajitpur. Certain of the stolen notes were traced back to Kartick Dutt, Basantas Bhattacharji, and Dhirendra Ghosh; the two latter have been sent up for trial and convicted. A case against Manmohan Barman is at present waiting to be put before the Special Tribunal; the prosecution of Kartick Dutta and Suresh Mazumdar was dropped, owing to their having been convicted in the Bighati case. Keshab Dey is a much-sought-after absconder.

The next two efforts of the band were not successful, two attempts were made to commit dakaities near Kalua in Burdwan; in the first attempt Kartik, Keshab, Biren Mullick, a resident of Kalna, though living in Calcutta at the time, and Manmohan Barman took part, and in the second, the same persons, with the addition of Suresh Mazumdar Jitendra Ray, and Dhirendra Ghosh, were concerned.

In September, Kartick Dutt left Chetla, and took a house at No. 1 Mandal Street. He, however, left the house after a short stay, and moved with his family and several members of the band to Telinipara in Hooghly district. The Telinipara residence had been secured for him by Dhirendra Ghosh, who was related to one Tejandra Ghosh, who lived in the locality. It was from Telinipara that Kartick Dutta planned the Bighati dakaity. The *modus operandi* was the same as that employed at Bajitpur; a rich man opposed to the *swadeshi* cause was found, the dacoits obtained admission to the house under the pretence that they were police officers, and then thoroughly frightening the inmates by showing their revolvers, carried off the spoil. The band members engaged in this dakaity were (1) Kartick Dutt (2) Mukhoda Samadhaya, (3) Suresh Mirra, (4) Panna Lal Chakrabartti, (5) Panna Lal Chatarji, (6) Basanta Kumar Bhattacharji, (7) Keshab Lal Dey, and three of his followers who are believed to be Howrah men. The arms used in this dakaity, six revolvers, were brought by Keshab Dey, the arms used in the Bajitpur dakaity having been left in the custody of Manmohan Barman when Kartick moved from Calcutta. Police enquiries in this case led to the immediate arrest of Kartick, Suresh Mazumdar, Basanta, Panna Lal Chakrabartti, and Dhirendra Nath Ghosh, who were all found in the Telinipara house, and subsequently to the arrest of Mukhada Samadhaya, Suresh Mitter, and Punna Lal Chatarji. Keshab Dey is a much wanted absconder. No trace of the property stolen has ever been discovered. It is believed that it has been disposed of by Keshab Dey, in whose care it was placed after the dakaity.

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The arrest of Kartick Dutta and so many of his followers broke up the band, and the various enquiries, and searches which formed a port of the enquiry into the Bighati case did much to complete the disorganisation of the party, though, while Keshab Dey is still at large, it is impossible to say that the party has completely dissolved. Keshab is perhaps the most daring member of the gang, and we know that he had a small following, whose name have not transpired in the course of enquiry into the gang itself, though there is some reason to believe that recent enquiries into the dakaities which subsequently took place in Hooghly have thrown some light one the Howrah followers of Keshab. That we have a complete knowledge of all the cases for which this gang is responsible cannot be said, as there is every likelihood that other parties were sent out on missions on which our various sources of information throw no light. Besides Kartick and Keshab, we have reason to believe that Rukhini Ray, Biren Mullick, and Labanga Sircar were quite capable of plotting a dakaity or an outrage, and of leading the party detailed for the work. It is more than likely that the murder of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banarji was the work of some members of this band, for we know from several statements that the assassination of police officers was much discussed and it was only natural that they should wish to strike some blow in order to take vengeance on the police into whose hands their "saintlike and devoted" leader Kartick Dutt had fallen.,

In giving brief histories of members of the gang, the advisers and more or less influential helpers of Kartick and his followers are grouped together. They are :—

(i) **Ananda Prasad Ray of Sthalbasantapur, Pabna and 202, Cornwallis Street :**— He also resides at times with his brother at Balurghat in Dinajpur district. Ananda is not only connected closely with Kartick Dutt's following, but has, from the commencement of the revolutionary movement taken an active part in propagating its gospels and helping its exponents. From the papers found at 202, Cornwallis Street, which was searched after the murder of the approver Narendra Nath Gossain we find that Ananda was constantly in communication with the Munsiff Abinash Chandra Chakrabartti and the leader of the revolutionary party, and that Kartick Dutta used to report to him his movements and the progress of the work he is doing. One of Kartick's letters appears to refer to plans he had in view in Pabna district for committing dakaities, and also to a "*thakur*" costing Rs. 45 obviously a revolver. In another letter Abinash Chakrabartti says that he is sending a friend of his from

Narayanganj, and hopes that Ananda will make him his own man, and introduce him to Arabinda Ghose. From every source from which our information regarding the conspiracy is derived, we find that Ananda was interested in every branch; he was a shareholder in the *Chattra Bhandar* and the *Sadhana* press, at which the *Jugantar* was originally printed. His house was frequented by Chandra Kanta Chakrabartti and Jotin Banarji and there lived with him ostensibly as student of *kaviraji* for Ananda is a prosperous *kabiraji*, several members of the anarchist party, prominent among whom was Rukhini Mohan Ray of the Jugantar.

(ii) **Narendra Nath Sett, pleader of Beadon Row :—** This man has some time been prominent in case connected with political matters and has interested himself in many of the *Jugantar* prosecution. He was also interested in the *Chatra Bhandar*. He has been in touch with the revolutionary movement for some time, and his house was searched in connection with the enquiries which were made at the time of the investigation of the Bighati case. A postcard from Naren Sett was found with Mukhoda Pandit in which he refers to Kartick, Biren, and other conspirators and by the various references to these men, he shows that he is aware of their movements. An examination of his correspondence showed that he was an ardent extremist and a keen agitator; he is a close friend of Krista Kishore Dey the owner of the newspaper Nayak, and with him keenly interested himself in the defence of Mukhoda Samadhaya.

(iii) **Bhupati Bose of 36, Mirzaffar's Lane :—** This man, who is a disciple of K. K. Mitter was one of the organisers of the various bands of young men who paraded the streets after political meetings. He is a close friend of Kartick Dutt. Several of the members of the gang used to meet at his house, and it was to him that Kartick Dutt first wrote for help after he was arrested at Telinipara. It is believed that he is now taking an interest in the members of *Jubak Mandali —Sarathi* gang.

(iv) **Kalipada Banarji of Biseswar Banarji 1st Lane Howrah :—** This man, who works as a broker in China Bazar also owns, or has an interest in, an iron foundry at Howrah, and is said to have supplied the band with funds and promised to give shells fit for using for bombs. He is believed to be in touch with Keshab's Howrah friends.

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(v) **Kartick Chandra Nan, of 15, Kista Singh's Lane, behind the Star Threatre :—** Was once, for he has recently died, one of the counsellors of the gang. He financed the *Sandhya*, at the beginning of that paper's career and signed the first declaration as "printer." The next person who holds a prominent position in the band, but who one can hardly class with the people previously mentioned, is Mukhada Samadhaya; he may in truth be called the *guru* of the band, though he did not confine himself merely to passive work but was recruiting agent, and on one occasion took an active part in one of the dakaities.

(I) Mukkada Charan Bhattacharji was born at Paikpara in Dacca. He lived for many years at Benares, where he studied Sanskrit, eventually earning the "Panditi title of Samadhyayi." On leaving Benares, Mukhada came to Calcutta where he obtained a post of a school master; this he left after a short time for a better post in the Uttarpara College in Hooghly district. Mukhada's learning and ideas on politics attracted the attention of Brahmabandhab Upadhaya, whose *Chela* he eventually became; and with whom he took up his residence at 28, Sibnarain Das's Lane, the *Sandhya* office. While residing at this place, Mukhada was naturally in close touch with all that was advanced in Indian politics and at the "Academy and Art Club," which was financed by Subodh Mullick, met all the leaders of the new movement. There was a large following of young men under Brahmabandhab, and it was at this time that Mukhada first became acquainted with Kartick Dutt and Keshab Dey. During the strike on the East Indian Railway, in which the native staff, excited by political agitators and buoyed up with their wild promises, with very few exceptions went on strike on the section between Howrah and Ondal, the *Sandhya* office became the centre of the strikes and it was from there that orders were issued directing their course of action. On the death of Brahmabandhab Upadhaya, at the time he was being prosecuted for sedition, Mukhada stepped into his place and was the real master and director of the *Sandhya* newspaper and the band of young men who had attached themselves to the paper. On the opening of the National School, Mukhada obtained a post as Professor of Sanskrit, and did a certain amount of teaching in the school on a small salary. On the break up of the *Jugantar*, Mukhada appears to have joined Kartick Dutt, and to have helped both in giving advice and shelter, and in obtaining arms and disposing of stolen property. It has already been shown what share Mukhada had in getting ride of part of the spoil in the Bajitpur case, and it was probably due to a quarrel over the division of that spoil that Mukhada actually took part in the Bighati dakaity. We know from certain

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letters which were found with Mukhada that his wife was constantly pressing him for ornaments and money, and as he distrusted Keshab Dey's fair division of the spoil, he went personally so as to be on the spot when the loot was divided. After the dakaity Mukhada left Calcutta for Bally, and from thence to Benares, where he was arrested with Suresh Mittra. Mukhada was sent up for trial in the Bighati case, but acquitted, as the Judges were uncertain if he was actually present at the dakaity, though their remarks showed that they were of opinion that he was cognisant of the actions of the dakaits. On his acquittal, Mukhada was charged under section 216A, Indian Penal Code, for harbouring Suresh Mittra and Panna Lal Chatarji, two of the accused dakaits, but has again cheated justice, having been unanimously acquitted by a Howrah jury.

It now remains to give brief history of those member of the gang of whom we have certain information.

1. **Kartick Chandra Dutt, of Santipur :—**

Kartick Dutta, after serving for some time in the Postal Department, threw up his post and decided to give up his life duty for the " Mother". It was Baren Ghosh who first brought him into the ranks of the revolutionary party. From the very first Kartick was an active member, and was always employed in any enterprise which was considered dangerous or hazardous. He worked with the rest of the revolutionary party in Calcutta, and used to go out in the mufussil on missionary work, visiting, Midnapur, Khulna, Jessor, and other districts. In 1906 he took a prominent part in the Sivaji celebrations which were held in Calcutta under the aegis of the Maharatta leaders Balgangadhar Tilak and G. S. Khaparde. In the latter part of the year he was sent up for trial in what is known as the Santipur Missionary Assault case and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. There can be no doubt but that Kartick was the leader and organiser of a band of Santipur young men, who attacked some missionaries at Santipur, and gave them a bad beating, and that he had at his back a following of Santipur young men, which in after years proved a fruitful field for recruiting for his dakaity bands. Kartick was not idle in Hazaribagh jail, for he converted one of the warders to his ideas, and got him to enrol himself as a subscriber to the *Jugantar*. On his release from jail Kartick joined the *Jugantar* mess, and did his share in organising the ranks of the revolutionists. He took a particular interest in the dakaity branch of the party, and made one of his first efforts on a tram in Shampukur, which was carrying a large sum of

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money, the day's takings in the Shampukur Section. The attempt was nearly successful, but, failed at the last moment, owing to the irresolution of his companions. It is not necessary here to again go through the history of the work in which Kartick was employed. It will suffice to note that from his letters it is amply evident that he was busy collecting arms and planning dakaities. Part of the position to which Kartick attained as leader of the dakaity bands is due to the influence of Brahmanbandhab Upadhaya, who after Kartick's release from jail, organised a welcome for him at Calcutta, at which with Mukhada Pandit as priest, and Brahmabandhab himself as President, all the adherents of the *Sandhya* were made to swear allegiance to Kartick, and to bind themselves to protect him with their lives. Kartick Dutt was convicted and sentenced in March 1909 to six years, rigorous imprisonment for his participation in the Bighati dakaity case.

2. **Nikeleswar Ray Moulik of Dhamari, Dacca :—**

Nikel, who was a clerk in Messrs. Jardin, and Skinner's jute firm at Chandpur, first came into prominence by orgainsing a Sivaji demonstration in Chandpur. At the instance of his relation, Abinash Chakrabartti, the Munsiff he came to Calcutta became one of the leading organiser of the *Chatra Bhandar*. He was throughout his connection with the conspiracy, the business head of the various newspaper and trading ventures of the revolutionary party. His connection with the *Jugantar* led to his arrest, and he was sent up in the Alipore bomb case but acquitted, as the Judge did not think there was sufficient evidence to show guilty knowledge of the overt acts of the conspirators. Nikel's fondness of money often caused him to quarrel with the other conspirators, who thought that he was inclined to use their funds more for pushing his own interests than theirs. It is believed that Nikel was the source from which the revolutionists obtained their supplies, of dynamite, and that he obtained them through a relation of his, Sailendra Goswami of Dacca, who was a contractor in the Dibrugarh coal mines. Nikeleswar is now living at his home in Dhamrai.

3. **Jagjiban Ray Moulik, of Dhamrai, Dacca, brother of No.2 :—**

This man used to live with his brother and help him in his enterprises. He was arrested by the Eastern Bengal and Assam police on his suspicion of being concerned in the Barrah dacoity case, but was released, as no evidence beyond that already mentioned was shown to connect him with the dakaity.

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4. **Keshab Chandra Dey** *alias* **Chakrabartti** *alias* **Bepin Behari Modak :—**

Is said to be a resident of Barakar, Burdwan, and to have lived many years in Calcutta. It is reported that his father was a lac-merchant, and that his mother belonged to one of the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur. Keshab, who had been dismissed by the Tramway Company for being one of the conductors who went on strike, first came into prominence at the time of the strikes on the East Indian Railway, when he was convicted and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment under section 326, Indian Penal Code, for throwing vitriol at a Bengali booking clerk at Howrah, who refused to go out on strike. Keshab was at this time a hanger on at the *Sandhya* office, and well known to the revolutionary party. On his release from jail, he joined Kartick Dutt, and as he has been shown, was a prominent member of the organisation. He has been absconding since the Bighati case, and is believed to be at the bottom of those political dakaity cases which have taken place since that time. Keshab is reported to be absolutely fearless and to be a most desperate character; while in jail he purposely had two of his fingers cut off by a machine in order to avoid work, a proof of a certain amount of misapplied resolution. Until this man is arrested, it will be unsafe to say that this gang has been completely broken up. Great difficulty has been experienced in making enquiries about him, as very little is known of his previous history and of his relatives and friends.

5. **Rukhini Mohan Ray** *alias* **Ramani Ranjan Ray :—**

Very little is known about this man, who has not yet been traced by the police. He took a prominent part in the work of the *Jugantar* and Kartick's band. He is said to have resided with Ananda Ray, who is his relation, at 202, Cornwallis Street, and to be a resident of some places in Chittagong district. Traces of him were found in Chandapathar in Bankura, a secret retreat of the anarchist party. A separate note regarding this place is attached as an appendix, but though certain books belonging to him were found there, no trace of his home address or present whereabouts could be found.

6. **Gyanendra Maitra :—**

Another member who was engaged on the work of publishing the *Jugantar*, and who has not yet been traced. Enquiries are still being made about him the information available being that he used to work as a clerk in the same firm as Nikeleswar Ray, and that he is either a resident of Noapara, Jessore, or comes from Mymensingh.

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7. Panna Lal Chakrabartti of Harinavi, 24-Praganas :—

This young man, who had previously been connected with the Harinavi *Anushilan Samiti*, was recruited by Kartick Dutt, at the time of the *Ardhodaya Jog* festival in February 1908—a festival at which the volunteers were allowed to do exactly what they liked, and which became the foundation day of innumerable societies. Panna Lal Chakrabartti was sent up in the Bighati case and sentenced to $3^1/_2$ years' rigorous imprisonment.

8. Srish Chakrabartti, cousin of No. 7, and also a resident of Harinavi, 24-Praganas :—

He has been a member of the society for some time and took an active part in obtaining arms and in spreading the circulation of the *Jugantar* leaflets. He is believed to have some theoretical knowledge of bomb-making. He is at present wandering about in Calcutta, and is under police surveillance.

9. Ramesh Sil *alias* Ramendra Nath Paramanik of Bagra, police station Srinagar District Dacca :—

Another adherent recruited by Kartick Dutta at the time of the *Ardhodaya Jog* festival. He was eventually traced to his home in Dacca, his house was searched, and a certain amount of correspondence was recovered showing his connection with various members of the band. He is now under observation by the local police.

10. Panna Lal Chatarji of Panihati, 24-Praganas and 155, Chitpur Road, Calcutta :—

This man was for some time a hanger on at the *Jugantar*, and made himself conspicuous by assaulting the police at the time of the *Pratapaditya* festival. He was fined Rs. 40 and bound down for six months. The fine was paid for him by Kartick Dutt. Panna Lal was arrested at Baira in Dacca, where he had been sent by Mukhada Pandit after the Bighati dakaity. He made a full confession, and was made an approver in the case, and discharged. His present whereabout are known to the police.

11. Kiran Chandra Mukharji of Bhagilhat, police station Abhaynagar, district Jessore :—

Originally educated at the Braja Mohan Institution, Barisal, he failed at the B.A. Examination, and lived with his brother at Calcutta. He first of all joined the *Yubak Mandali* and then became a writer in the *Jugantar*. He was one of the principal writers of the seditious leaflets, and also published a grossly seditious book called *Pantha*. After the

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arrest of Kartick Dutta, he fled from Calcutta, but was eventually arrested at Bogra on suspicion of being concerned in the Bighati case, Further enquiries showed that he was not an actual participant in the dakaity case but he was prosecuted as the author of *Pantha* and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment in November 1908.

12. **Dhirendra Nath Ghosh of Polva, Hughli, and 18 Balaram Dey's Street Calcutta :—**

Was arrested with Kartick Dutt at Telinipara after the Bighati dakaity. Enquiry into the case showed that he did not actually take part in the Bighati dakaity, as he happened to be unwell at the time. He was, however sent for trial, under section 412, Indian Penal Code, at Mymensingh, as one of the notes stolen in the Bajitpur dakaity case was traced to him. He was sentenced to 18 months in April 1909.

13. **Abani Ray, Brahman :—**

Said to be a resident of a village near Noapara in Jessore, and to have lived at the mess near the *Banik* Press in Calcutta. This member has not yet been traced by the police, but enquiries are still being made, as the above information has only recently been obtained. It is said that this man had for some time been an active member of the band.

14. **Satish Chandra Mukharji, a mukhtear of Bhawanipur, Calcutta :—**

The information about this man is very vague. It is said that he used to help the conspirators when they resided at Chetla, Alipore. A man of this name has been traced, but we have not yet obtained information showing his direct connection with the party.

15. **Probash Deb *alias* Manick Lal Dey, of 52, Machuabazar Street, Calcutta :—**

This man, who has been known for some time as a violent speaker and follower of the *Jugantar* party, was sent up in the Alipore case, but acquitted for want of sufficient evidence to connect him directly with the conspiracy. It seems that while a member of the main gang, Prabash had a small following of his own, some of whom were Sylhet, men, who were introduced to him by the Sen brothers, with whom he was on very friendly terms. He is now living in Calcutta and is known to the local police.

16. **Jitendra Nath Ray of Fatehjangpur, Faridpur and 77/2, Muktaram Babu's Street, Calcutta :—**

A short note on this man has been given in the account of the *Jubak Mandali —Sarathi* gang, with whom he is in constant touch. He was

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recently arrested on suspicion of being connected with the murder of Priya Mohan Chatarji at Fatehjangpur, but was discharged, as no direct evidence would be obtained against him. He is at present under police observation.

17. **Bhujangadhar Ghosh of Pandua, Burdwan, and 279/1, Upper Circular Road :—**

This man has been from the earliest times a members of the main revolutionary conspiracy. He was a member of Sarala Devi's academy, and was one of the three men who went through Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1904 recruiting men for the Ambulance Corps which was to help the Japanese in their war with Russia. He was in constant touch with *Jugantar* from 1907, and took and active part in missionary work in the districts. He appears to have been consulted prior to the Bighati case, and to have concealed himself after the commission of the offence. He is at present working in Calcutta and his movements are known to the police.

18. **Birendra Nath Mullik of Kalna, Burdwan :—**

This man was connected with Kartick Dutt's Santipur party and left his home to join Kartick at the *Jugantar.* He was sent up for trial in the Barrah dakaity case, but acquitted. He is at present residing at Bolpur in Birbhum, where the local police are keeping him under observation.

19. **Labanga Kanta Sircar *alias* Labangalata, of Panchasar, police station Munshiganj, Dacca, and 34, Bhuban Banarji's Lane, Calcutta :—**

A friend of Ramesh Sil, and like him recruited by Kartick Dutt at the time of the *Ardhodya Jog.* He is at present in Calcutta, and is in touch with the *Jubak Mandai — Sarathi* gang. His movements are being watched by the police.

20. **Lal Bahari Sen *alias* Jogen Sen, of Boila, police station Gournadi, district Bakaraganj, and 39, Harrison Road, Calcutta :—**

This man first came into prominence by charging Mr. Faulkner, Assistant Superintended of Police, Bakarganj, with assault, and obtaining Rs. 5 as damage. This deed appears to have fitted him for the post of "honorary" printer of the *Sandhya.* He was prosecuted in Calcutta for giving a false name when signing the printer's declaration, but was discharged with a warning. His present whereabouts are not accurately known.

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21. **Basanta Kumar Sen Gupta of Kumarpur, Faridpur, and 47, Harish Chatarji's Lane, Kalighat, Calcutta :—**

Basanta was in touch with the party when they were at Chetla, and is believed to have had a certain number of Kalighat youths under him. He has never been satisfactorily traced, though recently it is said that he has returned to Calcutta, whence he fled after the Bighati dakaity. Enquiries are still being made about him.

22. **Priya Sankar Ray :—**

Believed it be a resident of Teota, district Dacca. Very little is known about this man. It is believed that he is the son of a servant of the Ray family of Teota, who named him after one of the principal members of that family. It is also thought that he may be an illegitimate son of some member of the family. There is also some reason to believe that he is the same person as Sudhangsu Jiban Ray, who was instrumental in introducing the revolvers into the Alipore Jail, prior to the murder of Narendra Nath Gossain. Enquiries are still being made about him.

23. **Rajni Kant Sen of Habiganj, Sylhet :—**

Formerly a student of the National College and the *Jugantar* mess. He was a disciple of Mukhada Pandit, and it was to him that Mukhada first sent Suresh Mitra for concealment after the dakaity case. Rajani Sen's house was searched and certain papers connected with the *Jugantar* found. It is also believed that some of the loot in the Bighati case was sent to him for disposal. The local police are aware of his movements.

24. **Gagan Charan Dutt, of Habiganj, Sylhet :—**

A friend of Rajani Sen and follower of Mukhada. He is at present employed as a teacher in the Habiganj National School, and is known to the local police.

25. **Manmohan Barman of Bajitpur, Mymensingh, and 68/1, Bechu Chatarji's Street, Calcutta :—**

Another man recruited by Kartick Dutt at the time of the *Aradhodaya Jog*. Manmohan took part in the Bajitpur dakaity and absconded immediately afterwards. He is believed to have stayed at Kana for some time with Birendra Mullick; he has recently been arrested, and case against him will shortly come up before the Special Tribunal.

26. **Har Prasad Bhattacharji of Mazilpur, 24-Praganas :—**

A private pupil of Mukhada Pandit, with whom he used to live in Calcutta. His house was searched in connection with the Bighati case,

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but nothing beyond some letters showing his connection with Mukhada was found. There is some reason to suspect him in connection with the recent Netra dakaity case. The local police are in touch with him.

27. **Debendra Nath Dey of Santipur :—**
A former member of Kartick Dutt's Santipur band. He was convicted along with Kartick in the missionary assault case, but acquitted on appeal. He is at present said to be in the Hooghly College. Enquiries are being made regarding his present whereabouts.

28. **Prabhat Ganguli of 155, Upper Chitpur Road :—**
This, man was a constant frequenter at the *Jugantar* office, and joined Kartick Dutt's band in February 1908, probably at the time of the *Ardhodaya Jog.* His house was searched in connection with the Bighati case, but according to the officers who made the search, there was nothing worth examining. He is known to the Calcutta police.

29. **Suresh Chander Muzmudar, of Mymensingh and Kalna, Burdwan district, where his brother is a civil Hospital Assistant :—**
It is believed that this member first joined Kartick Dutt's Santipur band. He was arrested with Kartick Dutt at Telinipara, and sent up in the Bighati case and sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment.

30. **Ram Charan Lal Sarma of Etah, United Provinces :—**
This man was found in the *Jugantar* office at the time of the arrest of Nikeleswr Ray. It is believed that he joined the *Jugantar* with a view to publishing a Hindi copy of the paper. A very interesting note-book belonging to this man was found at the time of the search. Ram Charan was eventually prosecuted for preaching sedition in the United Provinces and, on conviction, sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment.

31. **Kunja of Midnapur ;—**
No definite information regarding this man has yet been obtained, though we have certain knowledge that such a man was a member of the party, and that he used to put up with Abani Ray at the mess near the *Banik* Press. He is said to be a Kayastha, and perhaps to bear the name of Maiti, but no enquiry has yet been made at Midnapur to discover if there is any such person.

32. **Basanta Kumar Bhattacharji *alias* Paresh Bagchi *alias* Salish Bagchi of Dhandara, police station Srinagar, district Dacca :—**
Another of Kartick Dutt's *Ardhodaya Jog* recruits. Basanta had been for some time an active volunteer in Jalpaiguri and attended the

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Pabna Conference with Kartick Dutt. He is related the pleader Durga Charan Sanyal, who was convicted in the assault case which occurred in the E.B.S. Railway. Great difficulty was experienced in discovering who this man was, as he persisted in giving his name as Sailesh Bagchi when arrested at Telinipara with Kartick Dutt. He was sent up for trial in the Bighati case, but acquitted on the ground that there was some doubt about his identity. He was afterwards sent up for trial at Mymensingh, as one of the notes stolen in the Bajitpur dakaity was traced back to him. He was convicted and sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment in March 1909.

33. **Birendra Ray of Kushtea :—**

This man had for some time been a prominent person at Kushtia in revolutionary circles, and was sent up for trial, but acquitted in the Kushtia shooting case.

34. **Suresh Mitter of Hatipara, Dacca :—**

A follower of Mukhada Pandit, whom he used to help in editing the *Sandhya*. After the Bighati dakaity, he fled to Habiganj, Sylhet, and from there joined the Pandit at Benares. He was sent up in the Bighati case, and, on conviction, sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment.

35. **Jogesh Ray of Santipur :—**

One of Kartick's Santipur supporters. Jogesh's house was searched, and some papers showing his interest in politics were found. He himself has not yet been traced, as he fled from Santipur and has completely disappeared since the opening of the Bighati case. It is known that he was once employed in Mayourbhanj, but up to the present we have no clue to his whereabouts.

36. **Lalit Mohan Ganguli *alias* Haripada Mukharji *alias* Kumarananda Swami of Ahalpash, police station Kalna, district Burdwan :—**

Another Kalna man, who, it is believed, got in touch with the band through Santipur. Lalit was arrested, disguised as a *sadhu* at Uttarpara and made a statement before the Subdivisional Officer, Serampur, admitting his share in what, was known as the Hatigarh case, in which he threatened a missionary lady with a revolver, and in the murder of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banarji. He was prosecuted in the Hatigarh case and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment this year. As regards the murder of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banarji, the case appeared to be too weak to put into court. Lalit was in touch with what is known as the *Jubak Mandali* — *Sarathi* gang, and used to recruit men from their ranks.

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37. **Bistu Charan Ghosh, of Masjid Bari Street, Calcutta :—**

Worked as a compositor in the *Jugantar* Press, 68, Manicktola Street. His house was searched, and certain papers showing his connection with the *Sumati* Press were found. He is known to the Calcutta police.

38. **Bhupati Mukharji of Garh Bhowanipur, Santipur, and Goralgachi, police station Haripal, Hooghly :—**

This man was a contributor to the *Jugantar*, and was employed by the band to pick out suitable places for dakaity. He was arrested on suspicion after the Bighati dakaity, and made a statement containing a certain amount of information regarding the gang. He, however, was not called as a witness in the case proper, as there was every reason to believe he would be hostile. He is now said to have left Goralgachi, where he was a pandit in the school, and to have returned to Santipur.

39. **Jogen Thakur of 126-3-1, Manicktola Street, Calcutta :—**

A short note on this man will be found in the account of the *Jubak Mandali — Sarathi* gang.

40. **Birendra Nath Banarji, of Kalna, Burdwan :—**

Was an "honorary" printer of the *Jugantar*. He is now undergoing three years' rigorous imprisonment under section 124A for publishing one of the numerous seditious issues of the *Jugantar*.

41. **Amaresh Kanjilal of Jessore and 49, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta :—**

This man, who was a teacher in the Jessore National School, was in constant communication with the gang, and used often to visit the *Jugantar*. He is said to be a very dangerous character, and to have a following of his own in Jessore. When in Calcutta, he often puts up at the Kankargachi *math*, or at the *Anushilan Samiti*, it was at the latter place he was last found in the search in June.

42. **Atul Bhattacharji :—**

Address not known, but is said to be a co-villager of Gyanendra Maitra. He worked as an assistant in the *Jugantar* office, and his name transpires in the accounts of 68, Manicktola, and 28, Shampukur. It is further said that he applied to be a declared printer of the *Jugantar*, but was refused by Mr. Kingsford, as he was too young. Efforts are being made to trace him, and it is hoped that his address may be obtained from the records in the Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court.

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43. **Radhapada Mazumdar, of Hazari Mull's Tank Lane :—**

An Eastern Bengal and Assam man, who has not yet been traced. He was one of the men convicted of assaulting the police at the *Pratapaditya* festival, and whose fines were paid by Kartick Dutt.

44. **Bhupati Mukharji of Burdwan :—**

A young man, who is said to have joined Kartick Dutt's shooting parties in Burdwan. He has not yet been traced.

45. **Probodh Nath Banarji or Chatarji of Shampukur, Calcutta :—**

Merely the name is known. No further information is known about him.

46. **Dasarathi, Brahman, perhaps Ray :—**

Very little is known about this man, but it may possibly be that he is identical with Dasarathi Chakrabatti of Khurchi, police station Singti, district Howrah, who was sent up, but acquitted in the Moorobal dakaity case. He is now being prosecuted under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code, and we have information showing that he was known to Keshab Dey. It has also been reported that a man named Dasu was concerned in the murder of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banarji, being employed in watching his movements. After the conclusion of the bad livelihood proceedings, further enquiries will be made on these points, and also if Dasarathi was one of the Howrah men Keshab Dey took to the Bighati dakaity.

47. **Amulya Ratan Chakrabatti of Mymensingh and 123/2, Amherst Street, Calcutta :—**

The address of this man has been verified, but though the mess is a very suspicious one and frequented by Eastern Bengal and Assam suspects, there is at present nothing to show any activity on the part of Amulya. He is known to the Calcutta police and the mess is being watched.

48. **Phanindra Nath Mitter, of Panihati police station, district 24-Parganas:—**

This man was at first the printer of the *Motherland*, a scurrilous paper edited by Dr. J. N. Mitter of Patna. In 1907 some members of the Manicktola Garden visited Patna, and on their return to Calcutta induced Phanindra to join the *Jugantar* as printer. In May 1908, Phanindra was convicted under section 124A for publishing seditious articles, and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000, and again in July was sentenced to a further term of three years' rigorous

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imprisonment for publishing further seditious articles while out on bail in the former case.

49. **Bibhuti Bhusan Ray of Baniapara, Mymensingh, and 279/2, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta:—**

Bibhuti was short time the declared printer of the Jugantar, but gave up the post to Phanindra Nath Mitter, while printer, *Bartaman Rananiti*, the Revolution Manual on warfare, was printed under his superscription. He was last seen in April this year in Calcutta by the police, and a report has also been received that he has been in a very prosperous state shortly after the Netra dakaity was committed.

The above are all those of whom we have any definite knowledge, and who may be said to have been members of Kartick's band. There are no doubt several other members about whom we know nothing at present, and of course there are a great number of *Jugantar* followers, whose association with the *Jugantar* preceded the era of Kartick's domination, and who will be mentioned in reports dealing with the conspiracy prior to the arrests on May 1st 1908.

The 15th August 1909 G. C. DENHAM
Special Assistant.

Chendapathar — The first mention we have of this place is in Statement I, in which it is stated that Abinash Chandra Chakrabatti had a farm some where near Gidni in Midnapore. This is undoubtedly a reference to Chendapathar, which is in the Raipur police station of Bankura, Bordering Midnapore. Whilst making inquiries in the Bighati case, efforts were made to trace Rukhini Mohan Ray. Inspector P. C. Lahiri remembered once having taken possession of a slip of paper in the *Jugantar* office, which bore the words Ramani Mohan Ray, Chendapathar, post office Fulkusma. Sub-Inspector N. N. Bhattacharji was sent to search the house at Chendapathar, in which Ramani was supposed to be stopping. On arriving at the place, which is in the midst of thick jungle and many Ymiles from the railway line, he discovered that Chendapathar was a Santhal village having only one *pucca* house, that being the kutcherry house of the zamindar Digambar Madan of Contai. It will be remembered that Noren Gossain, in his confession mentioned Digambar Madan as one of the financial supporters of the movement; he is also mentioned in Statement IVA. It was ascertained that some Bengali youths wearing *pugris* and carrying *lathis* had stopped in the house, and among them was a Ramani Mohan Ray, and another man who had two fingers missing. The house was searched. None of the youths, some of whom had been seen in *Kartick* 1315, were found, but

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certain papers were taken possession of. Amongst the papers; was a notebook of Sisir Kumar Ghosh of Sagardari, accused in the Alipore bomb case, a book with name Rukhini Mohan Ray, *Chattra Bhandar*, on it and a social revolutionary work entitled "Social General Strike", it bears the legend "*Anushilan Samiti*." Read the book, take the principles."

Among the papers found with the Sens at Sylhet, and now marked as Exhibit $^{541}/_{\text{Letter 8}}$ in the Alipore bomb case is a letter from one Jitendra Dey, a man who was on very intimate terms with the Sens, and very probably a member of the conspiracy, addressed from Chendapathar, post office Fulkusma, to Biren Sen. The writer says he has been at the place nearly a week and asks about his friend Rukmini Babu. He further asks Jitendra to address letters in the name of Jitendra Mohan Ray. The place is also mentioned in Statement IVA and again in the statement of the Midnapur second informer. The latter on his return from Pabna states that he learnt from his friends there that there was a cave in the hills near Chendarpatta, where the people, who frequented the place, used to conceal things.

From the above facts there can be little doubt but that that Chendapathar was a well-known retreat, where Keshab may probably be now, and where it is very necessary to make a more complete search and enquiry than was made in the first instance.

The 30th July 1909. G. C. DENHAM.

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Report on Samitis in the Dacca Division, Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1908

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PART I

Samitis in the Dacca District

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No. 30. Demi-official No. 709, dated the 10th December 1908, from Magistrate, Mymensingh District, reporting on the following *Samitis* :—

I. *Sadhana Samaj*
II. *Sakti Samiti*
III. Students' Association
IV. *Anusilan alias* Bharat *Samiti*
V. *Akhara* at the house of Dr. Bipin Behari Sen
VI. Mymensingh Association
VII. Mymensingh National School

No. 30A. Demi-official No. 936, dated the 28th January 1909. from Magistrate, Mymensingh

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No. 32. Note on the *Brati Samiti*, Faridpur, by the Commissioner, Dacca Division, dated the 14th December 1908

No. 33. Demi-official No. 122S., dated the 3rd December 1908, from Magistrate, Faridpur, reporting on the following *Samitis* :—

I. *Brati Samiti,* Faridpur
II. *Sakti Samiti,* Alipur
III. " " Rajbari
IV. *Brati Samiti,* Rajbari
V. *Anushilan Samiti,* Palong
VI. " " Rudrakar
VII. " " Fatehjangpur
VIII. " " Chikandi
IX. " " Idilpur, Gosairhat
X. " " Kartikpur
XI. " " Bajitpur
XII. " " Olpur
XIII. Pasora Ramkrishna Paramo Hangsha (Kotwali)
XIV. Maharajpur Hari Saba, Muksudpur
XV. Kalamridha *Swadesh Sebak Samiti*, Bhanga
XVI. *Danuka Shaha Samiti*, Palong
XVII. *Swadesh Sanmilani*, Nakarkanda
XVIII. *Jubak Samiti,* Silchar
XIX. *Fukra Samiti,* Kasiani
XX. *Swadeshi Sechha Sebak Samiti*, Katalipara
XXI. District Association
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XXIII. *Jubak Samiti,* Faridpur
XXIV. *Khalia Hitaishi Samiti,* Madaripur

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No. 12A. List of *samitis* in Dacca district

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No. 1.

Dated Dacca, the 21st October 1907

From—B. C. Allen, Esq., I.C.S., Magistrate and Collector, Dacca,
To—The Commissioner of the Dacca Division, Dacca.

I have the honour to enclose a report (No. 2) submitted by the police on the *Anushilan Samiti*, an institution which has for its object the physical training of Bengali youths and the general diffusion of *swadeshi* principles.

2. For a long time it has been known that the boys of the *Anushilan Samiti* practised drill and *lathi*-play, and it was rumoured that they carried daggers and sword-sticks. On the 4th September attention was invited to the *Samiti* by the daring conduct of some of its members on the evening of the second *Janmastami* procession. Two men were stabbed, one fatally, by a band of young men, who suddenly fell upon their victims outside the Shaheen Medical Hall, and another man was stabbed in the back while walking through the Victoria Square. In the first case eight accused were named, of whom three have been arrested and five are absconding. There are good grounds for supposing that some, at any rate, of the persons named were the murderers, but as the Hindus have combined to give no evidence, the investigation of the case has been attended with much difficulty. In the second case the accused was convicted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 8 months.

3. When two of the accused were arrested some papers were found in their possession, which I have had translated. The persons referred to were :—

   (i) Jotirmoy Ray (*alias* Bhenga) sentenced to 8 months' rigorous imprisonment in the second case, and

   (ii) Promode Nath Ghosh, one of the accused in the first or fatal case.

Bhenga is the leader and *Promode*, a member of the Lakhi Bazar branch of the *Anushilan Samiti*. No. 3 is a translation of the *Anushilan* regulations and drill-book. The book was written in a clear hand and was illustrated with neat drawings of daggers, *kukris,* swords, etc. The drill-book was found in the lodgings of the accused Bhenga, as well as another book containing instructions only for sword and dagger drill, omitting the *raibash* and the *lathi*. From the list of the Secretary's duties it is clear that the *Samiti* is largely recruited from the student class, the age limit for admission being as low as 12 years. As lethal weapons are to be provided for it is the duty of the Secretary to make arrangements

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for big *lathis*, small *lathis, gulais,* and daggers. The society is organised on business lines and supervisors are to be appointed, who will inspect the different branch *samitis*. Much stress is laid on the necessity of courage and the book contains the following rather significant remarks:— " Though intelligence is required above all, yet without courage and other qualities it is fruitless, like a head without hands and feet, like learning confined to books, or *like the money of Governments promissory notes, which are in the hands of Government and will be of no avail in emergency.* " The rest of the book describes the drill to be done with the various weapons. There is a glossary explaining a number of curious technical terms. I have asked two Bengali gentlemen, but they are unable to say in what language these terms are. One of them suggested that they might be Japanese. The most noteworthy feature about these instructions is their somewhat tedious detail, and the blood-thirsty character of some of the strokes. The drill to be practised is described in paper No. 5.

4. The other papers are of a miscellaneous character, but are interesting as throwing side—lights on the student mind. Paper D (page 32) contains two letters about the Nangalbund fair. One Surendra states that he is the Captain of 200 volunteers, whom he proposes to lead to Nangalbund, and a nameless correspondent laments the fact that at the place the volunteers were not allowed to "teach the police a lesson." He blames their leader for this, but most unjustly, for when the volunteers charged down to attack the police they ran away again with astonishing rapidity. Paper E (page 32) is rather a pathetic little letter addressed to Promode Nath Ghosh, who has been arrested on the charge of murder by his sister. It shows the poverty of the *bhadralok* community, who have to consider even the cost of a postage stamp, and indicates the extent to which the *swadeshi* idea has spread, even amongst the women. Paper F (page 33) also indicates the extent to which the *swadeshi* idea has taken hold. Paper G (page 33) addressed to Bhenga, who is now in jail for stabbing a Hindu in the back, shows how inspection work is carried on. Paper H (page 34) throws some light on the position of the man Pulin Behari Das and his connection with the Gauripur estate. Paper No. 4 (page 6) is the oath of allegiance. It will be observed that the moral tone of the oath is distinctly high, and if the members practised the principles therein inculcated, it would be difficult to take exception to the Institution.

5. As usual, however, there is considerable difference between theory and practice, and the organisation is clearly an unwholesome one.

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There is no object in the *bhadraloks* of Bengal acquiring proficiency in *lathi*-play, and these volunteers have again and again been the cause of breaches of the public peace. The matter has, moreover, become really serious when they take to using daggers on their enemies and put in practice the various strokes that they have learned. The question now for consideration is what is to be done with the Society. This question is not one calling for immediate solution, as the outrages committed by certain of its members have been somewhat of a shock to the soberer portion of the community, and the *Samiti* is now far from aggressive in its methods. If there is no revival, it can be left to die a lingering death, but it is not improbable that it will gain strength with the rest of the *swadeshi* agitation during the cold weather. It is not, however, easy to see what action can be taken against the Society. Morale influence is already used to discourage *lathi*-play amongst schoolboys in the interior, but with a certain section of the population, especially in Dacca, moral influence carries little weight. Still till the Society or its members do anything to bring themselves within the clutches of the law, or assume a more aggressive attitude than they do at present, there hardly seems a case for adopting special measures.

No.2.

Dated Kotwali Police Station, the 12th October 1907.

From—Maulvi Muhammad Hashim, Sub-Inspector of Police,

To—H. A. Reily, Esq., Superintendent of Police, Dacca.

In obedience to Your Honour's order, I beg to report as follows on the history of the *Anushilan Samiti* at Dacca.

1. **Date of founding of the Samiti :—**

The *Samiti* was founded about a year and a half ago by Pulin Behari Das, care of Naba Kumar Das of Lonsingh, police station Palong, district Faridpur, under the patronage of Babus Bipin Chandra Pal of Calcutta, Ananda Chandra Chakrabartti, pleader of Dacca, and some other promoters mentioned below.

2. **Principal promoters :—**

(1) Ananda Chandra Chakrabatti, pleader, of Lakshmi Bazar, Dacca.

(2) Sarada Charan Ray, doctor, Suvadya, police station Keraniganj.

(3) Trailokya Nath Mitra, pleader, of Patuatuli, Dacca.

(4) Trialokya Nath Ray, pleader, of Armanitola, Dacca.

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(5) Ananda Chandra Ray, pleader, of Armanitola, Dacca.
(6) Surjya Kanta Banarji, pleader, of Tantibazar, Dacca.
(7) Paresh Nath Ghosh, Gymnastic master, of Tantibazar, Dacca.
(8) Sarat Chandra Das, pleader, of Poramohallah, Dacca.
(9) Kamini Kumar Bandopadya, pleader, of Asoke Jamadar's Lane, Dacca.
(10) Munshi Hedayet Bux, *Swadeshi* preacher, of Armanitola, Dacca.
(11) Sarat Chandra Chakrabatti, pleader, of Nayabazar, Dacca.

3. **Number of members and classes from which they are drawn :—**

There are about 3 to 4 hundred members of the *Anushilan Samiti* at Dacca. They are sons of Hindu gentlemen and mostly students and young men. The elderly and old-fashioned men do not enlist themselves as volunteers.

4. **Relations between Anushilan and its branches, number and names of these branches, with the number of members of each :—**

The headquarters of the *Samiti* are at Wari. It has branches in many parts of the city and in the interior also. Below is given a list of so many of them as I could gather up to time :—

City

(1) *Bharatia* (hired) house of Woomesh Chandra Ghosh at Wari.
(2) Behind the Christian cemetery at Wari.
(3) House of Rajendra Nath Bose at Zenadbahar.
(4) Sarat Chandra Chakrabatti pleader's compound at Armanitola.
(5) Students' Mess at Raja's Dewry.
(6) Paresh Babu's house at Tantibazar.
(7) *Thakoor Bari* at Sakharibazar.
(8) Pogose School compound near the Bank of Bengal.
(9) Seminary School at Dalbazar.
(10) National School at Wari.
(11) Swami's *Akhara* at Dayagank.
(12) Raja Babu's compound at Lakhibazar.
(13) Sarat Das pleader's house at Poramohallah.
(14) In the compound south of Khajeh Golampeer's house at Mahuttuli.
(15) Mr. Lazarus' compound at Imamganj.

Moffussil

(1) Bajrajogini, Ghosepara, police station Munshiganj.
(2) Joydebpur, police station Keraniganj.

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(3) Dhamrai, police station Savar.
(4) Babar, police station Rajabari.
(5) Amlapara, police station Narayanganj.
(6) Bandar, police station Narayanganj.
(7) Raipura, police station Raipura.

The above-mentioned branch Samitis are related to the head Samiti at Dacca as affiliated institutions and are subject to the rules and regulations of the latter (*vide* printed copies already submitted). I have not yet been able to ascertain the numbers of the members of each.

5. **Relation of the Samiti with other Samitis in the interior or in other districts :—**

Its relation with other *Samitis* could not be ascertained as yet; but I suppose it has connection with the *Surhid Samiti* of Mymensingh, which is an institution of the same kind. The *Surhid Samiti* has a branch at Madanganj, Narayanganj.

6. **Objects and actual performances of the Samiti, who instruct the boys in the use of lathis, daggers, etc. :—**

Objects :—(1) Physical culture, (2) self-help and self-defence, (3) boycott, (4) promulgation of *swadeshi* principals, (5) independence (perhaps in the long run).

Performances

Drill— Up to squad drill.

Arms— (a) *Lathis* (small and big).
(b) Daggers and knives.
(c) Bamboo spears.
(d) Swords (real and wooden).
(e) *Gulailbash* (a kind of native cross-bow for throwing clay bullet dried in the sun).

Instructors

1. Pulin Behari Das, of Wari, Dacca, Head Instructor.
2. Surendra Ch. Nag, of Wari, Dacca.
3. Upendra Ch. Nag, of Wari, Dacca.
4. Kshitish Ch. Mukharji, care of Satish Ch. Mukharji of Tantibazar, Dacca.
5. Kshitish Ch. Bhattacharji, care of Tarini Charan Siromoni of Jantrail, police station Nawabganj, at present of Dacca city.
6. Bhupendra Ch. Nag, care of late Banu Shambhu Ch. Nag, of Baradi, police station Narayanganj, at preset of Wari.

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7. Jotirmoy Ray *alias* Benga, care of mahim Ch. Ray, of Lakshmibazar, Dacca.
8. Hiranya Kumar Gupta, care of Doctor Har Kumar Gupta, of Lakshmibazar, Dacca.
9. Ramakanta Dutta, care of Janaki Nath Dutta, mukhtear, Nayabazar.
10. Surendra Mazumdar *alias* Bocha, care of Doctor Dinabandhur Majumdar, of Wari.
11. Jogesh Ch. Routh, care of Rasik Ch. Routh of Zindabahar.
12. Birendra K. Bose, son of Rajani Kanta Bose, of Mirat's lane.

7. *Details of all cases in which the Samiti boys behaved badly. Details of cases in which they have held sham fights, etc :—*

Incidents

(1) At the last Nangalbund fair some *Samiti* boys picked up a quarrel with some police constables; but owing to the timely intervene of the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, no serious consequences followed.

(2) During the last *Jhulan* festival at Dacca some *Samiti* boys assaulted one Rahamatullah of Lakshmibazar near Jorepool out of some previous grudge.

(3) Some 3 or 4 months ago Jotirmoy Ray *alias* Benga of Lakshmibazar, Captain of Lakshmibazar branch of the *Samiti*, assaulted one Hem Chandra Gope of the same place for having protested against his and his companions striking in the tinned roof of his house with their *lathis*.

(4) In December last some *Samiti* boys while returning from a lecture on the Dacca *Samiti* ground at Patuatuli, rapped on the windows of Mr. Kapp's (photographer) house and shouted "*Bande Mataram*" ve it to the great inconvenience of a patient lying sick insic

Cases

(1) At the last Dhamrai *Rath* (in July last) some *Samiti* boys assaulted two constables of the Dacca lines, *viz.*, Chattar Singh and Mahendra Singh, and cases Nos. 11 and 12 of July, Section 147, Savar police station, were instituted against them. Below is given a list of the persons sent up and convicted and absconders against whom warrants have been prayed for :—

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Convicted

1.	Jogesh Mazumdar.	Fined Rs. 150 each.
2.	Kiran Bikash.	
3.	Ashutosh Chakrabatti.	
4.	Dinesh Mukharji.	
5.	Kedar Sarma.	
6.	Sashi Chakrabatti.	
7.	Jogesh *alias* Ronokali.	
8.	Mohini Mohan.	

Absconders

1. Kailash Sarkar.
2. Fatick Chakrabatti.
3. Sarva Mohan.
4. Joga Jiban.
5. Sarada Ranjan.
6. Motilal.

(2) On the last day of the *Janmastami* procession at Dacca, *i.e.*, on 4th September 1907, at 8 P.M., some *Samiti* boys assaulted one Sashi Kanta Dey of Sutrapur at a *pan* shop at Patuatuli and wounded him on the belly with a double-edged sharp cutting weapon (probably a dagger or a *gupti*), which ultimately resulted in his death at the Mitford Hospital, whither the police had removed him. Case No. 10 of September, Sections 147, 302, Indian Penal Code, of Kotwali police station, was instituted and the investigation is still proceeding. The names of the following offenders have transpired in the course of the investigation :—

1. Khagendra Kishore Ghose, care of Durga Gati Ghosh, of Kaitpara, police station Srinagar, at present Farasganj, Dacca.
2. Jogesh Ch. Routh, care of Rasik Ch. Routh, of Malancha, police station Keraniganj, at present of Zindabahar of Dacca.
3. Birendra Kumar Bose, care of Rajani Kanta Bose, of Mirat's Lane, Dacca.
4. Nripendra Chakrabatti, care of Shashi Kumar Chakravatti, pleader, of Digbazar, Dacca.
5. Surendra Majumdar *alias* Bocha, care of Doctor Dinabandhu Majumdar, of Wari, Dacca.
6. Taraprasana Ray, care of Kaliprasanna Ray (Professor of Jagannath College) of Wari, Dacca.

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7. Ramakanta Dutta, care of Janaki Nath Dutta, mukhtear, of Nayabazar, Dacca.
8. Promoda Kumar, care of Chandra Kumar Ghosh of Bajrajogini, police station Munshiganj, at present of Loharpool, Dacca.

(3) On the same day, at about the same time, Jotirmoy *alias* Bhenga (Captain of the Lakshmibazar *Samiti*) and some other *Samiti* boys assaulted one Bhoja *alias* Khetra Mohon Gope of Lakshmibazar and wounded him on the back with a dagger or a knife while the latter was returning home after seeing the procession by the road north of the Victoria Park. Case No. 11 of September, Section 324, Indian Penal Code, of Kotwali police station, was instituted and the charge being well proved against accused Jotirmoy *alias* Bhenga, he was sent up, and on 10th October 1907, convicted and sentenced to 8 months' rigorous imprisonment. It is suspected Hiranmoy, care of Har Kumar Doctor, and Prakash Chakrabatti, care of Ananda Chandra Chakrabatti, pleader, Lakshmibazar, were also implicated in the occurrence; but no evidence was obtained against them.

Till recently the *Samiti* boys held frequent sham fights at the Swami's *akhara* at Dayaganj, but at present none is being held.

Some 5 or 6 months ago the *Samiti* boys of Dacca went to Narayanganj and attacked Lakshminarayanji's *akhara* at Deovogue, which was defended by the *Samiti* boys of Narayanganj. A reference to this will be found in one of the letters seized by the house-search of the aforesaid Jotirmoy.

About a month ago an exhibition of feats was held at the house of Pulin Das at Wari, at which prizes were awarded to the best deserving members.

8. *Any facts which throw light on the character of the Samiti and the effect it has on its members.*

The Samiti boys, as a rule, are strictly *swadeshi* and scrupulously avoid all foreign-made articles.

They are haughty and arrogant in their demeanour and seem to be abandoned to themselves. Their aims and aspirations are, I believe, not strictly loyal. All these are no doubt indicative of the character and influence of the *Anushilan Samiti* to which they are fondly devoted.

Results of further enquiry will be communicated in due course of time.

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No. 3

Anushilan Regulations and Drill-book, found in the house of Promode Nath Ghosh.

Come to-day who wants to die !

(1) The devil is anxious at night in the burning-ground to break our bones and drink the blood. But when we have the *mantras*, why should we fear the devil ? Let us not die like the coward, but die like one who is bent upon achieving his object. Come to-day he who wishes to die as such.

(2) What fear in killing the monster ? Do you fear the cry of the beasts ? The forest is wild and desolate, but who will welcome the dangers that may face ? Who will die like a hero after killing our cruel foes ? Come to-day who is ready to die.

(3) The storm rages high and swells the sea. The waves roll on and reach the sky. Who of you will venture to cross that sea ? Let the body break down and be drowned in the water. But who will yet launch his boat into the sea and prepare himself to die ?

(4) Our ancestors attained emancipation (*Nirvana*) by trampling under their feet the various sensibilities that are our so many foes. Who of you wishes to remember that you are their descendants ? Who of you will be ready to die like an Aryan for gaining the heaven by our deaths ? Come to-day who is ready to die.

(5) The damsels of the gods are holding in their hands perfumed with sandal garlands made of flowers of *Nandan* (a garden of heaven) and are looking at you, anxious to decorate you with them. Who wishes to wear those garlands ? Who wishes to attain immortality by such death ? Come who will die to-day.

No. 4

Submitted by the police previously and also found in the house of Benga.

Bande Mataram

PROMISE (*ADYA*, i.e., BEGINNING)

1. (a) I shall never leave the *Samiti*.
   (b) Wherever I may remain, I Shall always strive my utmost for the improvement of the *Samiti*.
   (c) I shall never do anything which may injure the *Samiti*.

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(d) If I see that there are some chances of injury to the *Samiti*, I shall inform that immediately to the authorities (of the *Samiti*) and strive my utmost for its remedy.

2. (a) I shall ever keep my character pure and untainted.
(b) I shall try my best to keep my body and mind strong.
(c) I shall shake off fear something very low.

3. (a) I shall not cherish any feeling of enmity towards any member of this Samiti.
(b) All the members of the Samiti will be linked together as brothers and form one.
(c) We shall protect one another from danger.
(d) We shall help each other and do good to the country, and lastly to the world as well.

4. (a) If any member of the *Samiti* cause me annoyance, I shall forgive him.
(b) I shall not hate anybody.
(c) If any one goes astray, I shall try my best to bring him on the right path and shall work under the orders of the leaders to correct him and chastise him.

5. (a) I shall always follow the rules of the Samiti.
(b) I shall obey the leaders without opposition.
(c) I shall never keep anything secret from the leader and shall never speak anything but true to him.
(d) I shall always come to the place of our work punctually and shall try to stay on.

6. (a) I shall never neglect or slight away the drill and gymnastics taught by the Samiti.
(b) The tactics of gymnastic and self-defence that will be taught to me by the *Samiti*, I shall never teach them to any one who is not a member of the *Samiti* without permission of the *Samiti*.
(c) I shall not learn anything elsewhere, breaking the rules of the *Samiti*.

The Duties of the Secretary

(1) He should be present every day and keep the attendance register of the members. He should make up and fill up the columns that stand against the name of each.
(2) He should enquire as to where the absentees are.
(3) He should arrange for the treatment of the members in their illness.
(4) He should hear the complaints of the members and try to remove them.

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(5) In the case of a new-comer, who wants to take admission into the *Samiti*, he should first know all particulars about him, and whether he was admitted into any other *Samiti* before and then make him take the vows of the *Samiti*. He will then admit the man into the *Samiti* and note in the admission register his address and place of residence, etc., in legible characters. Address includes these particulars :—

(1) Name, (2) age, (3) nationality and religion, (4) father's name and occupation, (5) name and occupation of the guardians, (6) date, (7) *akhara*, (8) education. The school in which he reads, as also the class, occupation, (9) full address of his present residence, (10) home address.

(6) Those men whose names have got a place in any of the *Samitis* connected with this *Samiti*, if they come for admission in this *Samiti* on account of their change of residence, then great care should be taken in getting all necessary proofs, and the names should be entered in the current register. The name should not be entered in the new admission register. None who is not a Hindu or is a hater of the Hindus shall be admitted.

(7) A separate list has to be kept of the members, their places of residence, the schools and the classes in which they read.

(8) If any member wishes to change his *akhara* and enter another *akhara*, then his name, age, caste, religion, father's name and occupation, name and occupation of the guardian, date of admission, number, the full address of his home, the *akhara* in which he was, and that in which he wants to go, his conduct, his patience and his cleverness in learning gymnastics, and his educational qualifications should be entered in a paper and sent to the Principal Secretary of the *Samiti*.

(9) He should see if the members observe the rules of the *Samiti* and should also help the members in so doing.

(10) If any member does any wrong and has to be severely punished for it, then a report of the matter should be sent to the Principal Secretary. Attempts should be made to correct him, first, by sweet words, then by giving him advice, then by the help of his guardian and superiors. If all fail, he should then be threatened, next he should be given corporal punishment, or attempts should be made to correct him by other kinds of devices. If all attempts fail, the Principal Secretary will then be informed. But in no case should his name be struck off from the *Samiti* and he should never be permitted to leave the *Samiti*. So long he is not corrected he will not be allowed to learn anything.

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(11) All the *Samitis* should assemble every Sunday at a place assigned by the Principal Secretary and every Secretary should compel the members of his *Samiti* to join that gathering. But if no notice is sent about that gathering (by the Principal Secretary), then there will be the usual kind of work.

(12) The members have to be stirred up and inspired with a spirit of patriotism.

(13) He (Secretary) should daily assign to each member his work for the conduct of business in the *Samiti*.

(14) He should make arrangements for the big *lathis*, smaller *lathis*, *gulails* and *daggers*, and other weapons, as well as the gymnasium. He should keep some *lathis* for his *akhara* and compel the members every day to bring their own *lathis*. If the members cannot (otherwise) provide themselves with *lathis*, they should in that case purchase them.

(15) Arrangements should be made for the daily training of each. If necessary, different dates should be fixed for different kinds of play.

(16) Training should be given in drills, running, getting up and down (scaling a wall) with the help of a bamboo or a rope, and swimming. Training should be given in enduring the sun, rain, and also in waking up at night and toiling in summer and winter.

(17) Every member will have to enter in his diary every week the accounts–progress or failure–in the gymnastics, in education, and also in character.

(18) There should be several subdivisions in every *Samiti*, each consisting of ten members and a teacher, and a leader should be appointed for each such subdivision. Such leaders should keep with them one copy of the rules framed for the guidance of the Secretary, as also the paper which contains the vows. And another copy of the vows *(Adya)* written in big characters should be attached to a board and hung in every *akhara* for the information of the other members.

(19) Leaders of the subdivisions of the *Samiti* shall be held responsible for the attendance and the training of the members placed under their charge, and should compel the members to obey the *Samiti*. He should also compel the members to keep with them a book in which the method of training would be noted. Members should write in that book the training they received every day.

(20) Every principal teacher will look after the training of all such subdivisions and will give instructions to the teachers and leaders of such subdivisions.

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(21) Those who have sworn the vows of *Adya* only should be taught only up to the *rangh bari* of big *lathis* and the *khaiar bari* of smaller *lathis* and the *shamghat* of knives. They must not be taught anything more.

(22) Those who have sworn the vows of both kinds (*Adya* and *Antya*) should be given all kinds of lessons.

(23) Those people whose age is less than 12 years and who are unable to realise the import of the vows should be called as the (members of the) external constitution of the *Samiti*. The vows only should be read to them and they should be made to obey the vows.

(24) Members of the external constitution should be taught *benithi*, clubs, dumb-bells, and also wrestling, and they should also be taught the art of duelling with *lathis* in one and or two hands.

(25) Proper arrangements should be made in collecting alms from every quarter. Attempts should also be made to realise contributions from those rich people who are well-wishers of the *Samiti*.

(26) Accounts of the *Samiti* will have to be shown to the Principal Secretary every week according to his order; and his permission should be taken in spending the money of the *Samiti*.

(27) The Secretary will be able to appoint any member whom he thinks competent to do the works of his assistant when the Secretary has occasion to leave the place; he will appoint a distinguished member as his representative and should make such arrangements that the work of the *Samiti* does not suffer in his absence, and that any difficulties that might crop up might be settled without any difficulty. No *akhara* can remain without a Secretary for any period. Changes in the *Samiti* should be at once communicated to the Principal Secretary.

Duties of Supervisors

1. The Supervisors will generally give instructions to those employed in the work of teaching in the various *Samitis* and should see if they are teaching members in the right way. Like the Secretaries, they should also look after every matter concerning the *Samiti* and see that the rules are fully observed.
2. When the Supervisors go to inspect one *Samiti* they should send information to the others and should always try to establish more *Samiti* and appoint its Secretary and leader.
3. They should make a note regarding each *Samiti*, such as the patience and perseverance of its members, the capacity of work, and should take down the names of good as well as bad

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people. They should make brief notes of the place, such as the roads, houses available, and the climate.

4. They should see if the members who are learning the various devices (of sword-play, etc.) have sworn themselves to preserve the vows, and should take necessary steps in cases where the occasion requires.
5. They should see if the new members have provided with tickets. If they have not got the tickets, the Supervisors should examine carefully who of them are entitled to get tickets and then send to the Principal Secretary the accounts of ten (of them) for the preparation of the tickets.
6. While inspecting a *Samiti*, they should first ask the members if they have any complaints to make. Where complaints are made to them, the Supervisors should at once try to remove the grievances and communicate the matter to the Principal Secretary.
7. The *Samiti* of any locality may be subdivided and placed in charge of different leaders. But all these subdivisions must be subordinate to, and under the control of, the Central *Samiti*. And the Supervisors should see that the leaders of these subdivisions act in harmony and obey the directions of the higher authorities.
8. In place where there appear chances of discord or where signs of discord become apparent, the Supervisors should try to conciliate the members by explaining to them that in such critical times it is extremely imprudent to have division in our own camp, and they should threaten them who will not listen to their advice, and should remedy the evils where possible.

Intelligence : In whatever work you might engage yourself and whatever might be your strength, if you have no intelligence, all your labours will go for nothing. So in beginning a work you should first of all acquire the necessary intelligence required to carry it out. Never should you show boastfulness by entering into a work for which you have not the necessary intelligence. Without humility you cannot acquire learning, intelligence, and knowledge.

Courage : No responsible work can be accomplished unless the heart be fortified with courage, specially in doing works of which the consequences are uncertain. You cannot have the presence of mind necessary to its accomplishment unless you have courage. So the next thing after intelligence is courage. By practice one can have courage to perform daring acts.

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Swiftness : Swiftness comes after intelligence and courage. In attaining it, the first thing is to remove idleness. when you learn a device, if you do not practise it, but remain contented with the idea that you know it, then no good will be done and you will not be able to employ that device in time of real work. But if you practise it for times together, then you will acquire dexterity in its practice and will gradually acquire the capacity of employing it at the hour of real work. Swiftness of the eye, of mind, hands, feet and the body are necessary one after another.

Skilfulness : The next thing that is requried after intelligence, courage, and swiftness is skill. To acquire this, one has to obey the directions of the preceptor with whole-hearted devotion and patience. Those who have no devotion for the preceptor cannot shine and prosper in the world.

Strength : Strength comes after intelligence, courage, swiftness, and dexterity. The best course how to acquire strength is *Brahmancharya* (celibacy), reading good books, good company, shunning of evil company, discussion of good subjects, well regulated diet, gymnastics, habit of fasting and enduring the rigours of summer and winter, and remaining awake at night, obeying the laws of health, cheerfulness, contentment, etc. Over all these five objects, the influence of patience and perseverance is great. If you have no patience, you cannot acquire intelligence, courage, swiftness, dexterity, and strength. Resolution, devotion to duty, and stead-fastness are the principal ways by which one can acquire perseverance. Fickleness must always be avoided.

There is a proverb that in battle-field three things are necessary : time, opportunity, and perseverance. Therefore do not lose time or let slip any opportunity, and under no circumstances be impatient. Pledge your life to remedy evils that might come in future. Though skilfulness is more required than strength in the performance of work, yet without strength no skill can be acquired. Therefore it is forbidden for children to practise any scientific skill till their muscles are strong. If they begin to acquire skill from their childhood, then their bones do not develop any further and they are likely to remain lame and dwarf.

Though swiftness is more important than dexterity, yet it is impossible to be swift unless one acquires dexterity.

Though courage is very essentially necessary, yet without strength, dexterity and swiftness, courage is useless and dangerous.

Though intelligence is required above all, yet without courage and other qualities, it is fruitless, like head without hands and feet, like learning confined to books, or like the money of Government promissory notes which are in the hands of Government and will be of no avail in emergency.

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Sakti Puja (Summary)

At one time the gods were driven out of heaven by the *Asurs* (demons) who oppressed them. They then began to pray, and in consequence of their power, a *Debe* or *Sakti* (power) was created, who demolished the *Asurs* (demons). An appeal is then made to worship this deity and gather power.

Glossary

Aaka : To cut the knee in a bent fashion beginning half a cubit above the right side of the right knee.

Antar : Beginning from two fingers below the right ear to cut about two fingers below the left ear, by piercing it through the joint of the neck and also the head.

Akher : End.

Ajjer : Side.

Asar : Beginning from a distance of half a cubit below the right side of the waist to cut the joints of the knee and the waist.

Yakama (roast and chop) : To pierce the prominent bone adjacent to the shoulder.

Yakidar : To stand in *tat* with the whole weight of the body resting on the toes of the left foot.

Uttarani : To pierce the centre of the circle, the circumference of which is 4 fingers, by taking the nipple of the left breast as your centre.

Uttamora or morachop : Beginning form the end of the left shoulder to pierce the right side of the breast.

Arasta : By the right side.

Aada : To begin again.

Karak : To strike within the place, beginning from the left joint of the right foot to a distance of half a cubit.

Kantha : To pierce the artery of the neck.

Kalap : To pierce the lungs and the liver in an inclined way by beginning from a distance of 2 fingers to the left side of the nipple of the left breast.

Kowak : To escape the attack by moving the body.

Killabandi : To stand firm by holding the sword parallel to the waist and the shield in front of the breast.

Kuch : To pierce the joint of the foot, beginning from a distance of two cubits below the left joint of the right foot.

Chir : To pierce with the back side of the sword the right knee, beginning from the southern direction.

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Chapka : To cut the first joints of four fingers with the lower end of the right hand.

Janakdan : To pierce the tongue and passing the sword first into ....

Jabega (roast and chop) : To pierce the artery of the shoulder.

Jigar : To pierce the lungs, beginning from a distance of two fingers to the right of the right breast.

Thok : To cut the end of the old finger of the right hand.

Tat : Manner of standing.

Tarri : Kind, variety.

Tamacha : To cut the end of the right ear, beginning from the left ear and passing it through the nose.

Tewar, Bhukut : To cut a portion of the end of the left ear, about 2 fingers in size, beginning from the right side of the head and passing through the nose.

Komar or Komorcut : To cut the left side of the waist, beginning from the right side.

Gardida : While going to strike a blow to revolve it over the head and then strike the blow in another direction.

Girabandi or Girakarda : To catch the enemy's sword with your sword and shield.

Griban : To cut the right of the waist, beginning from the left shoulder.

Gurda Roast, chop and pesh : To pass the sword into the armpit.

Chop : Left.

Chasam (roast and chop) : To pierce the eye.

Chaki : Beginning from the left side of the head to cut a distance of about 2 fingers from the right ear, by passing the sword through the nose.

Chapani : To cut the knee, beginning form the right side of the right knee.

Pahelu : To pierce the joints of the chest and the neck.

Palot : The blow should fall within the following space :— From the right joint of the right foot to a distance of half a cubit above it.

Pesh : Middle.

Postapa : The upper extremity of the......of right foot.

Bahera : To cut the extremity of the left ear, beginning from the right ear, and passing the sword through the nose.

Bhanja : The space between right side of the shoulder and the elbow of the right hand.

Bhander : Beginning from the left side of the waist to cut the right side in a straight line.

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Bhuj : The space between left shoulder and the elbow.

Mon : To pierce the extremity of the right shoulder, beginning from the left side of the chest.

Dakhinani : Imagine a circle four fingers in circumference of which the middle of the right breast is the centre. Pierce the circle.

Diga : To cut the knee, beginning from the left side of the right knee.

Da : To pierce the extremity of the left shoulder, beginning from the right breast.

Dargulu : To pierce the neck.

Dohara (Masculine) **Dohari (Feminine)**	To keep the sword and the shield together.

Dhunia Karak : To cut the joint, beginning from the left joint of the right foot.

Dhunia Palot : To cut the joint, beginning from the right joint of the right foot.

Nesandada : To strike in another direction, pretending at first to strike in a different direction.

Nesasta : Sitting.

Sikasta : Pretend to the enemy that though you are aiming to strike a certain place, you will not really strike it, then revolve your sword and strike that place.

Hardo : Both together.

Hat Kati : The part between the joint of the right hand and the elbow.

Hat Katijer : The side towards the joint of the little finger of the right hand.

Hat Katipech : The side towards the *talu* of the joint of the right hand.

Hat Katiporta : The back side of the joint of the right hand.

Hat Katibala : The side towards the old fingers of the joint of the right hand.

Halkum (roast and chop) : To cut the back of the neck with the back side of the sword.

Himayel : To cut from the right side of the shoulder to the left side of the waist.

Humjar (roast and chop) : To pierce below the prominent bone of the shoulder.

Man : Instantly.

Mora or Monda : To pierce the left side of the shoulder, beginning from the right side.

Lab : Lips.

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Sikar ka dao : The side between the joint of the left hand and the elbow.

Seer : To pierce the right side of the waist, beginning from the side of the head just above the left eyebrow and passing through the nose.

Saki ka : The part between *seer* and *chaki.*

Seken : To cut a space of half a cubit above the right knee, beginning from about 4 fingers above the left knee.

Santa, Ultasir or Sirarasta : Beginning from that side of the head above the right eyebrow and passing the sword through the nose to cut up to the left side of the waist.

Sikam : To pierce from the chest to the navel.

Hool : To pierce a circle of which the circumference is four fingers and the navel is the centre.

Turat : The swiftness and smartness of the eye.

Furat : The swiftness and smartness of mind and intelligence.

Jurat : The swiftness and smartness of the body.

No. 5

DAGGER
Introduction

A dagger is generally 10 inches in length. The handle is 4 inches, the blade is 6 inches and the breadth is one inch and there is sharpness on both the sides.

While playing a dagger, one's left hand should always be directed to the right hand of the other. But care should be taken at the same time that both the hands being thus entangled there may not be any interruption in the working of either hand. To resist stroke and to baffle it, a push should be given by the palm of the left hand to the joint and the wrist of the right hand of the man who opposes. While giving this push, there will only be a momentary contact between the hands of the two players. In no case should you seize the hand of your antagonist. For in that case, he can cut your hand by turning the joint.

The push should be given from the opposite direction like a tiger jumping upon its prey.

DAGGER

Tamacha.	Tamacha.
Da.	Da.
Bahera.	Bahera.
Hool.	Hool.

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Griban.	Griban.
Uttarani.	Uttarani.
Sikam.	Sikam.
Gurdarasta.	Gurdarasta.
Dakhinani.	Dakhinani.
Janakdan.	Janakdan.

(2)

Himayel.	Himayel.
Mon.	Mon.
Jigor.	Jigor.
Kalap.	Kalap.
Jabegarasta.	Jabegarasta.
Janakdan.	Janakdan.
Da.	Da.
Uttarani.	Uttarani.
Chasamrast.	Chasamrast.
Yakamachop.	Yakamachop.
Gurdapech.	Gurdapech.
Sikam.	Sikam.
Chasamkap.	Chasamkap.
Hatkatipech.	Hatkatipech.

Choumukhi

(1)

Griban.	Griban.
Da.	Da.
Behera.	Behera.
Mon.	Mon.
Himayel.	Himayel.
Tamacha.	Tamacha.
Jigor.	Jigor.
Sikam.	Sikam.
Kalap.	Kalap.
Dakhinani.	Dakhinani.
Janakdan.	Janakdan.
Yakmarast.	Yakmarast.

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(2)

Tamacha.	Tamacha.
Jabegarasta.	Jabegarasta.
Mon.	Mon.
Janakdan.	Janakdan.
Gardarast.	Gardarast.
Hool.	Hool.
Himayel.	Himayel.
Yakamachop.	Yakamachop.
Da.	Da.
Gurdachop.	Gurdachop.
Gurdapesh	Gurdapesh
Sikam.	Sikam.

(3)

Himayel.	Mon.
Griban.	Da.
Sikam.	Hool.
Yakamarast.	Hatkatipesh.
Chaki.	Jabegachop.
Tewar.	Kalap.
Gurdapesh.	Chasamchop.
Leb.	Kanthal.

Baladarti

(1)

Griban.	Griban.
Jigor.	Jigor.
Da, Yakamachop.	Da, Yakamachop.

(2)

Griban.	Griban.
Hool.	Hool.
Da, Kalap, Jabegarast.	Da, Kalap, Jabegarast.
Kalap.	Jabegarast.

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(3)

Himayel.	Himayel.
Tamacha, Bahera.	Tamacha, Behera.
Hatkatipesh.	Hatkatipesh.
Janakdan, Chasamchop.	Janakdan, Chasamchop.

(4)

Himayel.	Griban.
Sikam.	Gurdapesh.
Yakamachop.	Kalap.
Chaki, Dakhinani, Da.	Chaki, Dakhinani, Da.
Tamacha.	Jigor.
Kantha.	Chir.
Janakdan.	

(5)

Himayel.	Jabegachop.
Sikam.	Chir.
Tamacha.	Tamacha. da da
Tek.	Hatkatipesh.
Yakamarast.	Griban.
Himayel.	Kalap.
Kantha	

Milbat

Himayel.	Mon.
Tewar.	Kalap.
Tamacha.	Da.
Bahera.	Uttarani.
Chaki.	Jigor.
Chasamchop.	Chasamrast.
Uttamara.	Mara.
Griban.	Dakhinani.
Sikam.	Yakamarast.
Hool.	Gurdapesh.
Hunjarchop.	Hunjarrast.
Daigulu.	Kantha.

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(2)

Choumukhi

Griban.	Himayel.
Kalap.	Jigor.
Hool.	Gurdapesh.
Chaki.	Tewar.
Chasapchop.	Chasamrast.
Bahera.	Da.
Mon.	Tamacha.
Hunjarchop.	Jabegarast.

(1)

Himayel.	Griban.
Dakhinani.	Mon.
Da.	Uttarani.
Bahera.	Tamacha.
Jigor.	Kalap.
Sikam.	Hool.
Tewar.	Chaki.
Hunjarrast.	Jabegachop.
Yakamachop.	Yakamarast.
Lob.	Dargulu.
Kantha.	Janakdhan.
Gursarast.	Gurdachop.

(2)

Choumukhi

Himayel.	Kalap.
Jigor.	Griban.
Kantha.	Hool.
Hungarrast.	Jabegachop.
Gurdarasta.	Gurdachop.
Dakhinani.	Uttarani.
Da.	Mon.
Chasamrast.	Chasamchop.

SWORD

Introduction

The sword should be 2 hands and 2 fingers of the man using it in length. If it be larger than this, then it will be difficult to use it. If smaller,

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then also it will not be so useful. The sword that suits a tall person will not suit a man of short stature so well. The sword should be up to the naval of the person using it in length.

That part should be considered the sharp side of the sword which..........................and the part parallel to that between old finger and.......................should be considered as the blunt side of the sword. While striking a blow, care should be taken that the blow comes from the sharp side of the sword. While holding the sword in the hand, one-half of the sharp portion of the part remains outside the hand should be used to baffle the attack of the enemy, so that the blow may fall on that part. But this does not hold good always, when the blow is aimed at the lower portion of the body.

The blow given by that portion of the sword which is very adjacent to the hand is not very fruitful always. So if the sharpness of that side is gone, then also the matter is of no consequence. But that part of the sword is very important for the purpose of baffling the blow. For if the blow of the enemy falls on that part and the grasp be firm, then no injury will be done to the sword.

The remaining protion of the sword, next to the portion mentioned already, should be divided into two parts; the fourth part of the middle part should be used in striking the enemy. That part of the enemy's body which should be the object of the attack should be made to fall between the sharp side of the sword and aforesaid fourth part of the middle portion. For the blow from that part comes with greater force than other parts. In cricket play, the blow given by the lower end of the bat makes the object struck rise high but fall near. The blow given by the portion near the hand causes a shock in the hand and the object struck does not go at all remote. But the object struck goes to a great distance without much exertion when the blow is struck by the fourth part of the middle portion.

The working of the centre of oscillation should be read in science. While striking blow to the enemy, you should not at all fix your look on his sword. You should only see while giving the blow that the sharp side of the sword and the part mentioned falls on that part of the enemy's body which you want to strike, if he fails to grasp his sword correctly and ward off your attack.

There is sharpness on both sides of the remaining fourth part of the lower end of the sword, and as this part is a little bent, it is easy to pierce the enemy's body with it. By the reverse side, it is easy to cut off the back side of the neck, etc.

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Motion : The motion of the sword is caused by the various movements of the body. As there are three *sandhis* in the hand, so the motion of the sword is also of three kinds. The motion which springs from the *manibandha* of the hand is called *gardesh*. In blows of this kind, the sword revolves like a wheel. But there will be no action in the two other *sandhis* (joints) of the hand.

The motion that arises from the *manibandha* of the elbow is called *jaib*. In blows given by the *jaib*, *bapta* is caused. The motion caused by *manibandha* of the neck is called *tarash*. It very seldom happens in sword-play that only one *bandhi* (joint) works, and two others remain inactive. But the blow is generally named after the *manibandha* that causes it. While learning fencing, the various strokes should be carefully learned, such as what is *jaib*, what is *tarash*, and what is *gardesh*, etc. Unless one learns these carefully, he cannot hope to defend himself and attack the enemy in *sut* play.

Comparison : Just as the three kinds of strokes given by the sword are named *gardesh*, *jaib*, and *tarash*, so the biting of the snake has also three kinds—*sole*, *tip*, and *tap*. As life cannot be generally saved when the poison tooth cuts the body, so life cannot be saved when the body is cut by sharp side of the sword. For this reason the biting of the snake is compared with the blow given by the sword.

The poison tooth of the snake is bigger than its other teeth and the poison-cell does not remain at the sharp edge of this tooth, but remains on both sides of its middle part.

If you turn away your body forcibly the moment the snake touches your body with the poison tooth, there will be only a scratch. The scratch is called *sole*. Life is not generally lost by such bitings. For the poison cannot enter the body. It is therefore the serpent bends a little while biting. But even then very little poison can enter in *sole* biting.

When the poison tooth enters into the body, the biting is called *tip*. Life cannot generally be preserved by bitings of this nature. For the tooth as well as the poison, enter the body and the wound becomes deep. The poison also enters in a large quantity.

When the snake can enter a protion of the tooth inside the body, but its head is raised and is pulled away before it can cast the poison, then blood generally comes out. Such biting is called *tan*. Life is preserved in some cases and in others it is not saved.

Sole is the least dangerous form of a biting of snake. *Gardesh* is the most dangerous attack of the sword. For in this the sword runs with greater swiftness than in others. Some times very hard feats are accomplished by the swiftness of the attack. The strength is not of such

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value as the swiftness. If you have strength enough to move the sword in various directions, it will do for your purpose. But it is necessary to have firmness of the body, patience, perseverance, and swiftness.

The strength of the storm consists in its swiftness only. But yet it can destroy house and uproot trees, etc. It has often been seen that during a hurricane a sharp end of a bamboo has pierced a big mangoe tree. It is not impossible. In piercing a mangoe tree with a piece of bamboo, you will see that the blow struck by the bamboo will be resisted by the tree and the two blows counterbalance each other. But when the bamboo is helped by the swiftness of the storm, the tree gets no opportunity to resist the attack. So the bamboo pierces the tree without giving the latter any opportunity of resisting the attack. Before the firmness of one part of the bamboo was exhausted, firmness of the other part could come to its rescue on account of the swiftness of the storm. This is called superposition of a small effect. The blow given by the *gardesh* also works in the same way.

2ndly : The *tip* is the most dangerous form of the biting of a snake. The less dangerous between the two other kinds of blows inflicted by a sword is *jaib*. In *jaib* the portion of the sword piercing the body of the enemy will depend very much upon the force with which the hand strikes the blow. And if the enemy succeeds in warding off a blow of the nature of *jaib*, you will feel difficulty and there will be great delay in your aiming another blow.

3rdly : In fighting amidst a large number of men, the *tarash* is of great value. In striking another begin the blow with *gardesh* and *jaib* and finish it in *tarash*. Don't begin at *tarash*.

In playing with an enemy, don't think so much of the blows you can inflict on him, but rather see how many of the enemy's attacks you can baffle. For if you cannot resist even one of the thousand blows inflicted by the enemy, it will be dangerous for you. So have greater attention on self-defence. In every matter, danger comes to a man who cannot defend himself.

In self-defence, have your attention on three things :—(1) The blow of the enemy's sword should be resisted between the middle part of the sword from the grasp.

If the enemy's blow comes sidewise, then your eye should be at that.

Annotation

Ghai : From two to fifteen, one of the players will strike all the blows first. The rest of the players should then strike.

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From seven to fifteen of the *bari* should be played after the manner of *gardesh*, only *chir, hool, uttarani* and *dakhinani* should be played in *tarash*.

There is no *bari* of the thirteenth.

Samghati : In playing *samghat*, the blows should be struck alternately.

Choumukhi : It should be played with a shield. Both of the players should strike the blow at one time. As the swords and shields of both the players meet in this play, it is called *choumukhi*.

Milbata : When one strikes, he should be warded off by another stroke.

Baladarti : The *bari* should sometimes be warded off with the shield and sometimes with the sword, and also sometimes by moving away the body.

Tamacha

That, Ekang.

1. Seer, Mopta.
2. Antar, Kuch.

Toner Bari

1. Tamacha, Bahera, Seer.
2. Tamacha, Seer, Bahera.
3. Bahera, Tamacha, Seer.
4. Bahera, Seer, Tamacha.
5. Seer, Tamacha, Bahera.
6. Seer, Bahera, Tamacha.
7. Tamacha, Komar, Seer.

Charer Bari (Fourth Stroke)

1. Seer, Hatkati, Tamacha, Komar.
2. Tamacha, Bahera, Chir, Seer.
3. Tamacha, Komar, Chir, Seer.
4. Seer, Tamacha, Bahera, Bhandar.
5. Tamacha, Palot, Bhandar, Seer.
6. Griban, Hathkati, Komar, Seer.

Fifth Stroke

1. Tamacha, Komar, Bhandar, Palat, Santa.
2. Tamacha, Komar, Bhandar, Palat, Seer.

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3. Tamacha, Komar, Seer, Karak, Bahera.
4. Seer, Karak, Palot, Hool, Bhandar.
5. Bahera, Bhandar, Komar, Santa, Tamacha.
6. Tamacha, Palot, Hool, Seer, Griban.
7. Tamacha, Komar, Hool, Seer, Griban.

Sixth Stroke

1. Tamacha, Palot, Bhandar, Komar, Karak, Bahera.
2. Seer, Bahera, Tamacha, Komar, Chir, Santa.
3. Tamacha, Seer, Chir, Hool, Bahera, Bhandar.
4. Tamacha, Palot, Bhandar, Komar, Seer, Griban.
5. Tamacha, Komar, Bhandar, Seer, Karak, Bahera.

Seventh Stroke

1. Tamacha, Bahera, Bhandar, Komar, Chir, Hool, Seer.
2. Tamacha, Bahera, Bhandar, Komar, Chir, Hool Santa.
3. Tamacha, Palot, Bhandar, Komar, Hool, Seer, Griban.

Eighth Stroke

1. Seer, Karak, Bahera, Bhandar, Komar, Chir, Hool, Santa.
2. Seer, Monda, Karak, Palot, Chir, Hool, Bhandar, Santa.
3. Seer, Bahera, Palat, Bhandar, Komar, Chir, Hool, Santa.
4. Bahera, Bhandar, Palot, Seer, Sakem, Monda, Komar, Tamacha.

Ninth Stroke

1. Tamacha, Komar, Chir, Hool, Bahera, Karak, Palat, Bhandar, Tewar.
2. Tamacha, Komar, Chir, Seer, Hool, Bahera, Karak, Palot, Bhandar.
3. Tamacha, Palot, Griban, Komar, Bhuj, Monda, Karak, Santa, Bhandar.
4. Himayel, Bhandar, Asar, Mon, Tewar, Sakel, Palot, Tamacha, Santa.

Tenth Stroke

1. Tamacha, Monda, Karak, Palot, Chir, Bahera, Hool, Bhandar, Komar, Santa.
2. Tamacha, Champani, Ultamonda, Dhunipalot, Sunken, Karak, Tewar, Komar, Bhandar, Himayel.
3. Seer, Hool, Palot Ultamonda, Chir, Tewar, Monda, Chaki, Dakhinani, Santa.

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Eleventh Stroke

1. Seer, Hool, Griban, Uttarani, Palot, Bhandar, Chir, Monda, Mon, Asar, Tamacha.
2. Tamacha, Palot, Ultamara, Komar, Digor, Tewar, Bhandar, Hathkati, Chaki, Dakhinani, Santa.
3. Tamacha, Komar, Bhandar, Asar, Mon, Digar, Karak, Monda, Tewar, Uttarani, Bahera.

Twelfth Stroke

1. Tamacha, Karak, Tewar, Palot, Seer, Bhandar, Komar, Santa, Seer, Hool, Bahera, Griban.

Thirteenth Stroke
(Blank)

Fourteenth Stroke

1. Griban, Bahera, Chaki, Hatkati, Seer, Mon, Komar, Asar, Saken, Dhuniakarak, Postapa, Santa, Dhuniapalot, Yakama, Chop.

Fifteenth Stroke

1. Tewar Hathkati, Sikardao, Sapeka, Hatkatipesh, Hatkatipost, Kantha, Himayel, Seer, Thok, Bhutta, Bharja, Tamacha, Bahera, Santa.

With the left hand.

(2)

Seer, Karak.

(3)

Komar, Seer, Karak.

(4)

Tewar, Komar, Seer, Karak.

(5)

Tewar, Seer, Komar, Seer, Karak.

(6)

Tewar, Anka, Seer, Komar, Seer, Karak.

With the right as well as left hand.

Bharja, Seer.
(in left hand).

Komar,
(with right hand).

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Tewar, Anka, Komar, Seer.	Seer, Karak.
(with right).	(with left).

With both hands.

1. Palot, Santha, Griban.
2. Griban, Asar, Tewar, Jabega.

Samghat

Griban	Griban.
Palot	Palot.
Tamacha	Tamacha.
Asar	Asar.
Bhuj	Bhuj.
Mon	Mon.
Postapa	Postapa.
Saken	Saken.
Bahera	Bahera.
Hatkati	Hatkati.
Bhandar	Bhandar.

(2)

Himayel	Himayel.
Komar	Komar.
Da	Da.
Asar	Asar.

With left hand

Himayel	Himayel.
Sikar kandao	Sikar kandao.

Choumukhi

Griban	Griban.
Ulta seer	Ulta seer.
Bhuj	Bhuj.
Da	Da.
Pag	Pag.
Chaki	Chaki.
Santa	Santa.
Bhandar	Bhandar.
Tewar	Tewar.
Karak	Karak.

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Palot	Palot.
Bharja	Bharja.

(3)

Bahera	Bahera.
Ultajera	Ultajera.
Bhandar	Bhandar.
Seer	Seer.
Tamacha	Tamacha.
Bharja	Bharja.
Santa	Santa.
Bhuja	Bhuja.
Mora	Mora.
Chaki	Chaki.
Tewar	Tewar.
Griban	Griban.
Pag	Tewar.
Dakhinani	Chir.
Mon	Yakamachop.

Milhat

(1)

Griban	Palot.
Bahera	Karak.
Tamacha	Bhandar.
Griban	Eada.

(2)

Tamacha	Mora.
Seer	Seer.
Bahera	Bhandar.
Komar	Seer.
Bharja	Ultamora.
Karak	Seer.
Tamacha	Eada.

(3)

Tamacha	Palot.
Bharja	Seer.
Bhandor	Bahera.

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Mora	Seer.
Bhunja	Ultamora.
Chaki	Bahera.
Griban	Santa.
Karak	Mora.
Palot	Griban.
Halkumarasta	Fak.
Pag	Chaki.
Saken	Seer.
Tamacha	Eada.
Bahera	Bahera.
Postla	Postla.
Da	Da.
Ultamora	Ultamora.
Himayel	Himayel.
Bhandar	Bhandar.
Komar	Komar.
Seer	Seer.
Palot	Palot.
Tamacha	Tamacha.
Mora	Mora.
Pag	Pag.
Chapani	Chapani.
Chaki	Chaki.
Santa	Santa.
Karak	Karak.
Griban	Griban.
Mon	Mon.
Tewar	Tewar.
Bhuj	Bhuj.
Asar	Asar.
Saken	Saken.
Hatkati	Hatkati.
Antar	Antar.
Digor	Digor.

(5)

Griban	Bhandar.
Bahera	Da.
Seer	Karak.
Bhuj	Himayel.

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Hatkati	Sikarkadao.
Palot	Bharja.
Kantha	Kantha.

In Both Hands

(1)

Samghat

Seer, Komar.	Seer, Komar.
Bahera, Bhandar.	Bahera, Bhandar.
Himayel, Palot.	Himayel, Palot.
Tewar, Karak.	Tewar, Karak.
Bhuj, Asar.	Bhuj, Asar.
Bhuj, Digor.	Bhuj, Digor.
Uttarani, Chapani.	Uttarani, Chapani.
Chir, Hatkati.	Chir, Hatkati.

(2)

Choumukhi

(a)

Griban	Griban.
Da.	Da.
Tewar.	Tewar.
Bhuja.	Bhuja.
Dhuniakarak.	Dhuniakarak.
Dhuniapalot.	Dhuniapalot.
Bhandar.	Bhandar.
Hatkati.	Hatkati.
Postapa.	Postapa.
Dargula.	Dargula.

(b)

Himayel.	Chapani.
Bahera.	Dhuniapalot.
Bhuj.	Bhandar.
Tewar.	Dhuniakarak.
Halkumkap.	Pag.
Yakamarast.	Chir.

(3)

Griban, Palot.	Tamacha, Komar.
Bahera, Karak.	Himayel, Bhandar.
Mora, Chaka.	Tewar, Seer.

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Bhuj, Bhuja.	Hatkati, Sikarkadao.
Ultamora, Asar.	Santa, Digor.
Dakhinani, Chir.	Hool, Uttarani.

(4)

Hatkatipesh.	Sikarkadao.
Ultamora.	Chaka.
Seer.	Griban.
Sikarkadao.	Ultamora, Uttarani.
Mora.	Komar, Uttarani.
Chaka.	Hatkatijer.
Bashanta.	Bhuj, Bhuj.
Palot.	Seer, Seer.
Hatkati.	Hatkati.
Bhandar, Bhandar.	Bahera, Bahera.
Digor.	Digor.
Seer.	Eada.

(5)

Tamacha, Asar.	Tamacha, Asar.
Himayel, Bhandar.	Himayel, Bhandar.
Bharja, Hatkati.	Bharja, Hatkati.
Sakik, Chapani.	Sakik, Chapani.
Halkumarasta, Dhuniakara	Halkumarasta, Dhuniakara.
Uttarani, Dakhinani.	Uttarani, Dakhinani.

(6)

Himayel, Da.	Hatkati, Bharja.
Palot, Postapa.	Tamacha, Bahera.
Sikarkadao, Bhuj.	Dakhinani, Yakamachop.
Seer, Santa.	Tewar, Mon.

Baladarti

Griban.	Griban.
Hatkati.	Hatkati.
Komar, Seer.	Komar, Seer.

(2)

Griban.	Griban.
Hatkati.	Hatkati.
Chapani; Bhuj, Seer.	Chapani, Bhuj, Seer.

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(3)

Griban.	Griban.
Komar.	Komar.
Himayel.	Himayel.
Bhandar, Mora.	Bhandar, Mora.
Santa.	Santa.

(4)

Griban.	Griban.
Hatkati.	Hatkati.
Antar.	Antar.
Komar, Ultamora.	Komar, Ultamora.
Sikarkadao.	Sikarkadao.
Chaka.	Chaki.

(5)

Griban.	Griban.
Hatkati.	Hatkati.
Bahera, Bhandar.	Bahera, Bahera.
Digor.	Seer.
Griban.	Griban.
Bahera, Tamacha.	Bahera, Tamacha.
Chapani.	Santa.
Asar.	Ultamora, Komar.
Hatkati.	Eada.

(7)

Himayel.	Himayel.
Bhuj.	Bhuj.
Asar.	Asar.
Uttarani	
Tewar.	Digor.
Bharja, Ultamora, Bahera.	Bharja, Ultamora, Bahera.
Saken, Halkomarasta.	Komar, Hatkatipesh.
Bharja.	

(9)

Hatkatipesh.	Sikarkadao.
Ultamora.	Chaki.

Seer

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(10)

Himaycl.	Himayel.
Mon.	Mon.
Chaki, Chapani.	Sikarkadao.
Chaki, Chapani.	Sikarkadao.
Griban.	Griban.
Hool.	

(11)

Griban.	Griban.
Sikarkadao.	Sikarkadao
Ultamora, Anka.	Ultamora, Anka.
Mora.	Komar.

(12)

Uttarani.	Chaki.
Hatkatipesh.	Hool.
Bhuj.	Bhuj.
Palot.	Seer.
Halkumarast.	

(13)

Dergulu.	Hatkati.
Kantha.	Karak.
Tamacha.	Chapani.
Seer.	

(14)

Griban.	Griban.
Hatkati.	Hatkati.
Mon:	Mon.
Komar.	Komar.
Palot.	Palot.
Postapa.	Postapa.
Himayel.	Himayel.
Halkumarast.	Seer.

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(15)

Komar.	Jabega.
Chapan.	Sikarkadao.
Chasamrast.	Himayel.
Seer.	

(16)

Uttarani.	Hatikati.
Sikarkadao.	Sikarkadao, Bahera, Karak.
Seer, Komar, Digor.	Himayel, Chaki.
Seer.	

(17)

Bharja.	Anka.
Hatkati, Sikar Kadao, Chapka	Dhuniakarak, Chapani.
Mon.	Halkumchop, Chaki.

(18)

Chapani.	Anta.
Jabega, Hatkatipesh	Griban.

(19)

Sikarkadao.	Tamacha.
Halkumchop, Tewar ⎤ Seer, Ultamora. ⎦	Sapka.
Sakika.	Sakika.
Saken.	Saken.

(20)

Hatkatibala.	Bharja, Halkumchop.
Kantha, Tamacha.	Ultamora, Chapani.
Girabandi.	Dabandesh.

(21)

Bahera, Laha.	Chasamchop.
Girabandi.	Palot.
Santa.	Jabegarast.
Chaki.	

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(22)

Bharja.	Saken.
Sikarkadao.	Sikarkadao.
Chaki.	Seer, Himayel.
Pahelu	

[Not in the smaller book.]

Rai Bash (used in Burdwan) or Burdwan Method

Introduction

The *lathi* is generally $3^1/_2$ cubits in length of the person using it.

Banithi : While revolving a *lathi*, in the *banithi* fashion, the hand should be fixed on the centre of the *lathi*.

Big lathi : Measure one cubit from the end of the *lathi* and hold that part with your right hand. You should seize with your left side that part which measures half a cubit from the grasp of the left hand. The grasp of the left hand is not generally very firm. If you thus hold the *lathi* then the back side of the right hand and the fingers of the left hand will remain in front. The *lathi* should be held parallel to the breast, so that the grasp of the right hand is on the right breast and the grasp of the left hand is parallel to the waist. The upper end of the *lathi* should be on the left side over the ground. The feet should be at a distance of one cubit from each other.

Banithi

1. The *lathi* should be held in the middle with the right hand. The grasp of the hand should remain at the distance of half a cubit from the navel and the *lathi* should be held parallel to the waist. The little finger should be on the right side and the old finger on the left side. The side of the *lathi* towards the little finger should be lowered down and revolve your grasp. When the right hand will be turned upside down, then turn the left hand also upside down and hold the *lathi* with this, at a distance from the right hand. Then leave the right hand and revolve the *lathi* with the left hand.
   Then again leave the left hand and hold the *lathi* with the right hand. While changing the hands, you should see that the old fingers of both the hands remain side by side attached to each other.
   While revolving in this fashion (*banithi*) the *lathi* should move parallel to the breast and both the extremities of the *lathi* would descend on the right side, rise again on the left side and will form a circle in the air, with the navel for its centre. No part of the hand but

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the joint should be moved.

2. The *lathi* will move in the opposite direction.
3. The *lathi* should be grasped in the middle by the right hand and the grasp should be parallel to, and at a distance of $^1/_2$ cubit from, the right shoulder. The *lathi* should be held parallel to the ground and the breast. the little finger should be on the left side and the old finger on the right side. You should thus hold the *lathi* that its head descends towards the left side first and then again rises on the right side. If the side towards the little finger be a little high, then the grasp of the hand should be taken just on the back of the shoulder, so that the upper end of the *lathi* may descend on the left side and again rise on the right side.

   When practising this device, the elbow must never rise above the shoulder and, unless you change your sides, it will always be parallel to the breast or to the back.

   While you finish the revolution make your greetings by taking the old finger towards the armpit and raising the little finger.
4. While revolving with one hand, keep the other on your breast.
5. Grasp the *lathi* with your right hand. The *lathi* should revolve like a wheel on your left and the right sides. The back side of the hand should always be on the left side and there will be slight change towards the right side. On both sides, the part towards the little finger should descend by the back and rise by the front side. When the part towards the little finger be a little high, you will have to change your side. Excepting when you change your sides, the *lathi* will move parallel to the left and again the left side or the right side. Make your greetings when the revolution is over.
6. While performing the 5th trick, make the left side your right and the right side your left.
7. While you have finished the fifth device, practise the third device, when the right side towards the little finger be raised up and when the back side of the *lathi* towards the little finger be turned up, then shake your hands and hold the grasp towards the left side of the left shoulder, again lower the part towards the side of the little finger backwards and act as devised before. The order of proceeding is as follows : left, right, front, back.
8. The *chowari* feat of the sixth and fourth combined by the left hand. Substitute the sixth in place of the fifth of the seventh trick, and fourth in place of the third one. Substitute the right side for the left for the right side of the arrangement : right, left, front, back.

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9. Hold the middle of the *lathi* with your right hand and lower down the side towards the old finger, making the back side of the hand remain in front of you. The head of the *lathi* should rise by the left side and descend by the right side. The *lathi* should be made to move in a circle in front of you, and when the side towards the old finger is turned downwards and the back of the hand is turned towards the left, then take the grasp to the back and lower down the head of the *lathi* by the right side, raising it first by the left side, and when the side towards the old finger is turned completely downwards, then bring the grasp in your front and act as previously instructed. Salute when the revolution is over.
10. Substitute right side for the left of the 9th device and the left for the right side.
11. In performing the 9th trick with the right hand, the head of the *lathi* should rise by the back of the right and the left sides and again descend. The *lathi* will revolve parallel to your sides.
12. In performing the 10th trick with the left hand, it should be performed by the left and right sides.
13. In performing the *chowrari* of the 11th and the 9th combined with the right hand, the order of arrangement should be as follows : left, right, front, back.
14. In performing the *chowari* of the 12th and the 10th with the left hand, the following should be the order of arrangement : left, right, front, back.
15. Combined chowari:—Begin the feat by holding the *lathi* in the middle with your right hand, and lower down the part towards the old finger by your left side. Raise up the side towards the old finger by your back and lower it down by your front side. Then turn the side towards your old finger downwards by your right side and raise it up again by the back of your right, till the side towards the old finger is exactly turned upwards, then revolve the *lathi* parallel to your breast and again lower down the part towards the old finger to the left side till the side towards the little finger is turned exactly upwards. Then take the grasp of your hand parallel to your back and lower the side towards the old finger by the left side of your back and again raise it by the right side till the side towards the old finger is turned exactly upwards. Then take the grasp of your hand parallel to your back and lower the side towards the old finger by the left side of your back and again raise it by the right side till the side towards the old finger is turned exactly upwards. Then shake your hand and act as previously instructed by turning the side towards

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the old finger downwards at the left side. The order of arrangement should be as follows : left, right, front, back, *kole.*

16. Substitute the right side for the left in performing the 15th feat and also substitute the left in place of the right. Order of arrangement : left, right, front, back, *kole.*
17. Perform the 3rd trick with your right hand in your back and front and when the side towards the little finger is turned exactly upwards, then lower the side towards the little finger by the left side of the back. When the side towards the old finger is turned upwards then lower the side towards the old finger by the left side of your front till the side towards the little finger is turned exactly upwards. Then proceed as already instructed by lowering the side towards the little finger by the left side of your front.
18. Substitute the right for the left and the left for the right in performing the 17th feat.

19, 20, 21, 22. Hold the *lathi* with both the right and the left hands, keep your fingers in front like the hands of a clock and revolve the *lathi* towards the opposite direction from that to which the hands of a clock move.

23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34. Revolve the *lathi* with your fingers and form two circles on each side while performing the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and the 14th feats.

35. Begin the 5th trick from the left side of the right hand, finish it on the right side and again hold the *lathi* with your left hand, leaving the right hand. Then finish the 6th trick with your left hand in the right and the left sides. Then again proceed as already instructed by holding the *lathi* with the right hand, leaving the left hand.

Paitara : While the *lathi* revolves at the right side, at that time advance your left foot and turn your body and your face towards the right side. While the *lathi* revolves at the left side at that time advance your right foot and turn your body and face towards your left side.

36. Proceed like that in the 35th feat, combining the 11th and 12th together.
37. Hold the *lathi* with your right hand, take the right hand behind your head and perform the 11th feat in your left side. Then hold the *lathi* with your left hand, leaving the right hand, and take your left hand behind your head and afterwards perform the 12th feat in your right side. Then hold the *lathi* with your right hand, leaving the left hand and taking the right hand at the back of your head, proceed as already instructed.

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Paitara : Like that in the 35th.

38. HolD the middle of the *lathi* with your right hand, keep the back side of the hand in your right side and turn the side towards the old finger upwards. Then lower down the side towards the old finger by the left side in your front and when the side towards the old finger is turned downwards in the right side, at that time take the grasp of your hand in your right side and the side towards the old finger towards the back of the left side, the side towards the little finger to the right side. Then shake your hand, when the *lathi* is parallel to your waist and turn the side towards the old finger downwards and bring it in your front by the right side of your right hand. Then perform the 1st part of the 9th trick in your front and hold the *lathi* with your left hand, leaving the right hand and substitute the right hand for the left and the left hand for the right. Next perform the 10th feat with your left hand and hold the *lathi* with your right hand and act as instructed before by leaving your left hand.

Paitara : When the right hand is turned towards the back the right foot should also be advanced, and the body and the face should be turned towards the left side. When the left hand is turned towards the back, the left foot should also be advanced and the face and body turned towards the right side.

39. Hold the middle of the *lathi* with your right hand and bring the side towards your old finger to the back side of your hand by revolving it across the head from left to right, and then hold the *lathi* in your left hand, leaving the right hand in such a way that the old fingers of both the right and the left hands are brought into contact. Then lower down the left hand as the side towards little finger of the left hand is turned back to the right side, and then hold the *lathi* with the right hand as you did with the left hand, joining the little fingers of both the hands. Next raise the right hand above your head and act as previously instructed.

40. Hold the *lathi* with your left hand and proceed as you would in performing the 39th feat. You have only to substitute the right hand for the left hand and the left for the right.

41. Hold the middle portion of two *lathis* with your two hands. Bring the side towards the old finger in front of you and hold both the *lathis* parallel to your waist. Bring the parts of both the *lathis* that are towards your old fingers parallel to your right side, and then turning them downwards towards the right side, bring both the *lathis* parallel to the left side, raising them a little that side.

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When the heads of both the *lathis* are made parallel to the shoulder then bend the side towards the old finger to your left side by revolving it across the back and gradually raise the old fingers of both the hands upwards and lower them down again gradually by the right side and act as already instructed.

While performing this feat, always take care that both the *lathis* remain parallel to each other.

42. Begin with the left side and proceed as you would in performing the 41st feat. Only substitute the left for the right and the right for the left.
43. Hold two *lathis* with your two hands and perform the 3rd and the 4th feats together. When your right hand will remain in your front, then your left hand will be at the back. Likewise, when your left hand will remain in your front, the right hand will be at the back.
44. Hold two *lathis* with your two hands. Perform the 9th and the 10th feat together and proceed as you would in performing the 42nd feat.
45. Hold the end of both the *lathis* with your two hands. With your right hand revolve one *lathi* across your head from left to right. With your left hand revolve another across your head from right to left. While the right hand remains in your front, the left hand should be at the back. Likewise, while the left hand remains in your front, the right hand should be at the back.
46. Perform the 7th and the 8th tricks (*chowari*) together by changing your hands. When the right hand moves the left side after the performance of 4th feats with the right hand, then leave the right hand and hold the *lathi* with your left hand. When 4th feats are performed by the left hand and the left hand is turned towards the right side, then again hold the *lathi* with your right hand, leaving the left hand and go on as previously instructed.
47. Perform the 13th and the 14th feats (*chowari*) together with changing your hand and proceed as in the 46th.
48. Perform the 15th and the 16th feats together (*chowari*) by changing your hands.

49, 50, 51. The *lathi* should be raised across the feet while changing the hands in performing the 46th, 47th and the 48th feats.

52, 53. Hold two *lathis* with your two hands and perform the 15th and the 16th feats together (*chowari*).

54, 55. Hold the *lathi* with your right hand and revolve it across, as well as opposite the direction in which hands of the clock move, once with your old finger again with four other fingers together. Also revolve the *lathi* from right to left, as from left to right.

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56, 57. Proceed as in the 54th and 55th feats. Only substitute the left hand for the right hand.
58, 59. Hold the *lathi* with your right hand and proceed as in the 54th and the 55th feats with your old finger and .... The *lathi* will revolve round ...... The three other fingers will remain inactive.
60, 61. Proceed as in the 58th and 59th, only substitute the left hand for the right hand.

[Not in the smaller book.]

BIG LATHIS OF BURDWAN

Harua trick (Harua pech.)

1. (a) Hang the head of the *lathi* in front of you, then raise it up by the right side, revolve it in a line parallel to the ground, across your head from left to right and work as previously instructed.
   (b) Hang the head of the *lathi* in front of you, then raise it by the right side and take it at your back and revolve it in a line parallel to your back. Then raise it up by the back of your right side and proceed as instructed already.
2. (a) Raise the head of the *lathi* and hang it in front of your right side, then raise it up again by revolving it across the right side. Then throw it in front of your left side and revolve it across your left side and proceed as already instructed.
   (b) Raise the head of the *lathi* and hang it by your right side. Then revolve it by your right side and again raise it up and hang it in front of your right side and revolve it there. Then raise it up by the left side and proceed as already instructed.
3. (a) Raise the upper end of the *lathi* and hang it by the back of the right side; then revolve it by the right side and raise it across the right and hang it by the back of the left side. Then raise it across the back side and act as already instructed.
   (b) Raise the upper end of the *lathi*, hang it by the back of the right side, and revolve it across the right side. Hang it by the front of the left side, revolve it there and raise it by the front of the right side and act as previously instructed.

Paitara

While performing *paitara*, imagine a circle of which your *raibash* is a diameter and proceed accordingly.

While performing *paitara* of the right side, lower the upper end of the *lathi* and revolve it across your back by the left side. While revolving the *lathi*, make the grasp of your left hand as loose as you can. While

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revolving the *lathi*, you should move in a circle and move gradually to the left side of your competitor. While thus moving, first raise your left foot, and bring it in front of your right foot. Then make *kadam* with your right foot, throw your weight into the fingers of your feet, revolve a little from the left to the right, and stand in front of your foe, meeting him face to face, placing the old finger of the left foot in the *gorali* of that foot. The *paitara* must be finished in $2^1/_2$ *kadams*. The movement of the feet and that of the *lathi* must begin together and end at the same time. While you stand erect, the upper end of your *lathi* should be opposite the enemy's face. Your right hand will hang by the right side quite at ease. The grasp of the left hand should be at the navel.

While performing the *paitara* in your left side, you will turn back towards the upper end of the *lathi* and revolve it across the right side and the back of your body and again stand erect. While revolving the *lathi*, you will move in a circle towards the right side of your competitor. While moving, first lift your right foot and bring it in front of the left foot. Then make *kadam* with your left foot and place it over the old finger and the *gorali* of the right foot and stand in front of your enemy, meeting him face to face.

Again you have to perform *paitara* in your other side. If you want to move in front in *paitara*, then make attempts of making the circle spoken of before gradually smaller, i.e., you have to place your footsteps at a greater distance from each other than are usually done. If you want to move backwards, then take to the opposite course.

Rangerbari

1. Raise the upper end of the *lathi*, complete the first half of the second trick, and at the same time you should move in the form of an equilateral triangle from the right side to the left side, and place the upper end of the *lathi* at the lefts side on the ground. Then complete the first part of the third trick and move at the same time in the form of an equilateral triangle from the left to the right side, and then perform three kinds of *tokkas* in *chapani*, *tewari*, and *chaki*. Then hold the *lathi* in that fashion, leave the right, and salute each other mutually.
2. Or you can first perform the second device, make *palot* from the right to the left, and after you have made a complete revolution, perform the *tokkas* in *chapani*, *tewari*, and *chaki*. Then salute.
    1. Revolve towards the right side and perform the *tokkas* in the ground and in *tewari* five times, then move from the left to the right, and make *tokka* in *digera*. Then again complete the first

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trick and make *tokka* in the ground. Then perform the second trick, perform *tokka* in *tewari*, again complete the first trick, and make *tokka* in the ground. Then make the stroke of the *komar*, revolve from the right to the left and move backwards, do the *hatkati* and stand erect. Keep the *lathi* in that position and run, make the *chapani tokka*, and come each to the other's place. Then move the body from left to right across your right hand and stand face to face with your competitor. Then again *paitara*.

2. Revolve in the right side and perform alternately *chapani tokka* and *tewari tokka* five times, then do the *hatkali* and move from left to right till you perform *digera tokka* twice. Then complete the first trick twice and make *tokka* on the ground twice; then perform the second trick twice, make *tewari tokka* twice, and again do the first trick twice and make *tokka* on the ground twice and proceed as you would in completing the first.
3. First make the *chapani tokka, tewari tokka, chakir tokka*, then do the second trick, and then moving towards the left side, act as in the first. As you can, do the *hoolugoja* and act as in the first by moving a little towards the left side.
4. First make the *chapani tokka, tewari tokka, chakir tokka, digera tokka*, then perform the second feat, move a little to the left side and act as in the first. Or you can do the *hoolugoja* and act as in the first by moving a little to the left side.
5. Make *chapani tokka, tewari tokka*, and finish the second feat, then move to the right side and make *tewari tokka, chakir tokka, digera tokka*. Then again make the second feat and proceed as previously instructed. Or you can make the *hoolugoja* and act as previously instructed by moving to the left side.
6. Make *chapani tokka, tewari tokka*, then finish the second feat, and move to the right side and make *tewari tokka, chaki tokka*. After this do the second feat again and move to the left side and make *tewari tokka, chaki tokka*. Then make *hoolugoja* and perform *paitara* in the left side and stand erect. Then make a stroke of the *komar* and move right to the left and turn backwards. Do the *hatkati* and stand erect. Keep the *lathi* in that position and run and stand to the left side of your competitor, so that the backs of both touch. Then perform the first part of the third trick, move from the left to right and act as previously instructed.

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7. Move to the right side and perform alternately *tokkas* on the ground and *tewari tokka* five times. Then make the *hatkati* and move from the left to right, do the *digera tokka* twice and also *tewari tokka*. Then perform the second feat and make *palot* from the right to the left and make a complete revolution. Then make *chapani tokka* and *tewari tokka*, perform the second feat, and moving to the left side, make *tewari tokka* and *chaki tokka*. Then do the *hoolugoja* and perform the *paitara* to the left side, and make the stroke of the *komar*, also move from left to right towards your back. Next do *paitara*.
8. Do the *hoolugoja* and run by the right side; then make *hatkati*, meeting your enemy face to face by moving from the right to left. Then move left to right and do *digera tokka*, *tewari tokka*, and complete the second feat, and do *tewari tokka*, *chaki tokka* by moving towards the right side. Again do the second feat, and moving towards the left side, make *tewari tokka*, *chaki tokka*. Next perform the second feat, and moving towards the left side, make *tewari tokka*, *chaki tokka*. Next do the *hoolugoja* and make *paitara* in your left side and making a stroke of the *komar*, move it to the back revolving. Then again *paitara*.
9. Move from right to left and make *chapani tokka* twice and *tewari tokka* after the revolution is over. Next perform the second feat, and moving towards the right side, make *tewari tokka*, *chapani tokka*. Then perform the second feat, and moving to the left, make *tewari tokka*, *chaki tokka*. Then do the *hoolugoja* and make *paitara* in the left side. Also make the stroke of *komar* and move it towards your back by revolving from right to left. Then *paitara*.
10. Make the *hatkati*, move from left to right, and make *digera tokka* twice, also *chapani tokka* and *tewari tokka*. Then make the second feat, and moving towards the right side, make *tewari tokka* and *chaki tokka*. Again move to the left side after performing the second feat and make *tewari tokka*, *chaki tokka*. Then again perform the second feat, and moving towards the left side, perform *tewari tokka*, *chaki tokka*. Next do the *hoolugoja* and stand after performing *paitara* in the left side. Then make a stroke of the *komar* and move towards the back by revolving right to left. After this *paitara*.
11. (a) The old fingers of the left foot of both should be kept side by side in a straight line. Contemplate the distance

between you and your competitor as the diameter of a circle and move towards the right side of that circle. Make a stroke at your left side and keep to the left side.

(b) Or you may keep to the left side of the circle, and moving to the right side make the stroke at the left side. Also make a stroke at the right side by keeping to the right side and moving to the left.

12 Moving from the right to left, make *chapani tokka* twice, and also make *tewari tokka* and *chaki tokka* after you have completed the revolution. Repeat this three times and make twelve strokes in all. Then make *hoolugoja* and do *paitara* in the left side and move backwards right and left by making the stroke of *komar*. Then again *paitara*.

13. Make stroke of the *komar*, move right to left towards your back and raise the *lathi* with your two hands above your head and run in front. Then strike each other on the ground and keep the *lathis* on the ground. Make *palot* twice right to left and turn backwards. Then run again and holding your *lathi* strike it against .... Run once more and return to your former place, and strike as you did before. Then make *hoolugoja* and *hatkatipech*, and moving left to the right, make the first feat and also *chaki takka*. Then make the second feat and moving towards the left side, make *tewari tokka*. Make the first feat next and also *digera tokka*. Then move backwards left to right. Next *paitara*.

14. Turn the upper end of the *lathi* downwards and running make *tokka* at *gora*. Then do the second feat, and making a *palot* right to left, run again and make a *tokka* at *gora* as before. Then do the second feat again, and making a *palot* right to left, stand in front of your competitor, meeting him face to face. Then make the *hoolugoja* and *hatkatipech*, and do the first feat, by moving let to right. Then do *chaki tokka*, and moving the left side after performing the second feat, do *tewari tokka*. Then do the first feat and *chaki tokka* after that. Next move backwards towards the right side by making the stroke of the *komar*. After this *paitara*.

15. Finish the second trick and make a revolution by performing a *palot* from right to left and make *chapani tokka*. Repeat this three times. Then make *digera tokka*, *tewari tokka*, *chaki takka*, and making *hoolugoja*, complete a *palot* left to right. Then make *digera tokka*, *tewari tokka*, *chaki tokka*. After this

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revolve the upper end of the *lathi* over your head, and bringing it to your back, make *chapani takka*. Then reverse the upper end of the *lathi* and revolve it over your head left to right, performing *chaki tokka* at the same time. Next make a stroke of the *komar* from the left side, turn backwards right to left, and stand face to face with your competitor. Then make *tokka* and *gora* running, and while revolving right to left, make *tewari tokka*. Then remove the left foot at a distance of two cubits and make revolutions over your head. Bring the left foot in front of the right foot and moving the body to the right side completely, strike at the left side if the *lathi* is brought at the back. Thus would the stroker at the head and the left side continue alternately one after another.

16. Perform the second feat and make a *palot* right to left, and revolving in a circle by the right side, make *tewari tokka*, and that on the ground five times. Go on thus, making *tokka* on the ground and *tewari tokka* alternately for five times; then make a stroke of the *komar* right to left and make *hatkati*. Keep the *lathi* in that position and run. Then stand one behind the other, coming by the left side. The upper end of the *lathi* should be kept on the ground by the left side. Then make the second feat and perform the *palot*, right to left, and making a complete revolution, do *chapani tokka*, *tewari tokka*, *hylekoranpech*. Then again *tewari tokka*, and after this do the first feat, and revolve right to left. then again make the first feat, also *chaki takka* after that. Next make a stroke of the *komar* and revolve right to left. After this *paitara*.

    Hylekoranpech : Keep the upper end of the *lathi* over your right side. Then bring it in front and raise it by your left side and proceed as in the first.

Marerbari

Make the *hatkatipech* two times, then after performing *paitara*, run, each keeping to the left side of the other. While running, revolve the *lathi* twice left to right over your head. Then face each other and revolve the *lathi*, as well as your body after performing the second feat left to right and make *hatkatipech*. Then while running make *digera tokka*, *tewari tokka*. Then make two revolutions, and moving to the right side, make *tewari tokka*. Keeping the *lathi* in that position, completely revolve the body left to the right and make salutations over your *lathi*. Then make a *palot* left to right and revolve the body and the *lathi* twice and move

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towards your back. Then making *paitara* on both sides, perform *chapani tokka* and revolve your body and the *lathi* right to left. Then stand after doing *hatkatipech*, and advancing a little, stand each behind the other, moving by the left side. The upper end of *lathi* will be on the ground at the left side. Then make the second feat, and revolving completely after making a *palot* right to left, make *chapani tokka, tewari tokka*. Then again do the same feat, and moving to the right side, make *tewari tokka*. Then making the first feat, strike at the ground at the left side, standing. Next leave the *lathi*, and making two *palots* right to left, move to the back and strike with the *lathi*, seizing it while running.

1. (a) While revolving in a circle, make *tokka* on the ground and *tewari tokka* alternately towards your left.
   Places where to strike : *Siti, seer, santa,* three joints of the right hand, left shoulder, elbow, *chapani*, etc.
   (b) While revolving in a circle, perform the *hyleform* feat and make *tewari tokka*.
   Places where to strike : Left side of the neck and shoulder, *chaki tewari*, from the elbow of the left hand to the joint, left knee, etc.
   (c) While revolving in a circle, perform the second feat and then *tewari tokka*.
   Places where to strike : From the elbow of the right hand to the joint, *tewara, chaki*, etc.
   (d) While revolving in a circle, perform the first feat and then make *chaki tokka*.
   Places where to strike : *Seer, chaki,* left side of the chest, left side, the joint of the left foot, knee, etc.

ORDER OF THE DRILL

1. Fall in. Fall out. Dismiss.
2. Numbers. (From right or left.)
3. Attention (half right angle).
4. Dress (right or left) (......front).
5. Close (right or left).
6. Stand at ease (10 inches apart).
7. Stand easy.
8. Turning —
   (i) Right or left incline or half right or left turn.
   (ii) Right or left turn.
   (iii) About turn.

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9. Two ranks.
   (Even or odd numbers one pace forward or backward.)
10. Form fours.
11. Changing direction —
    (Right or left about form).
    (Right or left form).
    (Half right or half left form).
12. Balance step —
    (Or mark time.)
    (Right, left half.)
13. Picket up, right or left (hands alternate up and down).
14. Hands on hip.
15. Revolve (right or left, or both hands).
16. Kneel down.
17. Sit down.
18. Lie down (or fall down).
19. Salute (right or left hand).
20. Marching (right of left wheel) of half (forward or advance) (backward) —
    (i) Slow march —
        (heel to heel 30 inches, 75 steps in minute).
    (ii) Quick march —
        (heel to heel 33 inches, 120 steps in one minute).
    (iii) Double march —
        (heel to heel 40 inches, 130 steps in one minute).
    (iv) Running.
    (v) Hopping (right or left) (as you were).
    (vi) Front (forward).
        Rear. Retire.
21. Firing —
    (i) Ready.
    (ii) Aim.
    (iii) Shoot.
    (iv) Bayonet (also written in Bengali *sangin*).
22. Engage —
    Ist point, 2nd point.
23. Lunge —
    (with the) 1st point, 2nd point.
24. Parry —
    1st, 2nd, 3rd (1st and 2nd forms).
25. Point down.

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26. Charge.
27. Retreat.
28. (i) Form a cone or reverse or reverse cone.
    (1st pair, 2nd pair, etc.)
    (Reform the line).
    (ii) Form a ring.
    (iii) Wheel round and form a company.
    (iv) Form company in files.

Bande Mataram

PROMISE (*ANTYA*, i.e., THE END)

1. I shall not disclose to any one matter concerning the secrets of the *Samiti* and shall never discuss those things unnecessarily.
2. I shall never violate any rule of the *Samiti*. I shall always obey the direction of the leader of the *Samiti*. I shall always fully obey whatever he will order me to do.
3. I shall not change my place (of residence) without giving information to the leader. Wherever I may remain and in whatever condition, I shall never keep that secret from the leader. If I become aware of any intrigue against the *Samiti*, I shall inform it immediately to the leader of the *Samiti* and shall try to remedy that under orders of the leader.
4. I shall always come over when the leader so orders wherever I might happen to remain and in whatever condition. If I cannot come for any serious difficulty, physical or natural (mental?). I shall immediately apply to the leader, informing him about it and shall come over so soon as the difficulty is overcome.
5. I shall consider no work as disgraceful. I shall have no feeling of hatred, shame, or fear for any work of the *Samiti*. I shall cast away all fear of public criticism. I shall not have the slight desire of earning reputation. If anyone surpasses me in reputation, I shall not envy him. I shall do my duty with sobriety, patience, and perseverance without caring anything for fame or disgrace, and by giving up all kinds of babbling and fruitless discussions. I shall not hesitate to make self-sacrifice and show magnanimity for the sake of the *Samiti*.
6. I shall never teach anything that I would gain from this *Samiti* after making these promises to people other than those who have made promise like myself.

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No. 6

D

[To Pramode Nath Ghosh, care of Babu Rajani Kanta Das, 31, Sarfatganj, Dacca].

Dear Pramode,

My congratulation, Can't adequately indicate how I am beside himself (myself ?) when your sweet note touched me. Glad to see your determination that you are all determined to develop the *Swadeshi* movements in connection with *swadeshi hat*. I am collecting volunteers for *Astami snan* (Nangalbund). A rumour got abroad that four hundred Gurkhas will be sent there. We are also determintu to defend ourselves and (the) unfortunate. I am the leader of two hundred volunteers. I shall be glad if you wish to to there. Reply soon. Anxious for your sister's illness. All right, hoping so and so.

Rajanagar,
Care of Bhuban Mohan Bose.

Yours,
Surendra.

E

[To Pramode Nath Ghosh]

Dear Pramode,

I have come from Nangalbund a few days back. You know everything about Nangalbund : I could not satisfy myself there, being unable to teach the police the important lessons, only for the *lilyliveredness* of our leader. Be that as it may, what God does does for our good. Salute your sister in my name. I am in hurry. So far to day. All right and hoping so.

Bagbari, P. O. Bogra,
The 26th April.

(No name)

No. 7

E

[Addressed to Pramode Nath Ghosh]

Premdada,

Your letter is received. Please write to me now and again. I do not write a separate letter to Kusum. Show this letter to her. I want to send

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Prabha to Dacca Monday, for the cost here is great, and we cannot meet that. You and Kusum are there, so we shall not have anxiety for her. I have never remained without Bibha. But away with this fondness. Bibha will be 14 in next *Kartic.* She looks quite stout and has been a little fat. She wanted to send a letter to you, but an extra postage will be required, I did not permit her to do so. You will please take the trouble of giving the letters of Anath and Kanu to them. For why should I spend 4 pice unnecessarily ? Please take the trouble of handing over the letters to them, though you have hardly any leisure. I am glad to hear that there has been an increment of Rs. 5 in father's pay. How happy should be that day when father will live upon the earnings of you all ? Alas ! he has been serving from the time when he was only 16. I have no hopes of helping him with a rupee or two. I am preparing a comforter for father. The wool is certainly English. For *swadeshi* wool is not available. You will perhaps be angry with me on hearing this. While I am preparing it with my own hands, it must necessarily be *swadeshi.* What more to write ? I do not know when I shall again hear you sing. Brother, write to me always. On Sunday, the 9th *Aswin,* B. Babu will start for his home. If you meet him at the station Narayanganj, he may then go to Dacca. Be that as it may, please read my letters to father. Ask Kusum to write to me. Bibha is certainly Kusum's own. I am her mother only in name. Kusum is the real mother. Bibha loves her dearly. I have therefore intended of keeping Bibha at the Dacca boarding. Accept my affections. Give my greetings to father.

Your sister.

F

No. 8

[Addressed to Pramode Ranjan (Nath) Ghosh,
care of R. Das, Esq., Dacca.]

Dear Pramode,

Your letter is received. You do not know perhaps that cards are English make. I searched and could not find cards made in India. We may use those English make articles which are of the utmost necessity to us but are not at the same time manufactured in our country. If you think that you cannot do without English cards, I shall send them to you. How do you do ? Give my *pranams to Mejdi.*

Your brother

Bengal City College, Calcutta;
The 8th January 1907.

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G

No. 9

[Letter No. 13, *without date, from Hiranya, to Jyotirmoy Ray (Benga)*
Bande Mataram]

To the most revered one,

I am exceedingly glad to receive your letter. He who brought me from Dacca placed me in the hands of another at Kamalaghat and had gone away. I shall make over charge of the Secretary to another to-day. Another person, who belongs to our Dacca *samiti*, likes to talk on this matter. The players of this place want to know all the tactics of the play in one day. Shall I teach them the arts even if I cannot do that in two or three days ? Other members say that if they are given short lessons, they will be able to learn them well. The number of members is now 16 to 17. The condition of this place is very good. There are nowhere else such Musalmans as in this place. Some pleaders of this place are very good, but in majority of them do not hesitate in doing harm to their country. Please let me know if Rakhal Babu has come to Dacca, and give the other letter to father. I am all right. Please let me have the news of your good health and that of the members of the *samiti*. Give my blessings to the members of the *samiti*.

Yours affectionately
Hiranya.

Lakhimpur
House of Srijut Basanta Kumar Mitra, Noakhali.
P.S.— Write to me before the 5th of *Ashar*.
(Written on the cover)

There was in this envelope a letter addressed to Haran's father, which I have given to him.

(Signature illegible.)

Letter to Jyotirmoy Roy alias *(Benga) from Jitendra Chandra Mukhopadhya of Joydebpur, No. 10, dated the 22nd April* 1907.

Bande Mataram

Respected Sir,

Jotirmoya Babu, you were to come here immediately after the *Astami snan*. Possibly you cannot come for some particular reasons; we

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are suffering loss for your delay. I have received a letter from Bhupesh Babu to-day. He has sent a letter appointing Beni Madhab Bose as our leader. But Beni has learnt only up to the *8th Art* in fencing, but some of us can play seven or eight *bari* (strokes). So I cannot understand how he will be able to train us. Moreover, he is even more inexperienced than ourselves in the art of drilling. So please come here soon. If you cannot come for some unavoidable necessities, please send one who has more experience than he (Beni).

Begs to submit,
Joydebpur, Jitendra Chandra Mukhapadhya,
The 14th Baisakh. Assistant Secretary, Joydebpur Branch.

H

No. 10

Letter from Mani of Gauripur to Jyotirmoy Ray (Benga), No. 12.

SRI HARI

Bande Mataram

Dear Jyoti,

I have not received any letter from you for many days. I hope I shall get a reply of this letter soon. I wrote successfully two letters to *Baba* (*Swami*), one letter to Upen and one letter to our house before this. But I have not as yet received any reply to any of those letters. Please enquire and let me know if they are in receipt of my letters, and also ask Upen to inform me of the matter about which I wrote to him. You should not put any question to him for knowing the matter from him.

Let me know the present condition of Dacca.

I am well. Let me know how you all are.

Yours,
Mani.

P.S.—Send Pulin Babu to this place as soon as he comes to Dacca.

Yours,
Mani.

P. O. Gauripur,
The house of the manager of 4-anna share,
district Mymensingh.

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No. 11

Summary of report on the Anusilan Samiti

1. Nature of report.
2. General points of contrast.
3. Development of boycott methods.
4. The *Anushilan* as *Shebaks*, public philanthropists.
5. The *Anushilan* organisation and its head, Pulin Behari Das —
   (i) Pulin Behari Das.
   (ii) The organisation.
   (iii) *Lathi*, dagger and sword play and *Jiu-Jitsu*.
6. The record of the *Anushilan* —
   (i) Secret meeting at National School.
   (ii) Mock fight at Genderia.
   (iii) Mock fight at Manikganj.
   (iv) Pulin's visit to Noakhali.
   (v) Pulin's visit to Tangail, Mymensingh.
   (vi) Grand assault-at-arms in Dacca.
   (vii) Suspicious boat expedition of Pulin and Ashutosh Gupta.
   (viii) Mr. Allen pelted with mud.
   (ix) Conviction of Pulin and others.
   (x) Conduct of volunteers at Nangalband *mela*.
   (xi) Series of dacoities and violent crimes— Bara dacoity.
   (xii) The Naria dacoity.
   (xiii) Reference to Malda and Kushtia dacoities.
   (xiv) Murder of Manasha Chakrabatti.
   (xv) Boat theft by Shatirpara students.
   (xvi) House-breaking implements and disguises.
7. Enticement of minors and young boys.
8. Connection of Pulin with prominent agitators.
9. Connection with anarchists.
10. Arms and explosives.
11. Anonymous letters and notices.
12. Political demonstrations.
13. The *Anushilan* and the National School.
14. Pulin Behari Das.

Appendix A.— List of *Samitis*.

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No. 12.

REPORT ON THE ANUSHILAN SAMITI

The following report is in continuation of Mr. Allen's report (Nature of report), dated 21st October 1907. It embodies the results of my own observations during the past year, and includes some reference to a few documents out of nearly 1,400 seized in the three recent searches on the *Samiti* premises in Dacca, and at a few searches in the mofussil. The examination of all this evidence has been commenced, but will require considerable time for completion.

2. Mr. Allen defines the object of the *Anushilan* as "the physical training of Bengali youths and the general diffusion of *swadeshi* principles". It is now abundantly clear that the object of the *Aunshilan* is to effect a revolution and overthrow the British Government. As regards physical training, the organisation has entered upon a much more serious phase of activity, namely, violent organised crime, including dacoity and murder.

   Formerly the organisation was practically confined to Hindu, *bhadralok*, now low class Hindus have been largely recruited. Mr. Allen also notes that 12 was about the age limit of volunteers; now children of nine take solemn vows to renounce all worldly ties for the *Samiti*. These two developments are as admirable in the interests of a revolutionary organisation as they are pernicious to society in general.

3. At first open boycott by bands of youthful *lathials* was the order of the day. Of late, however, there has been no open violence because the boycott movement appears to have been effective, especially in parts like Bikrampur, where generally speaking hardly any foreign goods are now sold, but where those who still deal in non *swadeshi* articles are subjected to a well organised social persecution. In one recent case a fine of Rs. 200 was imposed upon a shopkeeper under threat of social persecution and paid by him. The leaders in this matter were prominent members of the *Anushilan Samiti*. In Ichhapur a Pandit was abused and persecuted by volunteers because he attended the Conference of the Saraswaty Somaj at Dacca, when an address was presented to Sir Charles Bayley.

   Before the *puja* holidays this year, agents of the *Anushilan*, on the pretext of selling *swadeshi* goods, distributed leaflets in Dacca and Faridpur, threatening those who sold *bilati* goods with the fate of Naren Gossain. During the *pujas* agents went round under Pulin's orders to note those shopkeepers who disregarded this warning; the intention being to punish them in any convenient way — arson

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being one method suggested. There was also active persecution of those who decorated their images with *rang*, including the Deputy Magistrate of Dinapur, Surjya Kumar Das, a relative of Pulin. In Bikrampur some offending idols were destroyed.

4. Mr. Allen testifies to good work done at the Nangalband *mela* in 1907. The *mela* of 1908 and the great Ardhodhay Jog in Calcutta show a great extension of this activity, but the true character of the volunteers was as clearly shown to me in 1908 as it was to Mr. Allen in 1907, and as regards Calcutta, I need only remark that the leaders of that particular band of *shebaks*, which was extolled for "selfless" devotion, are now proved to be dacoits. The real object of this "philanthropy" is, I believe, to show those enormous masses of the population, which come together at great religious festivals, the power and extent of the *Samiti* organisation, and how it is supplanting the organisation of Government. At the last Nangalband *mela*, the volunteer leaders showed an extraordinary readiness to accept any conditions provided I allowed them to keep order at the bathing ghats and help pilgrims at the various places where crowding caused discomfort. By engaging not to picket, the volunteers, numbering in all about 1,000, obtained the unique privilege of masquerading with *lathis*, *pagris* and gaudy badges before a concourse of about 300,000 people. Now that the true character of the *Samiti* organisation has been unmasked, I would deprecate strongly any further recognition of volunteers on these occasions. The services rendered to individuals have been Purchased at much too dear a price. These remarks cover all *Samitis*, whether *Anushilan*, *surhid*, *Brati* or other, for all unite as *Shebaks*.

5. I now deal with the Aunshilan organisation, its objects which are now much better known, and its head, Pulin Behari Das.
   (i) Pulin's importance begins from September 1906, when Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. P. Miter came to Dacca and held meetings. Mr. Mitter asked those who were willing to sacrifice themselves for the country to come forward. Eighty persons stood forth, including the following:
      (1) Pulin Behari Das.
      (2) Birendra Chandra Bose, son of Pleader Rajani Bose, and an accused in the *Janmastami* stabbing case.
      (3) Nripendra Chakrabatti, son of Pleader Shashi Chakrabatti of Dig Bazar, an accused in the *Janmastami* case and at present an absconder in the Bara dacoity case.

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(4) Suresh Chandra Pal of Chitrakote, Munshiganj, a prominent member of the *Samiti* there and subscriber to the *Gaelic American.*

(5) Narendra Datta of Chakda, Faridpur, still a very active member of the *Anushilan.*

(6) Sitala Kanta Banerji, brother of Pleader Surjya Kumar Banerji, an extremist.

An oath was administered by Mr. P. Mitter himself, and it is said that these two extremists were the means of founding twenty secret societies in Dacca.

(ii) Pulin is now the head of the whole *Anushilan Samiti* organisation, which extends throughout Eastern Bengal and Sylhet and to Western Bengal. He lives generally in the Central *Samiti* as it is called, at South Maisundi, Dacca. There are numerous documents to show that the most important principle of the *Aunshilan* organisation is absolute obedience and subordination in various grades, under a supreme leader, namely, Pulin himself. Printed and written documents prove this and in particular the following may be quoted from an essay in Pulin's own handwriting. The subject is "the total surrender of one's personal independence in the hands of a leader". It is argued that even under the so-called 'popular' Government of America the real power is in the hands of a few leaders. The secret of Japan's success was the placing by the people of all power in the hands of the King. On the other hand, in Russia, mischief rather than good has been done to the nation as a whole by the Nihilist party apparently through their lack of unity. "The democratic principle cannot hold good in matters relating to the army, because in these affairs speediness is the secret of success. The proper time for work passes by and the whole thing falls to the ground if the consent of everyone has to be taken." The same lesson of unquestioning obedience is taught in the *Paridarshak,* the largest and most important exposition of the *Anushilan* organisation, of which we possess six copies, one in Pulin's handwriting. The special vow which every member is required to take upon a *Kalimurti* is the following:—

"I will not be bound by any tie for my father, mother, relatives, kinsmen, friends, hearth and home until the object of this *Samiti* is fulfilled". A document found consists of this vow with the signatures of fifteen youths below it, their ages

ranging from 22 to 9, mostly below 15. "The object of this *Samiti* " is nowhere stated explicitly. One boy who had taken the vow said the "object" was explained to him as the "Salvation of India". The *Paridarshak* is more precise in the statement "it is impossible to thoroughly eschew foreign articles unless the foreign people and foreign king are first driven out." Unless this — the overthrow of British rule— be the ultimate object to the *Samiti* organisation, there is no meaning in the ascetic training, the laboriously practiced *lathi*, dagger, and sword-play, boxing and Jiu-Jitsu, the military drill and training, the mock fights and competition. Apart from direct evidence which may be forthcoming, there is strong corroboration of this view in the seditious books, letters and documents fond in the *Samiti.* A picture of the Duke of Albany with disgusting words written on its face is also significant. Direct connection with the Calcutta anarchists may be eventually proved, but at present there is ample evidence that they are all regarded as martyrs.

It is clear, then that the *Anushilan* is an extremely well organised revolutionary society of which Pulin is the head, with dictatorial powers. In the Central *Samiti* nothing can be done without Pulin's order; all correspondence must be first read; guards are posted day and night; and severe punishments inflicted for the least breach of rules. The *Samiti* has its initial and final vows printed and widely distributed throughout the province. It has elaborately drawn up forms for recording in the minutest detail the degree of training of every village *Samiti* the population, natural features of the village and a map. I believe the society was intended to work very secretly and quietly, without any collision with the authorities until the deeply laid plans were fully matured. Generally speaking the commission of crime appears to have been the work of insubordinate members in moments of excitement. There have, however, been deliberately planned crimes, particularly the dacoities. The later were probably suggested in the first instance by agents of the *Jugantar.* The *Anushilan* however took up the idea with enthusiasm; funds would be replenished, real military experience gained; and with little danger from the public afterwards they would approve the deed as patriotic, and any one who disapproved could be coerced into silence. The *Samiti* is also now willing that the public should know its

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aims and objects and relies on the dacoities to increase the impression of the power which it wields and of the comparative importance of Government.

(iii) Pulin is himself an expert in *lathi* sword and dagger-paly, in all of which he was trained by Murtaza of Calcutta. He holds regular classes for instruction in these arts, himself inspects the *lathi*-paly of mofussil *Samitis*, sends out trained volunteers to instruct members of the mofussil *Samiti*, and organises mock fights and competitions, in which medals and prizes are given. It is reported that he instructs volunteers in archery and has discovered the formulae for a deadly poison to be applied to arrow-heads.

6. I shall now bring the record of the *Anushilan* up to date by a chronicle of events ranging from anti-Government demonstrations to dacoities and murder of the foulest type.

(i) In July 1907 Pulin organised a secret meeting of 300 volunteers in the Premises of the National School when the necessity of *lathi*-play was urged.

(ii) In December 1907 Pulin was present at a mock fight at Genderia in which about 250 volunteers were engaged. There were the usual shouts of *Hara Hara, Bom Bom* and *Bande Mataram.* About 500 spectators were present, including some pleaders. Pulin himself acted as bugler.

(iii) In April 1908 Pulin visited Manikganj to celebrate the first anniversary of the local branch of the *Anushilan,* which was founded by him. The celebrations lasted for four days and there were two mock fights. There were about 500 combatants equally divided into two opposing forces, representing the *Swadeshi* and the British forces, respectively. The Maharatta war cry was raised and there were also shouts of "*Bharat Mata ki jay*" and "*Mantrar Sadhan kimba sarir patan*"

(iv) In may 1908 Pulin visited Noakhali to establish a branch of the *Samiti* in the town.

(v) In July 1908 Pulin visited Tangail, Mymensingh, and was received with the usual shouts of *Bande Mataram* by the students of the Bindubasini and Union schools. The *Samiti* was inspected, there was formal worship with sacrifice of two goats at the *Kalibari.* Pulin lectured on *swadeshi* and encouraged boycott. There was an assault-at-arms next day attended by about 400 persons. Pulin took with two up-country *lathi* experts. Since the date of this visit of Pulin the force of the

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extremist agitation in the locality has greatly increased, and the Subdivisional Officer reports that a state of terrorism prevails.

(vi) In August there was a series of competitions and a mock fight organised by Pulin at Dacca, to which volunteers attended from districts throughout East Bengal. Pulin judged the competitions and many prizes were given. The mock fight was between a mofussil party, of which Pulin was Captain, and a town party captained by Surendra Nath Nag and Upendra Nath Nag of Barodi, Narayanganj. About 500 volunteers took part in the fight, of whom 139 received prizes. In the various competitions 147 boys won prizes. This festival extended over a week.

(vii) In September early one morning Pulin, with Ashutosh Gupta (known as bugler) and four or five youths, left Dacca in great haste in a boat, which had just come from Kalma Bazar, Munshiganj, and which, the *manjhi* said, was ordered to go back there. Pulin and Ashutosh had changed their appearance by shaving off beard and moustache and were seen coming out of pleader Lalit Mohan Ray's house, Ashutosh carrying a big bundle. A telegram was sent to Munshiganj and enquiry showed that no boat from Dacca ever came to Kalma Bazar that day.

So much for demonstrations and tours of Pulin. There has been extraordinary activity in inspection work by his numerous lieutenants also. I now proceed to a list of crimes.

(viii) The last case mentioned in Mr. Allen's report is the *Janmastami* stabbing case of September 1907. The Digirpur case, in which Mr. Allen was pelted with mud, requires notice. The two accused in this case were sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment each and bound down under section 106, Criminal Procedure Code, but the police met with an organized opposition to suppress evidence. Digirpur is a prominent volunteer centre, and those who combined were members or supporters of the *Samiti*. It is significant that Mr. P. Mitter was engaged for the defence, but for some reason, not known, failed to appear.

(ix) Pulin with four members of the *Samiti* have been convicted in case No. 27 of November 1907. He was sentenced under section 160, Indian Penal Code — affray — to three weeks' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 15. They were

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also bound down under section 106, Criminal Procedure Code, in two sureties of Rs. 250 each to keep the peace for two years. The case arose out of a fight between members of Pulin's *akhara* and some Muhammadans regarding a calf. Mr. P. Mitter defended. On appeal the conviction was upheld, but with the sentence of Rs. 15 fine only. The order under section 106, Criminal Procedure Code, was also set aside. The Public Prosecutor was of opinion that a clear case of rioting was made out. Certainly it must be granted that the Magistrate's order was illogical; if the accused only committed affray, it was unreasonable to bind him down for two years; if binding him down was necessary, then his offence was more serious than an affray. This is the only conviction standing against Pulin.

(x) At the Nangalband *mela* of 1908 large numbers of volunteers were present. Although the prominent leaders of the volunteers, such as pleaders Ananda Ray and Lalit Mohan Ray, had provided that no picketing should take place, a clear case of picketing occurred. The offenders were Birendra Chandra Nag, son of the Baradi zamindar, Hari Charan Chakrabatti and Sashi Bhusan De, both of Baradi, and Anath Chandra De of Bangram. After the leaders had promised to punish these volunteers the matter was dropped. Nevertheless, as soon as the news that volunteers had been arrested reached the volunteer camp, there was great excitement and shouting of *Bande Mataram*, and the whole mob was prepared to march through the camp and rescue their comrades. I was present on the occasion and can say that the situation was one of great danger. Fortunately the leaders were successful in restraining the mob. On the last night of the *mela* eight youths were arrested in the very act of destroying glass bracelets in a shop. The attack on the shopkeepers was accompanied by shouts of *Bande Mataram*. These accused were subsequently convicted and fined.

(xi) Next for mention are that series of dacoities and violent crimes which are characteristic of the developments of the anarchist societies during the current year. Foremost among these are the Barah dacoity, the Naria dacoity and the murder of Manasha Chakrabatti.

In the Barah dacoity (2nd June 1908) four persons were killed, seven others wounded, and property valued at about Rs. 26,000 was carried off. Seven prominent members of the *Anushilan*

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Samiti, Sashi Kanta Sarkar, Amrit Hazra, Mati Lal Sen, Nripendra Chakrabatti, Lal Mohan De, and Rajendra Datta are on the strongest grounds actual accused in the case and are all absconding since the date of the crimes. Rajendra Datta, an expert *lathi*-player, was seen after the dacoity with a wound in his head and then absconded, after boasting of his exploits before the schoolboys of the school in which he was a teacher. The dacoits' boat was received by the people of Dhamrai with shouts of *Bande Mataram*. Friendly talk took place. Dhamrai is a strong branch of the *Anushilan* and is the home of Nikhileswar Ray, Jogajiban Ray, and the person called Mati, whose letter exults in Mr. Allen's approaching death. A printed leaflet of the *Anushilan* was dropped here, and at another place a manuscript of *swadeshi* songs, which has been proved to belong to Lal Mohan De, another member of the *Samiti*, who lived in Pulin's *akhara* and is now absconding. At Asulia, the rendezvous of the dacoits both before and after the crime, Lalit Kanta Sarkar, brother of Sashi, and Kali Narayan, Sashi's uncle, terrorised the villagers against giving evidence, and in connection with the disposal of the dacoits' boat, a witness, Braja Nath Mandal, deposes that Lalit "told us that Pulin Babu of Dacca had paid Rs. 300 for having the boat removed."

(xii) **The Naria dacoity (30th October) :—** In Rajbari, Munshiganj, there are at villages Nitira, Baharak, Baharpara, Digirpar, and Rajabari flourishing branches of the *Anushilan Samiti* with many trained volunteers, and it can be proved that Pulin frequently visited those *Samitis*. The dacoits' boat was found at Mitra Chur near Rajbari, and among many other papers and articles were found fragments of the large printed form for recording village notes mentioned above (as laid down in the *Paridarshak)*, also parts of a printed notice issued by Pulin. Numerous counterpart of these papers have been found in Pulin's *Samiti*. Further evidence of Pulin's connection has not been obtained; but upon his evidence alone it is safe to conclude that the dacoity was organised by the members of the *Anushilan*, and considering Pulin's undoubted power and authority, such a large undertaking as a dacoity must have received his sanction and approval.

(xiii) The Malda dacoity and the more recent Kushtia case are probably to be attributed to the same origin.

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(xiv) **The murder of Manasha Chakrabatti :—** On November 4th a definite charge of kidnapping a minor was laid against Pulin. This was the first formal complaint. Not less than dozen cases, however, of minors or very young boys being enticed from home had previously come to my notice. More fortunate parents had recovered their children by force or stratagem; in other cases the boys were kept in concealment and false stories told by Pulin himself to put parents off the scent. Quondom supporters of Pulin and his *Samiti,* like pleader Ananda Ray and Ananda Chakrabatti, were appealed to by parents, but their messages to Pulin were ignored. This new policy of the *Samiti,* which aroused the bitterest feeling in the district, together with the dacoity development, has it is believed, effected a severance between Pulin and the more reasonable of those men of position who once supported him. Prompt action was taken upon the first clear case of enticement which presented itself. Pulin and 27 members of the *Samiti* were arrested. The particular minor was found and five others. Pulin was detained in *hajat* and the others released late at night on bail. The same night, however, certain of them proceeded to the homes of the various minors, and with the dreaded power of the *Samiti,* told the parents and guardians what they should do. Police enquiries proceeded, and a boy Sukumar Chakrabatti *alias* Manasha, who had been named as the local agent who enticed the minor, was examined at his home in Srinagar on November 10th. Papers connecting him with the *Anushilan* were found in his house, and entries in registers subsequently found in the *Samiti* building at Dacca proved conclusively that Manasha had been a short while before a resident member of the *Samiti.* He was released on bail to appear before me on November 12th, in Dacca. He did not appear, and on the afternoon of the 13th, his shockingly mutilated body and the severed head was identified not only by his relatives, but also by the police officers who recorded that the word *Sukumar* and *Jiban Pradip* were tattooed on his arms. The latter was his *Samiti* name and is found in the records. In connection with this case, the *Samiti* was searched on November 15th and practically everything removed. During the search it was discovered that a large number of clothes had been sent to the *dhobi* on the 13th, and search of the *dhobi's* house resulted in the seizure of a coat, belonging to the *Samiti,* containing in its pockets some

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extremely seditious papers and a false moustache. One paper contains three blood-thirsty battle songs, inciting to court death like Prafulla and the heroes of the mutiny in the service of mother India. Three marks on this paper have the appearance of blood stains. An enquiry at the jail elicited the information that Pulin had been visited before the murder and on the morning of the 13th by five or six youths, among whom on the second occasion Jotirmay Ray *alias* Benga was recognised. Jotirmay Ray was convicted in the stabbing case and sentenced to 8 months' rigorous imprisonment. He had been found in the *Samiti* and arrested with Pulin on November 4th. Manasha had left the *Samiti* before the occurrence, and when it was known that he was to appear before me, there was some reason for believing that he would turn an informer. Hence he shared Narendra's fate. The circumstancial evidence against the *Samiti* is very strong, and, as in the dacoity cases, it is a most reasonable presumption that the action of the *Samiti* required and received Pulin's consent.

(xv) The Kali Kümar Institution of Shatirpara, Narshingdi thana, is a school founded by pleader Lalit Mohan Ray in memory of his father. Shatirpara, and this school in particular, forms a very strong branch of the *Anushilan Samiti*, and the students have made themselves notorious on several occasions. In August three students of this school and two others stole a boat and proceeded to Narayanganj with the object, it is said, to get help from Dacca and commit a dacoity. Some daggers were found in the boat, but there is no proof of the real object of the expedition. The three accused were sentenced to 5 months' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 50 each. The sentence was upheld on appeal.

(xvi) In connection with this list of crimes, it may be noted that among papers found in the *Samiti* are vaguely worded messages from Sylhet and to Calcutta and an account shows together with considerable sum spent on hire of boats, on food, etc., such items as saws, files, a crowbar, emery, dye, *lungis*, topis and false hair.

7. **The enticement of minors and young boys :—** Little need be said in addition to the summary statement given in paragraph 6 (xiv) and the mention of the document in paragraph 5 (*i*). A post-card written and signed by Pulin and addressed to Sarada Charan Chakrabatti of Routhbhog, Munshiganj, was found with one Upendra Nath Banarji

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and handed over to the Sundivisional Officer by Upendra's brother and mukhtear. Sarada thereupon threatened to shoot Upendra if the post-card was not immediately returned. A case under section 506 was instituted against Sarada, who absconded, but the case will fail, for Upendra now will not support his original statement. This Sarada was instrumental in enticing from home a minor called Ganga Charan Datta, the son of a cultivator. The wording of Pulin's post-card is "For such as are willing to sacrifice their lives for the *Samiti*, food and clothing are provided. Suitable education is also provided for them by the *Samiti*; but if any have also to study at school, there is no provision of food and clothing for them. If you give up the idea of reading at school and sever yourself from all wordly affairs, and are ready to do the work of the *Samiti*, then you can come to *Samiti*. Give my love to all our members." It is obvious that the terms of this letter offer the strongest inducement to poor parents to send their children to the *Samiti*. Ganga Chanran Datta, whose age is not over 13, had been a month in the *Samiti* when he was removed under my orders on November 4th. His father next evening, hearing the boy's lying statements to me and seeing his defiant air, remarked that a month's training in the *Samiti* had deprived his son of his senses and made him a blackguard. It is also clear that this policy of catching boys very young has been deliberately adopted by Pulin as an admirable means to his ultimate object. It is reported that one of Pulin's lieutenants, Fatik Chandra De, is specially in charge of the "recruiting department."

In the Baradi quarter, where the Nag family is all-powerful, the progress of the organisation among low-class Hindus has been most marked. Bhupesh Chandra Nag, a member of the family, and his brother are two of Pulin's foremost lieutenants. A captain of one of these village *samiti* illustrates well the working of the organisation in a letter to Pulin. He writes :— "I am sending my brother Sriman Nara Singha. Please enroll him as a member of the circle. My cousin Mahim is also going with him. He is the member of my *samiti*. I am sending also a thorough fool. I believe if he be properly trained, he will prove particularly useful. He knows nothing about reading or writing, but he is very industrious. If you think, after examining him, that he can be made a man, please retain him too.

"Please send Sriman Hararimay here to me for 4 or 5 days. Please send with him some copies of the Manager's duties, preliminary and final vows ..... I shall take the monthly subscription with me when I go."

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Besides minors, many young boys of ages ranging from 14 to 18 have suddenly abandoned their homes and their education, and with the help of the organisation, which embraced them, defied their parents or guardians.

8. **Pulin's connection with prominent agitators :—** Pulin is a member of the Executive Committee of the All-Indian Volunteer League, of which Mr. Tilak was the President. Pulin is said to have been in direct communication with Mr. Tilak. After the Tinnevelly riots, Pulin was in communication with the leader of the *Anushilan Samiti* of Madras, evidently with the object of sending volunteers from this province to protect the Madrasis from "police oppression." Only 15 volunteers were actually sent. In July Pulin had a large gathering at his house for the purpose of organising a demonstration in sympathy with Tilak. At this time pleaders Ananda Ray and Ananda Chakrabatti were consulted, but having disapproved of any measure which, as they said, would only irritate Government, were reprobated as turn-coats. The estrangement really began after the Barah dacoity in June.

9. **Connection of the Anushilan with the Calcutta anarchists :—** Pulin frequently visits Calcutta and generally stays with the *Anushilan Samiti*, No. 49, Cornwallis Street, but also with Mr. P. Mitter. At the end of August Pulin went to Calcutta with four or five volunteers and Ganga Prasanna Gupta, father of Narendra and Dhirendra, both accused in the anarchist cases. Ganga Prasanna had circulated a printed appeal for funds.

   In connection with this address the following suspicious telegram was sent from Dacca shortly after Pulin's return. The receipt was found in the *Samiti*, but the original telegram reads :— "To Manager, Bengal Stores, 49, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Send articles necessaries directly immediately with men from Sen Co." The address of the sender is given as "Manager, Sen & Co., Patuatoli, Dacca."

   Demonstrations in sympathy with anarchists have been most marked. At Dacca and at all important branches of the *Anushilan Samiti* the members have walked about barefooted on the occasion of Khudiram's, Kanai Lal's, and Satyendra's executions. On the other hand, there have been open rejoicings when Nanda Lal Banarji was shot. Shortly after this murder a list was prepared at Dacca of those police officers who should be sent to the other world.

10. Information has been received that long before the Muzaffarpur outrage, Pulin and his followers imported stores of chemicals for making bombs, and that Pulin himself is an expert hand. It may be

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noted here that Pulin, while at Dacca College, served as laboratory assistant.

In May 1908 Brahmananda Gupta, Captain of the Kamarnagar *Samiti*, and one of Pulin's close associates, admitted that he had worked for some time with Barendra Ghosh in learning bomb-making, and said that bombs could be prepared at a few day's notice, but nothing was then being done or would be done until the authorities became less vigilant.

It is reported also that revolvers have been obtained and most members of the *Samiti* possess them. It is well know that some of the more desperate characters frequently carry them about. Most definite information was received that large quantities of arms and ammunition were hidden somewhere in the neighbourhood of Ganderia. I believe this report to be correct, but is has been impracticable to test it. The most recent confessions of associates of Kartick Chandra Dutt, the notorious head of the *Jugantar's* "Military Department," confirm all previous information regarding stores of arms.

11. Throughout the present year anonymous threatening letters, posted mostly in Dacca but also from places like Narsingdi a Narayanganj and Kamarkhara in Munshiganj, have been received by officials, native and European, by tradesmen and by zamindars. Some of these letters contained obscene abuse in addition to threats. Letters to zamindars and shopkeepers generally stated that the recipients will be visited by dacoits if they continue to oppose the *swadeshi* cause. Before the execution of Khudiram a large number of stencilled notices, inciting to murder of Europeans, was posted throughout Dacca during the night. Members of the *Anushilan* are reasonably suspected of this offence, and it is significant that on two occasions when the *Samiti* premises had been searched papers have been hurriedly burned. Very recently small written notices were posted throughout the town, requesting people to put on mourning for Kanai Lal and Satyendra. Threatening notices have also been posted in many bazars in the mofussil.

12. In all political demonstrations, such as partition day and the boycott anniversary, the members of the *Anushilan* form the bulk of those who attend. At Baira, Manikganj, it was the members of a *Rakhibandhan* procession who, armed with *lathis*, brickbats, and a gun, committed a very serious riot. Some, at any rate, of the leaders of this riot are connected with the *Anushilan Samiti*.

13. Pulin Behari Das and his lieutenant Bhupesh Chandra Nag were from the outset teachers in the school which used to meet in

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premises belonging to Bhupesh Chandra Nag. Pulin's *akhara* was at this time in Cemetery Road, next door to the National School. In July the *Samiti* was removed to a secluded house not far distant, now called "Bajrapuri." In October Pulin had some disagreement with Bhupesh Nag about the management of the school, and for this and because a notice to quit was served, the school was removed to Bajrapuri, which now received the additional name of "Pulin's Boarding House." National School and *Samiti* are now one and the same thing. The school was removed after some of the searches in November to Sib Nag's house and finally to a house in Gowalnagar. The system of elementary teaching is still, however, maintained in the *Samiti*, but clearly it is only subsidiary to the main object of the organisation.

14. I have seen and talked with Pulin. He is a slightly built but wiry man, about 5 feet 3 inches in height. His ears have been recently bored, and only two others were found in the *Samiti* with this peculiarity — Jamini Kumar Chakrabatti and Nishi Bhusan Mittra. This is supposed to be a mark distinctive of those who belong to the innermost circle of the *Samiti*. A considerable knowledge of his dealings and writings, coupled with a short personal acquaintance, lead me to characterise the head of this pernicious organisation as an ascetic disciplinarian; keen—witted but shallow; a visionary enthusiast with strong personal influence; cunning and deceitful; full of ambition.

Dacca; H. L. SALKELD,
The 10th December 1908. *Officer on Special Duty.*

No. 12A

APPENDIX A

List of Samitis

Dacca Town

1. South Maisundi — Central.
2. Kamarnagar (Tanti Bazar).
3. Lakshmi Bazar.
4. Naya Bazar.
5. Imamganj.
6. Mahuttoli.
7. Armanitola.
8. Asak Jemadar's Lane.
9. Zinda Bahar Lane.
10. Patuatuli.
11. Narandia.
12. Gandaria.
13. Bangla Bazar Pora Mahalla.
14. Wari.
15. Farasganj Imperial Seminary.
16. North Nawabpur.

(Dacca Sadar Mofussil)

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1. Sholla.
2. Dhamrai.
3. Suapur.
4. Savar.
5. Gobindapur.
6. Madhabpur.
7. Teghoria.
8. Davinagar.
9. Subudhya.
10. Joydebpur.
11. Baldha.
12. Nannar.
13. Nawabganj (Bagmara).
14. Raghunathpur.
15. Mirpur.
16. Narisha.
17. Kusamhati.
18. Shikaripara

Narayanganj Subdivision

1. Narayanganj.
2. Madanganj.
3. Saiterpara.
4. Machimpur.
5. Shilmandi.
6. Panchdona.
7. Bhatpara.
8. Baradi.
9. Aimdia.
10. Aminpur.
11. Sonamayee.
12. Kansardi.
13. Panam.
14. Gubtali.
15. Araihazar.
16. Hamchadi.
17. Parmeswardi.
18. Krishnapur.
19. Panch Paika.
20. Ekduaria.
21. Gotaisha.

Munshiganj Subdivision

1. Patabhog.
2. Senhati.
3. Tulasar.
4. Ichhapura.
5. Bajrajogini.
6. Mulgaon.
7. Malkhanagar.
8. Aminpur.
9. Sonarang.
10. Bahar.
11. Sholaghar.
12. Beltali.
13. Bhagyakul.
14. Sonargaon.
15. Rajanagar.
16. Brahmangaon.
17. Silimpur.
21. Paikpara.
22. Abdullapur.
23. Kamarkhara or Savarnagram.
24. Nithara.
25. Majpara.
26. Rajabari.
27. Beherpara.
28. Garurgaon.
29. Bidgawn.
30. Srinagar.
31. Malkhanagar.
32. Rajanagar.
33. Bajerhali.
34. Lawhajong.
35. Sekharnagar.
36. Chitrakoli.
37. Rajdia.

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18. Baherak.
19. Routhbog.
20. Panchasar.

38. Bagra.
39. Hashara.
40. Medinimandal.
41. Kukulia.

Manikganj Subdivision

1. Dasara.
2. Matta.
3. Bethulia.
4. Mitara.
5. Tora.
6. Baliati.
7. Dhankora.
8. Baira.
9. Baldhara.
10. Hatipara.
11. Jhilka.
12. Malachi.
13. Tilli.
14. Mahadevpur.
15. Teota.
16. Nabagram.
17. Nali.
18. Sribari.
19. Baitha.
20. Gheor.
21. Dasdina.
22. Uthali.
23. Singair.

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PART II

Samitis in the Bakarganj District

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PART II

No. 13. Report by Magistrate. Bakarganj, dated the 4th December 1908

No. 14. List of *samitis*, etc. in Bakarganj District

No. 15. List of Members of the *Bandhab Samiti* in Barisal

No. 16. List of Members of Patuakhali *Samiti*

No. 17. Reports by Superintendent of Police, Bakarganj, dated the 27th March 1908

No. 18. Objects of *Swedesh Bandhab Samiti* and its method of working

No. 19. Report by Inspector Bhaumik, dated the 23rd February 1907, regarding *Jubak Samiti* (See Nos. 20 and 21)

No. 20. List of Members, etc, of "Young Men's Association," and objects (see No.21)

No. 21. Rules of *Jubak Samiti* (see No. 20)

No. 22. Rules of *Sechya Sebak* for the boycotting of foreign goods by "National Volunteers"

No. 23. Report (with annexures) by Magistrate, Bakarganj, dated the 7th December 1908, regarding (1) two Gita Societies in Barisal and (2) the formation of a branch of the *Anushilan Samiti* at Kashipur village

No. 24. Rules of the Barisal District *Samiti* (District Union)

No. 25. Demi-official No. 1620-S., dated the 9th December 1908, from Commissioner, Dacca

No. 26. Note on the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* of the Bakarganj District by R. Nathan, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Commissioner, Dacca Division

No. 27. Report, dated the 8th January 1909, by Commissioner, Dacca, regarding *Zilla Samitis*

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No. 13

Demi-official dated Barisal, the 4th December 1908.

From — W. J. Reid, Esq., I.C.S.

To — R. Nathan, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

I have thought very carefully over your letter of 30th November, and have consulted Howard. He knows no more of the subject than what the papers already in your possession show. To collect all the information you want, we should require the service of at least three special Criminal Investigation Department officers for several months, and I think I am right in saying that the district staff have hitherto devoted their energies more to overt acts by members of societies than to a detailed examination of the growth, membership, and aims of secret societies. Nor, in my opinion, could more be expected from them than they have done. I forward a list, revised by Inspector J. C. Bhaumik, Criminal Investigation Department, of such societies as we know to exist. The list is by no means complete if we are to notice every village where members, or so-called members of some of these societies are to be found. (In the printed proceedings of the Barisal District Conference of 1908 I find that the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* claimed to have 159 branch *samitis* all over the district. This may be an exaggeration, but Jogesh Babu thinks that there are undoubtedly numerous branches.)

3. With the exception of the Muhammadan societies and the *Hari Sabhas*, all the societies in the enclosed list are connected with, or at least are in sympathetic communication with, the *Bhandhab Samiti*. And subscriptions are collected in many parts of the district (witness the forms recently found in the possession of Makunda, against whom proceedings under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, are pending). As regards the *Anushilan Samiti*, I find that Kemp in a note, dated the 27th March 1908, considered that the *Anushilan Samiti* had not cast its net in this district, and that this was due probably to jealousy on the part of Aswini Kumar Dutt, who was running the *Bandhab Samiti*. Whatever may have been the case then, there can be no doubt that there is now a branch of the *Anushilan Samiti* in Barisal (No. 5 in my list), and that it is on the most friendly terms with the *Bandhab*. I am told that the two societies have several members in common. In proof of the wide influence of the *Bandhab Samiti* I enclose a set of rules entitled *Zilla Samiti*, which the Criminal Investigation Department Inspector recently obtained, and which are supposed to apply all over the district.

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4. The *Bandhab Samiti* has its headquarters office at Barisal, and the *Anushilan* has also a definite location. The boys in the latter are exercised in *lathi*-play almost every day, but, so far as is known, there is no instruction given in dagger-play.
5. Besides my list of *samitis* (No. 14), I send a separate list (No. 15) of the *Bandhab Samiti* in Barisal and elsewhere, and a list (No. 16) of a recently formed branch of the *Zilla Samiti* at Patuakhali. This has only just been received. I send also a copy (No. 20) of the printed rules of the *Zilla Samiti*, which recently came into our hands.
6. From what Inspector Jogesh tells me, and from the results of my own very brief observation of local politics, I think that if any action is taken, only the *Bandhab Samiti* need by considered. Its collapse would bring all the other societies in the district to a sudden close. And I also agree with Jogesh in thinking that if the University would only move against the Braja Mohan Institution, even to *Bandhab Samiti* might be disregarded.
7. I have made quiet enquiries so far as has been possible in a very limited period, and am unable to find that any crime of recent date can, with certainty or even as a matter of reasonable suspicion, be attributed to the members of any of our *samitis*.
8. In the list of members (No. 15) of the Barisal *Bandhab Samiti* certain names have an asterisk placed against them. These are agitators who are constantly shadowed by the police.
9. As regards National Schools, there are only two in the district — at Bhola and Amrajuri. I am told that neither of these is of any importance, and as regards Bhola, what I saw there makes me inclined to accept this view. And there are said to be four National *Pathsalas*, also unimportant. I have not yet found the papers regarding these.
10. This is a rather hurried and incomplete letter, but I have not ventured to wait in the hope of getting further information, and I know you will realise the difficulties in which I am working owing to my ignorance on all subjects.

P.S.— I append (No. 17) also a copy of Kemp's note of 27th March 1908 on *Samitis*.

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No. 14

Bakarganj District

Revised list of Societies, Sabhas and Anjumans under Circular No. 8 S.B., dated the 20th July 1908

Name and location of Shabha, etc.	Constitution and object	Name of patrons, office-holders	Occupation and residence	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
Anjumani Hemayeti Islam.	To ameliorate the condition of Muhammadans by the spread of education and to guard its interest by representation to Government.	President—Nawab Syed Muzum Hossain.	Zamindar, Shaistabad.	There are rules, but reports are not published.
Bell Islamia Boarding Library Hall, Barisal town.	—	Vice-President—Abdul Gani.	Marriage Registrar, Barisal.	
		Secretary—Hemayet uddin Ahmed, B.A., B.L.	Pleader, Barisal.	
Dharma Rakshini Sabha.	Purely religious	Secretary—Jogindra Nath Banerji.	Ditto	Ditto
Barisal town, Kalibari Mahalla.	—	Assistant Secretary—Lalit Kumar Sen.	Ditto	
Brahmo Samaj, Barisal town.	Purely religious	Secretary—Rajani Kanta Guha.	Principal Braja Mohan College, Barisal.	There are rules, but reports are not published.
		Assistant Secretary—Manmatha Mohan Das.	Municipal Head Clerk, Barisal.	
		Kali Mohan Das	Samaj Minister	
		Monmohan Chakrabatti.	Preacher.	

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1	2	3	4	5
Bandhab Samiti, Barisal town.	Formation of arbitration committees and to support the boycott of *bilati* goods and collect money for national fund and political agitation.	President—A. K. Dutt. Vice-President—Upendra N. Sen. Secretary—Sashi Kanta Gupta.	Proprietor, Braja Mohan College, Barisal and talukdar. Zamindar, Basanda. Pleader, Barisal.	There are some branch *samitis* to settle disputes by arbitration and collect money for furtherance of political agitation, and this *samiti* is the main organ of every sort of political demonstrations in Barisal. The *samiti's* papers are said to be kept in the houses of Dr. Tarini Kumar Gupta and zamindar Upendra Nath Sen Mahalanabis.
Anushilan Samiti, Barisal town.	To improve physical strength and to learn to defend one's self.	Captain—Satish Ch. Mukharji.	Teacher, Braja Mohan Institution.	Rules and regulations same as that of Dacca Anushilan Samiti.
		Lathi instructor—Atul Ch. Rai.	Olepur, Faridpur.	
		Devendra Nath Das Gupta.	P. L. Class, Braja Mohan College, Barisal.	

Members

(1) Beni Madhab Rai. Has no business,
(2) Beni Madhab Chakrabatti, 4th class,
(3) Keshab Lal Chaterji, 1st class,
(4) Charu Chandra Rai, 4th class,
(5) Prafulla Kumar Das Gupta, 4th class,
(6) Satyabrita Das Gupta, 5th class,
(7) Debabrita Das Gupta, 5th class
(8) Anukul Chandra Chaterji, 4th class,
— Braja Mohan Institution.
(9) Makham Lal Chaterji, 7th class,
(10) Digendra Nath Dutt, 1st class, Zilla School.
(11) Nishi Kanta Banerji, F. A. class, Braja Mohan Institution.
(12) Dhirendra Nath Das Gupta, Has no business.
(13) Jitendra Nath Mukharji, 6th class,
(14) Bhupendra Nath Mukharji, 4th class,
(15) Kunja Behary Karmarkar, 6th class,
(16) Prithis Chandra Rai, 5th class,
— Braja Mohan Institution.

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(17) Ramani Ranjan Gupta. Has no business.
(18) Ananta Kumar Das Gupta, Technical School.
(19) Mahendra Nath Sen, 5th class,
(20) Rebati Ranjan Mazumdar, 4th class,
(21) Prio Nath Banerji, 4th class,
(22) Khirode Chandra Sen, 2nd class,
(23) Indu Bhusan Das Gupta, 5th class.

Braja Mohan Institution.

1	2	3	4	5
Peoples' Association, Barisal town.	To take necessary steps regarding questions in hand according to the circumstances of the district. Also deals in politics.	President—Dina Bandhu Sen. Secretary—Aswini Kumar Dutt. Assistant Secretary—Rajani Kanta Das.	Pleaser, Barisal Professor, Braja Mohan College and talukdar. Pleader, Braja Mohan College and talukdar.	Nil.
Little Brothers of the Poor, Barisal town.	To help and attend the poor and the sick.	Captain—Kailash Chandra Bidyabinode.	Pandit, Braja Mohan College, Barisal.	There are rules, but reports are not published.
Friendly Union, Barisal town.	To instruct the students as to morality and religion.	Patrons—Teachers of the Braja Mohan Institution.	—	No fixed rules.
Shahebganj Samiti, (Shahebganj, Bakarganj police station).	To support the boycott	Secretary—Guru Shabek Lal Barman.	Talukdar, Shahebganj	There are rules, but reports are not published. Not in existence.

Members

Panchanan Bhattacharjya,
Mathura Nath De,
Chandra Kumar Chakrabatti,
Chinta Haran Guha,

Howladars, Bharpasa.

Kalashkati Swadesh Hitaishini Sabha, (Kalashkati, Bakarganj police station.)	To support the swadeshi movement.	Secretary—Chandi Charan Tarkabagish.	Howladar, Kalashkati.	thee are rules, but reports are not published.
Shibpur Anjuman, (Shibpur, Bakarganj police station.)	Purely religious	Members—Rohimuddi Molla Abdul Aziz	Mukhtear, Shibpur Tehsildar, Krishnakati.	Nil.

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1	2	3	4	5
Khairabaj Santan Samiti, (Khairabaj, Bakarganj.)	To support the boycott and swadeshi movement.	Secretary—Upendra Nath Chakrabatti.	Talukdar, Khairabaj	There are rules, but reports are not published.

Members

Atindra Nath Chakrabatti, Talukdar, Kalidhan Chatterji Howladar, Jogesh Chandra Sukel, Howladar, — Khairabaj.

1	2	3	4	5
Shyampur Samiti, (Shyampur, Bakarganj police station.)	To support the boycott and the swadeshi movement.	Secretary—Prasanna Kumar Das.	Talukdar, Shyampur	There are no regular rules and regulations.

Members

Bilash Chandra Chakrabatti, Howladar, Akshay Kumar Sen, Naib at Mathura Nath Samaddar. — Shyampur.

1	2	3	4	5
Chandsi Santan Samiti, (Chandsi, Gournadi police station).	For the improvement of the village.	President—Sita Nath Bhattacharjya. Secretary—Lakhi Ch. Shaha.	Sanskrit scholar Taludar, Chandsi.	There are rules and regulations and annual reports are issued.
Goila Peoples' Association (Branch of Barisal Association, Goila).	For the improvement of the country.	President—Ram Chandra Das Gupta. Secreaty—Sita Nath Das Gupta.	Talukdar, Goila Ditto.	Nil. Dead. No new President elected.

Joint Secretaries

Kaillash Chandra Sen, Head-master, Goila High English School.
Ganga Prasad Das, Talukdar, Goila.
Brindaban Ch. Sen, Pensioner.
Kailash Chandra Sen, Talukdar, Goila.

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1	2	3	4	5
Hari Sabha (Kalbilla, Gournadi police station).	For the introduction of religious and social reform.	Secretary—Charumani Fakir.	Taludar, Kolbilla	Nil.
		Assistant Secretary—Beni Ram Madhab.	Ditto.	
Salishi Samiti, (Uzirpur, Gournadi, police station).	For the amicable settlement of petty cases and disputes.	President—Nil Kanta Terkaratna. Secretary—Shashi Kumar Ray Chaudhuri.	Pandit, Uzirpur Zamindar, Uzirpur.	Nil.
Sebak Samiti, (Barthi, Gournadi police station)	For the improvement of arts, sciences, and industries, Social reforms.	President—Kailash Chandra Chaudhuri. Secretary—Girish Chandra Ray. Assistant Secretary—Bepin Chandra Das	Talukdar, Barthi Ditto Assistant Surgeon, Barthi.	Nil.
Hita Shadhini Sabha, (Sawra, Gaurnadi police station).	For the improvement of the country.	Secretary—Ashutosh Ganguly.	Talukdar, Sawra	Nil.
Siva Sabha, (Solak, Gournadi.)	To improve arts, education, commerce and industries.	President—Umes Chandra Sen Mazumdar.	Talukdar, Solak	Nil.
Anjuman Mohiuddin, (Ayerkandi, Gournadi police station).	For the improvement of the education and state of Muhammadans.	President—Kazi Golam Mustafa. Secretary—Syed Hamizzuddi.	Talukdar, Koshbela Ditto, Ayerkandi.	Nil.
Hitashadini (Foolsri, Gournadi).	To improve the morality of the girls and boys of the country.	President—Chandra Kanta Tarkachuramani.	Pundit, Foolsri	Rules and regulations are issued.
Swadesh Bandhab, (Barthi and Tarakupi).	To encourage the swadeshi agitation.	President—Kailash Chandra Ray Chaudhuri.	Talukdar	Nil.
		Secretary—Bepin Behari Das.	Assistant Surgeon.	
		Assistant Secretary—Rasik Chandra Das, Sarat Chandra Basu	Has no business. Ditto.	

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Members

Hara Lal Ganguly,
Monoranjan Chakrabatti,
Tara Prasanna Ganguly,
Shashi Bhushan Ganguly,
Hemanta Kumar Ganguly,
Kailash Chandra Chaudhuri,
Girish Chandra Rai,
Aswini Kumar Ganguly,
Mohim Chandra Bushilal.

Have no business.

Swadesh Bandhab, (Ayerkandi and Sunderdi, Gournadi police station).	To encourage the swadeshi agitation.	Secretary—Madhusudan Ganguly.	Head-master.	
		Syama Chandra Pal.	Second Pundit.	
		Assistant Secretary—Aswini Kumar Samaddar.	Talukdar, Sunderdi.	
		Upendra Nath Pal	Has no business.	

Members

Ramani Kanta Bagal, a student of the Goila High English School, 4th class'
Annanda Charan Bhattacharjya, Head Pundit.
Jamini Kanta Ganguly of Sunderdi, a student of the Braja Mohan Institution.
Jogesh Chandra Chaterji. Has no business.
Jagabandhu Pal, a student of 4th class, Goalpara High English School.
Ram Charan Nandi, a student of 2nd class, Barisal Government School.
Hari Charan Pal, a cloth-dealer, Torkie.
Guru Charan Pal, a student of 2nd class, Ayerkandi Minor School.
Chandra Kumar Chakrabatti, Talukdar, Barthi.
Barada Kanta Bakshi, ditto.

Swadesh Bandhab (Illa and Khanjapur and Tarakupi, Gournadi police station).	To encourage the swadeshi agitation	Secretary—Kailash Chandra Ganguly.	Naib, Bhurgata.	
		Assistant Secretary—Barada Kanta Acharjya.	Talukdar, Illa.	
		Gobinda Chandra Pal.	Has no business.	

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Members

Basanta Kaviraj,
Rasik Chandra Chaterji,
Purna Chandra Mukharji,
Nishi Kanta Mukharji,
Chandra Kanta Mukharji — Have no business

1	2	3	4	5
Swadesh Bandhab (Gournadi and Sunderdi).	To encourage the swadeshi agitation.	Secretary—Annanda Charan Ghose.	Head-master.	
		Assistant Secretary—Jogesh Chandra Ganguly.	Has no business	
		Rasik Chandra De	Ditto	

Members

Rohini Ranjan Dutt, 2nd Pundit.
Bepin Behari Bhattacharjya, Head Pundit.
Nishi Kanta Das. Has no business.
Sarat Chandra Chakrabatti*.
Bhupati Mohan Chaudhuri,
Akshoy Kumar Chaudhuri. — Have no business.

*No longer a member, as he had left the village

1	2	3	4	5
Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, (Jhalakati School)	To encourage the swadeshi agitation and boycott of *bilati* goods.	Secretary—Hemanta Kumar Sen.	Teacher, Jhalakati School.	
		Shashi K. Acharjya.	Ditto.	
		Rajani K. Chatterji	Head-master, Jhalakati School.	
		Karuna K. Banerji	Merchant, Jhalakati.	
		Banamali Ray.		
Dharma Rakhini Sabha, (Gabha School, Jhalakati police station).	To discuss religious matters.	Secretary—Trailakya N. Ghose.	Has no ostensible work to do.	Nil.
		Assistant Secretary—Mati Lal Ghose, Nogendra Nath Ghose.		
Brati Samiti, (Bhamkati, Jhalakati police station).	To keep up the swadeshi agitation and boycott of British goods and to help the poor.	Secretary—Umesh Chandra Das of Bhamkati.	Pleader, Barisal.	
		Assistant Secretary—Sarada Chandra Das Gupta.	Has no business.	
Balak Samiti, Narainpur.	To collect subscription for the swadeshi fund.	Secretary—Basanta Kumar Chakrabatti.	Narainpur. Was a talukdar but now reduced to poverty.	

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1	2	3	4	5
		Assistant Secretary—Sarat Chandra Sen.	Private doctor, Narainpur.	
Swadesh Shahaya Samiti, (Bermahal, police station Jhalakati).	To keep up the swadeshi agitation and boycott of British goods, and to help the poor.	Secretary—Kinu Ram Chakrabatti.	Bermahal. Has no business.	
		Assistant Secretary—Shashi Kumar Chakrabatti.	ditto.	
Swadeshi Samiti, (Kanchabalia, police station Jhalakati).	To keep up the swadeshi agitation and the boycott of British goods.	Secretary—Ramani Mohan Guha. Members—Jatindra N. Sarkoi, Jadu N. Guha, Dijendra N. Bose.	All of Kanchabalia; Have no particular business.	
Hari Shabha, (Jhalakati Kansaripatti).	To discuss religious matters.	—	—	Not in existence.

Members

Kruna Kanta Banarji, Head-master, Jhalakati School.

Sashi Kumar Acharjya,
Rajani Kanta Chaterji,
Hemendra Kumar Sen,
Aswini Kumar Sarkar, — Teachers, Jhalakati School.

Banamali Rai, Merchant, Jhalakati.

Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta, Private doctor.

Benode Lal Pal, Merchant.

Gnanendra Gopal Ganguli, Assistant Surgeon.

1	2	3	4	5
Hari Sabha, (Goal Chawaro, Mendiganj police station).	For the welfare of the village, and also to promote religion.	Durga Das Khan Rajani Nath Ray Chaudhury.	Ex-Mukhtear Zaminder.	Not in existence.
Hari Sabha (Ramanandi, Mendi police station).	Ditto	Ananda Charan Das	Naib, Dhali Gaurnagar.	Ditto.

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Brahmo Samaj, (Patuakhali town).	Purely religious	Secretary—Ram Charan Chaudhuri.	Mukhtear, Patuakhali.	Guided by the rules, etc., of the Calcutta Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

Members

Nil Kamal Sen, Mukhtear, Patuakhali,
Ambica Charan Sen, ditto.
Basanta K. Mazumdar, Mohurir, Munsiff's Court, Patuakhali.

1	2	3	4	5
Anjuman, (Patuakhali town).	To defend the rights and privileges of the Muhammadans.	President—Aktavaddin. Vice-President—Mafizaddi. Abdul Kani Secretary—Amanali Khan.	MarriageRegistar, Patuakhali. School Sub-Inspector. Clerk, Local Board Mukhtear, Patuakhali.	Nil.
Anjumani Islam, Bhola	For the social and moral improvement in the Muhammadan community and educational improvement.	Secretary—Rahim Buksh Salem.	Head-master, Daulat Khan Minor School.	
		Members—Kazi Mazid Baksh.	School Sub-Inspector.	
		Maulvi Abdil Subhan	Marriage Registrar, and Honorary Magistrate.	
		Maulvi Abdul Gahur	Maulvi, Bhola High English School.	
		Maulvi Ajijar Rahman.	Tashil Panchayat, and Howladar, Bapta.	
		Maulvi Huchanaddi	Pleader, Bhola.	
Lojuatola Alam, i.e., Association for learned Maulvis, Bhola.	To encourage Muhammadans in religious matters and industrial works.	Members:—Abdul Gafur	Maulvi, Bhola High English School.	
		Ashahak Maulvi	Howladar, Bapta.	
		Rajjabati Maulvi	" Chautulia	
		Serejal Huq Maulvi	" and student in Calcutta.	
		Mahamad Ali Maulvi	" Superintendent of Muhammadan Boarding.	

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Bhikhuk Samiti, Pirojpur.	To encourage the sale of swadeshi articles.	Secretary—Basanta Kumar Gupta.	Pleader, Pireojpur	Nil.
	Promoters :—			
	Ugra Kanta Rai, B.L.			
	Anukul Ch. Rai, B.L.	Pleaders, Pirojpur		
	Basanta Kumar Sen, B.L.			
	Satish Chandra Sen			
Bhikhuk Samiti, Pirojpur—concld.	Purna Chandra Mukherji.	Mukhtears, Pirojpur		
	Ganapaty Banerji			
	Shashadhar Chakrabatti.			
	Nishi Kanta Ganguli.			
	Dakshina Kumar Chaudhuri.			
	Jogesh Ch. Aich			
Branch of Anjuman, Pirojpur.	To improve the condition of the Muhammadans.	Secretary—Maulvi Muhammad Birkutulla.	Sub-Inspector of Schools.	
Sebak Samiti, Pirojpur.	To attend the sick and to help the poor.	President—Basanta Kumar Gupta.	Mukhtear, Pirojpur.	
	Cashier—Haratatan Ganguli			
	Captain—Khirode Behari Ray Chaudhuri.	Pleaders, Pirojpur.		
	Members :— Jogesh Ch. Das	Mukhtear, Pirojpur.		
	Bhuban Mohan Sen.			
	Bimala Ch. Das.			
	Ambica Charan Mazumdar.			
	Jatindra Ch. Aich.			
	Khosal Ch. Rai.			
	Nanda Lal Barman.			
	Bepin Ch. Sen..	Mukhtear's Clerks, Pirojpur		
	Jogesh Ch. Sen.			
	Aswini Kr. Chakrabatti.			
	Gouri Nath Dutt.			
	Surendra Nath Das.			
	Prakash Chandra Aich.			
	Santosh Kumar Sarkar.			
	Gnanendra Poddar	Shopkeeper		

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Rampore Anjuman	To promote education among Muhammadans.	Abdul Hakim Khan Aftabali Nainaddi Asak Faijaddi Hachanddi Nawabali	Panchayat. Talukdar. Talukdar. Howladars.	
Swadeshi Shabha, Bhandaria.	For the propagation of the swadeshi movement.	Behary Lal Chaudhuri Shashi Bhusan Bose	Shopkeeper Naib, 6 Annas cutcherry.	Nil.
Anjuman Jimat . Islam, Matbaria.	To improve Muhammadan education and religion.	Promoters :— Syed Obedulla	Sub-Registrar.	
		Muhammad Gyesuddin Sannamat.	Marriage Sub-Retgistrar, Matbaria.	
		Kalai, Mirdhu	Howladar, Tikikata, police station, Matbaria.	
		Hachanaddi Mirdhu	Howladar of village Betmore, police station Matbaria.	
		Jahir Akan	Howladar of village Mithakhali, police station Matbaria.	
Jubak Samiti, Dumarritolla, police station Pirojpur.	To keep up the swadeshi movement and to improve the condition of the village.	—	—	There are printed rules, but reports are not published.
	President—Uma Charan Chakrabatti.	Priest, Dumaritolla.		
	Vice-President—Basanta Kumar De,. Govinda Chandra De,	Dumaritolla		
	Secretary—Satish Chandra Singh.			
	Joint Assistant Secretary—Bhupesh Chandra Bose.			
	Patish Chandra Bose			

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	Members :— Purna Charan Chakabatti.			
	Hari Charan De			
	Aswini Kumar Brahmo.			
	Annada Charan Bazham.			
	Lalit Kumar Bal	Dumaritolla.		
	Volunteers :— Colonel Satish Chandra Singh			
	Captain Aswini Kumar Bal.			
	Lieutenant Annada Charan Baghami.			
	Ganga Chandra Baghami.			
	Satish Chandra Bose.			
	Basanta Kumar Brahmo.			

J. C. Bhaumick
Inspector of Police,
Criminal Investigation Departmen

No. 15

List of members of Bandhab Samiti at Barisal Town.

*(1) Aswini Kumar Dutt, first man of the *Samiti.*
B.M. *(2) Satish Chandra Chatarji, Professor, B. M. College, Secretary.
*(3) Nishi Kanta Bose, doctor, paid servant of *swadeshi.*
*(4) Srish Chandra Ray, do, do.
*(5) Gopal Chandra Mohalanabis, zamindar.
(6) Upendra Nath Sen, zamindar.
(7) Deb Kumar Ray.
(8) Sarat Chandra Guha, pleader.
(9) Sashi Kanta Gupta, do, Secretary.
(10) Purna Chandra De, do.
*(11) Sri Charan Sen, do.
(12) Behary Lal Ray.

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	(13)	Tarini Kumar Gupta.	
	(14)	Chand Mohan Das.	
	(15)	Sarada Charan Sen.	
	(16)	Durga Mohan Sen.	
B.M.	*(17)	Satish Chandra Mukharji.	
	(18)	Kali Kumar Chatarji.	
	(19)	Chandra Nath Das.	
	(20)	Khettra Nath Ganguli.	
	(21)	Kailash Chandra Das.	
	(22)	Bepin Behary Guha.	pleaders.
	(23)	Ramesh Chandra Sen.	
	(24)	Dinesh Chandra Guha.	
	(25)	Khirode Behary Mukharji.	
	(26)	Ananda Mohan Ray Chaudhuri.	doctors.
	(27)	Laul Behary Sen.	
	(28)	Dina Bandhu Sen.	
	(29)	Mati Lal Das Gupta, kaviraj.	
	(30)	Basanta Kumar Das.	
	(31)	Ram Charan Chatarji.	
	(32)	Kasiswar Bose.	mukhtears.
	(33)	Jaga Bandhu Chatarji.	
	(34)	Biraj Mohan Ray Chaudhuri, zamindar.	
	(35)	Ramani Mohan Ray Chaudhuri.	
B.M.	(36)	Kailash Chandra Bidyaratna, Pundit, B. M. College.	
B.M.	(37)	Mathura Nath Sen.	
B.M.	(38)	Piary Mohan Das.	teachers.
B.M.	(39)	Ram Chandra Das.	
B.M.	(40)	Shib Chandra, Yalukdar.	
	(41)	Benoy Bhusan Gupta.	
	(42)	Ashini Kanta Ghatak.	
	(43)	Piary Mohan Das, pleader.	
	(44)	Kula Bhusan Das.	
	(45)	Bilash Chandra Sen, pleader.	
	(46)	Durga Das Samaddar, mukhtear.	
	*(47)	Nishi Kanta Bose.	
	(48)	Hementa Kumar Sen.	
	(49)	Srish Chandra Ray.	
	(50)	Jogendra Nath Ray, pleader.	
	(51)	Radhica Prasanna Ghosal.	
	(52)	Annada Ghosh.	
	(53)	Chittaranjan Sen.	

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(54) Baikuntha Nath Chakrabatti.
(55) Sarada Chakrabatti.
(56) Dakhini Ranjan Sen.
(57) Rajendra Lal Ghosal.

* Formally resigned.

List of members of Bandhab Samiti at Mirzapur.

(1) Nil Kanta Tarkaratna, President.
(2) Sri Kanta Bhattacharji, B.A., member.
(3) Shashi Bhusan Ray, member.
(4) Ghosal Gupta, do.
(5) Satish Mukherji (a dismissed Sub-Inspector).
(6) Kala Chand Sen.
(7) Nibaran Chandra Bhattacharji.
(8) Tara Prasanna Sritiratna.
(9) Prasith Chandra Ray (Baropaika).
(10) Abinash Chandra Ray, do.
(11) Jogendra Chandra Ray, volunteer.
(12) Lalit Chandra Ray, Captain.

List of members of Bandhab Samiti at Jhalakati.

(1) Shashi Kumar Acharji, master.
(2) Rajani Kanta Chatarji.
(3) Kumud Kanta Banerji.
(4) Hemanta Kumar Sen.
(5) Pulin Behari Ray.
(6) Benode Behari Paul.
(7) Rash Behary De.
(8) Ram Krishna Ray.
(9) Srinath Khan.
(10) Prasanna Kumar Shaha.
(11) Lalit Chandra Kunda.
(12) Abhoy Kumar Ghosh.
(13) Tarini Charan Shaha.
(14) Nibaran Chandra Das.
(15) Jatindra Nath Bose.

List of members of Bandhab Samiti of Pirojpur

(1) Basanta Kumar Gupta, mukhtear, Secretary.
(2) Purna Chandra Mukerji, mukhtear.
(3) Jatindra Nath Banerji.

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(4) Dakhina Kumar Chaudhuri.
(5) Nishi Kanta Ganguli.
(6) Ganapat Banerji.
(7) Shashadhar Chakrabatti.
(8) Lalit Kumar Das.
(9) Nibaran Chandra Ghosh.

Subdivisional Samiti Members (Patuakhali)

(1) Lalit Mohan Bandopadhaya, pleader.
(2) Nikunja Bihari Bandopadhaya, mukhtear.
(3) Pyari Mohan Sen, pleader.
(4) Tarkeswar Sen, mukhtear.
(5) Dijendra Sankar Das, pleader.
(6) Lalit Mohan Sen, do.
(7) Srish Chandra Ghattack, mukhtear.
(8) Sarat Chandra Ghattack, do.
(9) Kedar Nath Gangopadhaya, do.
(10) Syama Charan Das, do.
(11) Sashi Bhusan Das, do.
(12) Jagesh Chandra Bose, do.
(13) Ambica Charan Sen, do.
(14) Sree Nath Guha, doctor.
(15) Prabhat Chandra Chattopadhaya, shopkeeper.
(16) Lalit Mohan Bandopadhaya, mukhtear.
(17) Hemanta Kumar Rudra, pleader.

Members of Sub-Committee

(1) Lalit Mohan Bandopadhaya, pleader.
(2) Nikunja Bihary Bandopadhaya, mukhtear.
(3) Dijendra Sankar Das, pleader.
(4) Tarkeswar Sen, mukhtear.
(5) Hemanta Kumar Rudra, pleader.

No. 17

Demi-official, dated Barisal, the 27th March 1908.

From — F, E. Kemp, Esq.,
To — R. B. Hughes-Buller, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

You have requested me to give you a note on the *Samities* or Societies in this district and I now submit the same from informations I have now been able to collect. The note is not complete and I am still making enquiries for further informations and this will be reported in a subsequent report.

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A revised list of the *Samitis* in this district has been published up to the end of June 1907, and I attach a copy of this, (No. 14), for your reference. The list includes 9 Muhammadans, 2 Brahmo and 31 Hindu Societies against 4 Muhammadan, 2 Brahmo and 14 Hindu Societies shown in the list for 1906. In column 7 of the list it is noted that some of these Societies have rules but they are not published, and at any rate, the police have not been able to get them. Of the 31 Hindu Societies, I find that 18 are in connection with the *swadeshi* movement and boycott.

In July 1906 a Conference of the *Bandhab Samiti* was held in Barisal to which Surendra Banerji and several other leading agitators came. An account of this Conference appeared in the *Barisal Hitaishi* of the time (Inspector J. C. Bhaumick has a copy of this issue). It was decided at this Conference that all the village *Samitis* should be subordinate to the Barisal Central *Bandhab Samiti. I attach copy of rules of the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti*, (No. 18), for your information.

In connection with the case Emperor *versus* Jadu Gopal Dhar, sections 124 A, 153 A, Inspector J. C. Bhaumick searched house No. 10, Shambhu Chandra Chatarji's Street in Calcutta and found a pamphlet in Bengali regarding the rules and regulations of the *Jubak Samiti*, Dumartalla, near Pirojpur. A translation of this pamphlet, as also a copy of the Inspector's subsequent enquiry report about the *Samiti*, are attached with the note. (Nos. 19 and 21). Similarly, in the house search of Rajani Kanta Ghosh, the Head-master of the Banaripara School, Sub-Inspector Faradh Ali found rules of the *Sechhya Sebak* Society for the boycotting of foreign goods by National Volunteers. A translated copy of these rules, (No. 22), is attached with this note.

The Barisal Central *Bandhab Samiti* worked by Aswini Kumar Dutt is the principal *Samiti* in this district and has branches at Kalashkati and Jhalakati. The *Samiti* of the same name at Goila may also be connected, but I find from papers secured that the headquarters of the Goila *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* is in 82-1, Harrison Road, Calcutta, and that Lalit Mohan Das is the Secretary.

I hope in a short time to be able to get further information of the *Bandhab Samiti.* I would, however, note that I have not as yet received any information that the teachings of any of the *Samities* in this district enjoins on the members to use force. It is true that many instances have occurred when force has been used by volunteers and people who are rabid about the *swadeshi* cause, but we cannot trace them to the teachings of the *Samitis.* They were probably due to the violent speeches that have been delivered at different times before the passing of Act VI of 1907 and the publication of sensational and seditious articles in native newspapers.

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I have carefully perused the rule of the *Anushilan Samitis* of Dacca. You have asked me to submit a note on the same lines as Mr. Allen's for this *Samiti*, for the *Samitis* of this district, but I find this is not possible. Mr. Allen's note was based on the rules and regulations of the *Anushilan* found in a house search. I dare say the *Bandhab Samiti* has other rules, and that these are not of the same mild type as those shown in the paper (No. 18), but unfortunately we have as yet not been able to get these rules. As regards the *Anushilan Samiti*, it appears members to it are being enrolled in districts other Dacca. In this district we have lately heard of certain members. I am having enquiries made to find out to what extent men of this district has have joined this dangerous society. The fear is that if the members increase , we are likely to have a branch of it in Bankargani. From the list of Socities for 1907 I find that the Samiti is also in existence in Faridpur in village Putty, outpost Gosianhat, where the school boys of the local school go in for *lathi*-play and physical exercise. In Dinajpur, in the town, where the young men go in for physical culture and in Sylhet at Habiganj where the "Captain" of the *Samiti* is a native of Dacca. Bipin Chandra Pal, the extremist, is the patron of the Dacca *Anushilan* Society. Aswini Kumar Dutt is the chief personage in the Barisal *Bandhab Samiti*, and I dare say is jealous of the influence of Bipin and therefore the *Anushilan has* not cast its net in this district. It appears to me that each place has its own crew and that they have their own particular fads. Here Aswini is the head of the *Bandhab*, in Dacca Bipin of the *Anushilan* and in Faridpur Ambica Mazumdar of the *Brati*. I have not been able to find out if the *Bandhab Samiti* of Barisal is the original one or a branch. The letter of Lalit Mohan Das shows that there is a *Samiti* of this name in Calcutta. I have had enquiries made from all thanas in this district to find out what new *Samitis* have been started and the replies received show that the list submitted for 1907 should be taken as a fairly complete one. The *Hitaishi Shabha* at Kalashkati in Bakarganj police station appears to be a branch of the Barisal *Bandhab Samiti* although styled under a different name. I attach a copy of its rules in Bengali, with this note. In conclusion, I would note that it is very difficult to ascertain the namifications of the *Bandhab Samiti*, as in different places it is known by different names.

P.S.— I also attached extract, marked I, from a report of Deputy Magistrate Mamood about the *Samiti* at Basudebpur in Gaurnadi police station, and also a copy of an old report, dated 12th February 1906, from the Sub-Inspector of Kotwali, about the *Bandhab Samiti*, marked J, for your information.

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No. 18

Bande Mataram

OBJECTS OF VILLAGE ASSOCIATION AND ITS METHOD OF WORKING

Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, Barisal

The Objects of Village Association and its methods of working.

It is necessary to work in the foliowing manner with a view to remove our poverty, to attain self-help, and to establish self-government :—

A society will have to be formed in every large village or several small villages, to 5 in number, grouped together.

In every such society there will be an "association," the name of which will be selected by the villagers.

The Association will for the present take in hand the following three works :—

(1) Arbitration.

(2) Practice of *swadeshi* vow and work.

(3) To work for the welfare of the public.

Duties of the First Department

1. The Association will make efforts that the disputes in the village may be settled, as far as practicable, by themselves by means of arbitration.
2. The Association will collect the names and prepare a list of those who are chosen as arbitrators by the parties to the dispute. It is first of all desirable that the selection of arbitrators should be made from the society. If the contending parties do not consent to this, then the selection may be made from another society in the vicinity. If they do not agree to this eve, the selection may be made from among the people of an adjoining subdivision.
3. A list should be kept of the number and class of cases decided and a quarterly return should be submitted to the Secretary to the *Swadesh Bandhab* Association of Barisal in the months of *Ashar, Aswin, Pous,* and *Chaitra.* The submission of the return should commence from *Ashar, Aswin, Pous,* or *Chaitra,* whichever comes first after the Association is formed and starts its work.

Duties of the Second Department

1. Meeting should be held now and then to impress upon the people the necessity and advantage of using country-made goods and

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boycotting foreign goods. An endeavour should be made that all may pledge themselves to the *swadeshi* vow. It will be good if such meetings could be held very week.

2. The Association should direct its energy to develop and improve industries, such as those of weavers, *Yugis*, mechanics, potters, blacksmiths, mat-makers, etc., which may be living there and if there are no such arts to start them.
3. The Association will make arrangements to the best of its power that *swadeshi* articles may be available at a cheap price.
4. . There should be a watchman (spy) to watch the house of every 10 or 12 house-holders. It will be his duty to report to the President or Secretary to the Association who are acting against the *swadeshi* vow. It should try to correct them with entreaties, and where these have failed, they should inflict special punishment.
5. In order that *swadeshi* things are used and foreign things are avoided in every wedding ceremony, *sradh* (obsequies in honour of the names of ancestors), those who perform the ceremony should be requested for the purpose, and if they do not comply with the request, efforts should be made to punish them socially, special punishment should be provided for all others who are opposed to the *swadeshi* movement.
6. This department should, like the arbitration department, submit to the *Swadesh Bandhab* Association a quarterly statement of how many meetings have been held every month and where, what resolutions have been passed in those meetings, what steps have been taken to develop and improve industrial arts, how many new men have taken to trade, what improvement has been effected in old industries, and what action has been taken under the heads (3) (4) and (5). The names of those who have been corrected by means of social punishment need not be mentioned.

Duties of the Third Department

1. To improve the sanitation of the village.
2. To devise measure for developing the physical strength of boys.
3. To inculcate good morals and good taste.
4. To prevent the taking of any intoxicating substance.
5. To spread female education.

It should bring its activities to bear upon the above matters and send a statement, as prescribed before, showing how work is going on under each head.

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In order to carry out the project calculated for the good of the country, it is necessary to send preachers to different places and make enquiries about the progress, which requires money. We trust the Village Association will contribute something annually to the *Swadesh Bandhab* Association.

Barisal,
Swadesh Bandhab Association.
Baisakh, 1313 *B.S.*

Sri Aswini Kumar Dutt,
President.

Sri Satish Chandra Chattyopadhaya,
Secretary.

No. 19

Dated Barisal, the 23rd February 1907.

From — J. C. Bhaumik, Inspector of Police, Criminal Investigation Department,

To — The Superintendent of Police, Bakarganj.

In obedience to Your worship's orders I held a confidential enquiry about the *Jubak Samiti* in Dumartalla village, some papers, both printed and manuscript, which were secured by me during the search of New Arjya Mission Press in Calcutta and submit the following for your information.

The village Dumartalla is a village within the jurisdiction of Pirojpur police station. The village is within three miles from Pirojpur and is inhabited by some Hindus and Muhammadans.

The Association, as referred to in the printed leaflets entitled *Jubak Samiti*, is really in existence in Dumartalla village in the jurisdiction of Pirojpur police station. It is said that Akshay Kumar Nag and Rasik Chandra Nag of Ranipur village in Pirojpur police station, who are staunch *swadeshi* agitators, had induced the villagers of Dumartalla to start the Association when the *swadeshi* agitation was set in. The principal members of *Jubak Samiti* live in Calcutta, as their guardians serve in the estate of Durga Charan Law, zaminder of Calcutta, and this Association has connection with the Calcutta agitators.

I came to know on confidential enquiry that the open sitting of the *Samiti* was held in *Asar* last, and there were some private sittings during the last *Durga Puja* holidays, when all the members of the Association who lived in Calcutta had come to their homes.

The action of the *Samiti* is now kept in abeyance owing to the fear of the criminal action which the members apprehend to be taken by the

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authorities against them if they in any way were found fault with. Previous to this the members of the *Samiti* used to induce the villagers of Dumartalla and its neighbouring villages not to use foreign goods, and they also picketed shops in Nalbaria *hat* and also enforced boycott if any villager disobeyed their biddings regarding the use of foreign goods.

I give below the antecedents of the members and their profession, with the names of the villages they belong to :—

President — Uma Charan Chakrabatti, of Dumartalla, is a priest, he always remains at home and is a respectable villager.

Assistant President — Basanta Kumar De is the *Tahsil panchayat* of the village; has got some *howlas* and jute lands.

Assistant President — Gobinda Chandra De is a well-to-do man and lives always at home.

Secretary — Satish Chandra Singha, of Dumartalla, is said to be a student of Calcutta, who lives with his father Raj Kumar Singh, who serves as an *amla* in the estate of Durga Charan Law.

Joint Assistant Secretary — Bhupesh Chandra Bose, of Dumartalla, is the son of a late mukhtear and is a well-to-do man; always lives at home.

Members of the Executive Committee — Purna Chandra Chakrabatti is a quack and is the nephew of Uma Charan Chakrabatti, President.

Hari Charan De, of Dumartalla, lives in Calcutta and serves the Law zamindar there. Puts up in the same house with Chandra Kanta and Raj Kumar.

Aswini Kumar Brahma, of Dumartalla, is a village quack.

Ananda Charan Baghal, of Dumartalla, is a kaviraj; always lives at his home.

Lalit Kumar Bal, of Dumartalla, lives in Calcutta in the same house with Chandra Kanta and Raj Kumar Singha ; he also serves under Law zamindar in Calcutta.

Aswini Kumar Bal, of Dumartalla, is a brother of Lalit, he lives at home; is a tahsildar.

Ganga Charan Baghal, of Dumartalla, is a kaviraj; always lives at home, and is brother of Ananda Charan Baghal.

Satish Chandra Bose of Dumartalla is son of Kailash Chandra Bose who is a naib of Zamindar Kristo Poddar at Matbaria cutcherry; he also sometimes lives with his father and sometimes stays at home.

Basanta Kumar Brahma is an *amin* in the Settlement Office, Barisal. It is said that he sometimes works as a temporary *amin* when he is required to do so by the Government.

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There is no such man in the village as Patish Chandra Bose. It should be Satish Chandra Bose, about whom I have already noted above.

No. 20

Bande Mataram (Hail motherland.)

YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Oh ! God in our hearts. We will do whatever you bid us to do

President

Srijut Uma Charan Chakrabatti.

Secreaty

Srijut Satish Chandra Singh.

Dumartalla

Barisal.

1314 B.S.*Office-bearers*

President	—	Srijut Uma Charan Chakrabatti.
Assistant President	—	Srijut Basanta Kumar De. Srijut Gobinda Chandra De.
Secretary	—	Srijut Satish Chandra Singha.
Joint Assistant Secretaries	—	Bhupesh Chandra Bose. Satish Chandra Bose.
Members of the Executive committee	–	Srijut Purna Chandra Chakrabatti. " Hari Chandra De. " Aswini Kumar Bahani. " Annada Charan Baghma. " Lalit Kumar Bal. Secretary. Joint Assistant Secretaries.
Volunteers	—	Colonel Srijut Satish Chandra Singha. Captain Srijut Aswini Kumar Bal.
Lieutenants	—	Annada Charan Baghain. Ganga Charan Bagham. Satish Chandra Bose. Basanta Kumar Brahma.

Bande Mataram (Hail motherland)

Remembering the holy name of God we started the Young Men's Association. The main object of this Association is to stick to the *swadeshi* agitation and to improve the condition of the village. For a long time our national de line was observed, but for the present by the pure

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breeze of the *swadeshi* agitation the spell of slumber is removing. Ere long we are seeing the bright rays of progress, the hope of regaining our national vitality is always arising in our mind. For this, to-day at this holy outset, recollecting the name of mother and forgetting inimical feeling and differences, we are taking the vow for the welfare of the motherland which is washed by the holy water of the Ganges.

Let him go who likes,
Let him remain who wishes.
We would go when we hear the shouts of mother. (The idea is the shouts of *Bande Mataram.*)

No. 21

Rules

1. This Association is entitled *Jubak Samiti* (Young Men's Association).
2. This Association consists of one President at least, two Assistant Presidents, one Secretary, two Assistant Secretaries, one cashier and there will be an Executive Committee of eight members at least. There will be a sitting of the Committee every month to consult about the income and expenses and other subjects.
3. Monthly subscription of one pice is fixed for this Association. Besides the monthly subscription if any extra amount is paid, it will be received with thanks.
4. The Committee will realize subscription, enlist members and call meetings, etc. If anybody violates the rules then at once it will be brought to the notice of the Committee.
5. Among the Joint Secretaries one will be senior and another junior. In absence of the Secretary all his work will be done by the Assistant Secretaries, and will be held responsible for it. Joint Assistant Secretary will help his senior.
6. Cashier will be bound to advance money on demand to Secretary or a man who is invested with his powers on granting a receipt.
7. Members will be elected by votes. Every member will have one vote each and the President of the Committee will have two votes if required.
8. Opinion of the Executive Committee will be taken as final at all times and under all circumstances.
9. If a new rule is required to be framed, then the draft bill of it with the opinion of the general Committee will be put up before the Committee, and the opinion of the Committee will be made public.

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10. If anything is required to inform the Association, then that will be sent to the Secretary in writing. Then the Secretary, within 7 days from the receipt of that, will call a meeting or a Committee to discuss the matter in question.
11. Every year during the *Puja* holidays members of the Executive Committee will be selected on fresh election. Any members can be elected more than once.
12. Opinion of the Committee will not be changed until a new selection is made.
13. Among the volunteers there will be one Colonel, one Captain and at least two Lieutenants. None but the members of the Association will be taken in as volunteers. Colonel, and, in the absence of the Colonel, Captain will be responsible for the volunteers.
14. None will be allowed to depute the volunteers to other works than the work of the Association.
15. When the Secretary requires the help of the volunteers, then the Colonel or the Captain will depute volunteers according to his request. Volunteers thus deputed to the Secretary will remain under his orders.
16. At least two days in a week the necessary instruction will be given to volunteers and they will be taught physical exercises.
17. When the volunteers will go on the business of the Association they will wear their respective badges.
18. The Branch Association will act according to the rules and orders of the original Association.
19. The original and the Branch Association will once go out for begging alms in a month.
20. The Library concerning the Association will be kept open from 7 to 10 A.M. and 3 to 5 P.M. every day. The members of the Association, with the permission of the Secretary or anybody who is vested with the powers, may take away any book one at a time after granting a receipt for it in the Register of the Library on condition that it is returnable within two days.

Submitted to the District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police for information and orders.

J. C. Bhaumick,
Inspector of Police, Criminal
Investigation Department.

Barisal, 23rd December 1907.

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No. 22

THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE FORMED FROM AMONGST THE PATRIOTIC VOLUNTEERS

Their duties

1. The people of the country have taken a religious vow not to use any foreign articles, particularly *bilati* cloth, ink-pot and (bangles ?), flower-vases, cups, soap, writing ink, ornaments, biscuits, knives, scissors, tobacco, etc. But in some places they have been breaking the promise. Therefore the volunteers should enquire every week if in the families placed under their respective charge is broken. If it has been broken, the President should be informed and they should co-operate with him in preventing him from such action. If they fail in preventing him from such action, they should inform the Executive Committee and action should be taken according to the decision of the said Committee.
2. While taking any preventing measure against this breach of promise, the volunteers should not use force or take recourse to oppression, words or abuses. On the other hand, they should use sweet words and flattering expressions, and in some instances throw themselves at their feet. If they fail the first time, they would try on thrice. If they fail again, they should inform the Executive Committee, who will take proper steps.
3. Those volunteers who have their work in *hats* and bazars should be more careful in their action. They should not prevent any *bideshi* goods seller or purchaser from selling or purchasing, but they should take a note of those that sell or buy the same, so that the President may go to their house and request them not to do so again. If he fails, the Executive Committee should be informed, who will take proper steps.
4. The volunteers should try hard and see that families within the jurisdiction of the Vigilance Committee are attracted towards *swadeshi* things and their own country. They should try to supply *swadeshi* cloth and karkach without profit to such families, and in the course of conversation recite patriotic tales from newspapers and history.
5. They should also see that all necessary things may be prepared and produced in those families and in places within their jurisdiction. With a view to this end attempts should be made in the following directions :—

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(a) They should see that the female members of those families should learn the use of hand-looms. the Executive Committee should take also timber from them and have hand-looms prepared out of them. They should be supplied cotton from the cotton brought by the Executive Committee. From the sale proceeds of cotton thread thus made at cost of hand-loom and cotton should be paid. If these families have land fit for cultivation of cotton, the Executive Committee should persuade them to sow cotton seeds thereon. From the sale proceeds of cotton produced thereby the prices of cotton seeds should be paid to the Executive Committee.

(b) They should persuade the members of these families to make their friends and dependents to avoid *bilati* things and use *swadeshi* things.

(c) Every volunteer should try to make members of *Samitis* (councils) from amongst the families within their charge and explain to them the object of such *Samitis.*

No. 23

Demi-official No. 1256C., dated Barisal, the 7th December 1908

From — W. J. Reid, Esq., I.C.S.

To — R. Nathan, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

In continuation of my letter of 4th instant on *samitis* in this district, I now send you extracts from the confidential diaries of 4th and 5th instant regarding (1) the starting of two *Gita* Societies in Barisal, and (2) the formation of a new branch of the *Anushilan Samiti* at Kashipur village close to Barisal.

Dated Barisal, the 30th November 1908

From — J. C. Bhaumick, Inspector, Criminal Investigation Department, Barisal.

To — The District Magistrate, Bakarganj.

I have received information of the starting of the two Secret *Gita* Societies in Barisal, one at the house of pleader Baikunta Nath Guha and another at B. M. Students' Mess, where the Head-master Jagadish Charan Mukharji lives. The principal members of the first party are Baikunta Guha's sons and Deputy Magistrate Rajani Kanta Guha's son, Achchut Kumar Bose, and the second party Jagadish himself and Devendra Nath Das (*Lathi* Instructor of *Anushilan* boys) and Akshoy Kumar Das, a *swadeshi* cloth-dealer of Goila in Gaurnadi police station. The object and teachings of the societies are not yet known. I have

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deputed spy to collect further information about them through Sub-Inspector Abinash Chandra Ghosal and Head constable Sita Nath Bhattacharjya, and also asked them to watch the places, respectively.

Extract from the Confidential Diary from Criminal Investigation Department Inspector Jogesh Chandra Bhaumick, dated the 5th December 1908.

Head Constable Gopal Chandra Dhar reports that a branch *Anushilan Samiti* has been formed at Kahsipur village which is in the suburb, and as it is situated on the side of a tank where the women used to draw water, but since the formation of this *samiti* great inconvenience are felt by the village women, as they are being mocked at by the *Anushilan* youths when they go to draw water from the tank. An English translation of Head Constable's report is attached herewith.

Translation of the report of the Head Constable Gopal Chandra Dhar of Special Branch, Barisal, regarding the formation of a lathi-play party at Kashipur, vide *daily report dated the 5th December* 1908.

A house was erected by the members of the *Anushilan Samiti* at Kashipur and the following persons and some 15 to 20 other unknown persons were playing *lathi*. There is a tank near it and from there the female members of the house of Guru Charan Banerji, Mohim chandra Das, Isan Chandra Das, Purna Chakrabarty, Ram Kumar Das, and Nil Kumar Das and others used to draw water and bathe for a long time. Recently, after the starting of the *lathi*-play, these females cannot manage to go there as the *Anushilan* boys mock at them. When the villagers prevent them from doing so, they (*Anushilan* boys) are rather threatening them with injuries. There is no other tank nearby which these people can use. For this reason the jungles of the tank were cleared off from the Government. The people of the locality were using the tank since then, but at present, since the opening of the *samiti*, the people are feeling much inconvenience.

Name of players

1.	Nishi Kanta Babu of	South Kashipur.
2.	Monoranjan Ghosh	do.
3.	Charu Chandra Bose	do.
4.	Mati Lal Ghose of	North Kashipur.
5.	Chinta Haran Ghose	do.
6.	Nakul Chandra Mukerji	do.
7.	Shyam Ranjan Banerji	do.
8.	Debendra Minshi.	
9.	Akshoy Kumar Banerji of North Kashipur.	

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10. Ashutosh Sen of Dacca *Samiti*, medalist. (Spear and picture engraved on the medal).

This man has come to Kashipur for 3 or 4 days for teaching *lathi*-play to the boys.

No. 24

Dated Dacca, the 9th December 1908

From — Rai Bahadur K. P. Ghosh,

To — R. Nathan, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

I beg to submit herewith, with due respect my translation of a printed paper regarding the construction of the Barisal District *Samiti* and Subdivisional and village *Samitis* under it. I have, I beg to state, rendered it word for word in English. But as the Bengali of the original paper is very bad, with roundabout sentences, which, at places, puzzle the reader, I have not, I am sorry to say, been able to make my translation idiomatic. But you will, I hope, be able to understand everything. The writer uses the word "*Samiti*" and "Committee" as convertible terms, and I have, therefore, followed him. The *Samiti* arrogates to itself, as you will be pleased to observe in Rule 10, page 8 of the translation (next page), the terrible power of inflicting social punishment — a power which even the Sovereign does not claim as his own. It includes excommunication, loss of caste, loss of the privilege of marrying one's daughter, according to his own clan customs and many things more. This one little item makes the *Samiti* almost omnipotent in the mofussil.

The District (Union) *Samiti*

The Object

1. This *Samiti* is formed with the object of ameliorating the financial and political condition, and improving education, health, industrial arts, commerce and other matters connected with the country's welfare of the district of Bakerganj.

Name

2. This *Samiti* will be called the Bakarganj District *Samiti*.

Branch Samitis

3. There will be four Subdivisional *Samitis* under the District *Samiti*
   (a) Sadr.
   (b) Bhola.
   (c) Perojpur.

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(d) Patuakhali.

Village *Samitis* will be formed under every Subdivisional *Samiti.* All the branch *Samitis* will act in unison, under instructions from the Central *Samiti* about them.

General Rules

4. Every inhabitant of this district, of at least eighteen years of age, will irrespective of caste and colour, be entitled to become a voter for, and a member of, the *Samiti,* if he sympathises with its object.

Nota Bene —

(a) Any boy, who will reside regularly for twelve months at any place within this district, will be recognised as a resident of this district.

(b) He who has his birth-place or his paternal abode or immoveable property in this district, will be counted as a resident of this district.

5. If any member raises any objection against the *election* of any one as a member or against any one who *has been elected* a member, and if two-thirds of the members present support the said objection, then he will not be elected as a member nor remain a member if already elected.
6. Every *Samiti* will have members for General Meeting and an Executive Committee connected with it. The General Meeting will appoint its President and Secretary, and according to circumstances, also one or more Vice-Presidents, one or more Assistant Secretaries, an Auditor of accounts, and a Treasurer.
7. The President, the Secretary and the other officers of the General Meeting will be *ex-officio* members of the Managing Committee.
8. Every *Samiti* will have the privilege to frame rules for its own guidance and also for the guidance of Branch *Samitis* attached to it. But if any rule is against any resolution of a superior *Samiti* (i.e., one above it), it will not then be adopted as a rule.
9. The members of the *Samiti* will hold office for one year only. After the lapse of a year, members and officers will be appointed again. *Nota Bene* — The year will count from *Baishakha to Chaitra.*
10. The formation of the Managing committee, the election of representatives for the superior *Samiti,* the infliction of social punishment and all other superior matters will be decided according to the opinion of the General Meeting.

    The other subjects will be disposed of by the Managing committee.

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THE METHOD OF FORMING THE SAMITI.

The Village Samiti.

11. (The Village *Samiti*) will comprise one to at most five villages in its construction.
12. Any inhabitant of the village, competent to become a member under Rule 4, will, on condition he contributes in advance at least four annas, become a member of the General committee of the Village *Samiti*.
13. None but the members elected under Rule 12 will have any voice on any subject under consideration of the *Samiti*.
14. Just after the formation of the General Committee, office-bearers and members of the Managing Committee will be appointed and elected at one of its sittings. The members of the Managing Committee will not be less than seven and more than fifteen in number.
15. Village *Samiti*, contributing rupees ten per annum to its superior *Samiti*, will have the privilege of sending one representative to the Subdivisional *Samiti*. The *Samiti* that will contribute more than Rs. 10 will be able to send one more representative for every such additional contribution of Rs. 10. But no *Samiti* will be able to send more than five representatives. The contribution of any fraction of Rs. 10 will not give power to send a representative.
    Nota Bene.—The Subdivisional *Samiti* will, for special reasons, be able to reduce the rate of the aforesaid contribution. But it will never be less than Rs. 5.
16. Representatives of Village *Samiti* will be selected from amongst men contributing more than one rupee in advance to its funds.

The Subdivisional Committee.

17. The Subdivisional Committees of Barisal, Bhola, Pirojpur, and Patuakhali will consist of men sent up as representatives by Village *Samitis*, and others elected respectively by the voters of those subdivisions.
18. The voters of the aforesaid *towns* will elect members for the Subdivisional Committees according to what is written below:—
    (a) Any resident of the town contributing in advance a subscription of four annas to the local Subdivisional committee, will, if entitled to become a voter under Rule 4, be invested with power for electing members for the Subdivisional committee.

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(b) The voters will send thirty representatives to the Subdivisional Committees to which they respectively belong.

(c) The representatives will be elected from amongst men contributing in advance at least one rupee to the Subdivisional Committee.

(d) Just after the formation of the Subdivisional Committee, office-bearers will be selected and members of the Managing Committee elected, at a sitting of the said *Samiti.* The total number of members of the Managing Committee of the sadr subdivision will be twenty-one, and fifteen in each of the remaining subdivisions.

19. The Sadr Subdivisional committee will be entitled to send thirty-five representative members, and each of the remaining Subdivisional Committees fifteen to the Bakarganj District *Samiti*

20. The representatives for the District *Samiti* will be elected from amongst men contributing in advance Rs. 3 per annum, either to a Subdivisional Committee or to a Village *Samiti*, or conjointly to both.

District Samiti.

21. The District *Samiti* will consist of eighty representatives sent up by the Subdivisional Committees and twenty members elected by the aforesaid eighty.

22. The *elected members* will elect members again having regard to different sections of the community and difference of interest.

23. The District *Samiti* will, if it thinks fit, be able to exempt any member from amongst the aforesaid twenty from liability to pay an annual subscription of Rs. 3.

24. The District *Samiti* will, just after its formation, appoint its office-bearers and elect members for its Managing Committee. It will appoint one President, two Vice-Presidents, one Secretary, two Assistant Secretaries, one Auditor of accounts, and one Treasurer. The Secretary will be able to do work for the Treasurer.

25. The total number of members for the Managing Committee will be twentyfive.

26. The Village *Samiti* will have to contribute one-third of their income to the Subdivisional Committee. But even if the annual income of any Village *Samiti* is less than thirty rupees, it shall have to contribute at least Rs. 10 to the Subdivisional *Samiti.*

Note Bene.—The subdivisional *Samiti* will, if for some special reasons, it thinks necessary, be able to reduce the amount of the aforesaid contribution. But it will never be less than Rs. 5.

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27. Every Subdivisional Committee shall have to contribute one-fourth of its income to the District *Samiti*. But the Sadr Subdivisional Committee will contribute at least Rs. 350 per annum, and each of the remaining Subdvisional Committees at least Rs. 150, to the District *Samiti*.

Nota Bene.— If the District *Samiti*, for some special reasons, considers it necessary, it will be able to reduce the amount of the aforesaid contribution.

Barisal National Machine Press

(Confidential)
No.25.

Demi-official No. 1620S., dated Dacca, the 9th December 1908.

From— R. NATHAN, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
To— H.LEMESURIER, Esq, C.I.E., I.C.S.

I forward for information a copy of a letter from Reid, with enclosures, regarding *Samiti* in the Bakarganj district. I have used the information it contains in preparing a note on the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti*.

2. I have retained the original Bengali of No. 24 and append a translation made by the Rai Bahadur Kali Prasanna Ghosh. It is not quite clear either from Reid's letter or from the reference in the last Bakarganj diary what this Zilla *Samiti* is. The ostensible objects are much the same as the *Bandhab Samiti*, and as the organisation includes everything in the district, it looks as though it might be intended to take the place of the *Bandhab Samiti*. The allusion to social punishment is significant.

3. Another significant point in Reid's letter is the establishment at Barisal of a branch of the *Anushilan Samiti* in close relationship with the *Bandhab Samiti*. It looks as though Pulinism was taking root at Barisal with the decline of Aswini and the rise of the more violent Satish. I forward a copy of another report received to-day which tells of the establishment of a *Anushilan* branch in a suburb of Barisal; also the establishment of two mysterious *Gita Samitis*, a very ill-omened title for an institution of this sort. I will ask Reid for further information about the Zilla *Samiti* and also about the *Gita Samitis* ; the latter are being watched.

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No. 26

Note on the Swadesh Bandhaab Samiti of the Bakarganj District by R. Nathan Esq., CIE., ICS., Commissioner, Dacca Division.

The *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* was inaugurated at Barisal on the 6th August 1906 . The agitation in the Bakarganj district owes its organization and its virulence almost entirely to the Samiti and to its close ally the Braja Mohan Institution. The association has spread a net work of active agitation and seditious intrigue over the whole district, and at its last anniversary celebration its Secretary stated that there are 159 branches in the interior.

The founder of the association and its President is Aswini Kumar Dutta, and his principal lieutenant is Satis Chandra Chaterji a professor of the Braja Mohan College. Until a short time ago Satis Chandra Chatterji was the avowed Secretary of the institution. He has given up the formal title which is now said to be borne by Sasi Kanta Gupta a local pleader; but the change is merely nominal, for the energy of Satis Chandra Chatterji in furthering the objects of the *samiti* has increased since his alleged requirement of office.

3. The following are the principal means whereby the *Swadesh Bandhub Samiti* carries out its objects:

   (a) *Public meetings with political speeches.* From the beginning of the agitation onwards the weekly speeches at the Raja Bahadur's Haveli at Barisal have been a prominent feature. These meetings were held under the auspices of the leaders of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti*, and those leaders took the most prominent part in promoting and speaking. The tone of a large number of these speeches was aggressive, inculcating the more objectionable forms of boycott and hatred of the English and of the existing Government. Similar speeches were delivered by the members and their friends at many places in the interior of the district. The violent and mischievous character of the speeches was one of the principal causes which led to the promulgation of the Seditious Meetings Ordinance and subsequently to the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act, and it is worthy of note that Bakarganj is the only district in which it was considered necessary to apply the provisions of the Act. Since the period of the operation of the Act elapsed the meetings and speeches have recommenced both at the Raja Bahadur's Haveli and in the interior. On several occasions the utterances, and especially those of Satis Chandra Chatterji,

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have been very Objectionable. On the..............1908 this person delivered an address on "The Disease and its Remedy", which was of a seditious character. During the period in which the operation of the Seditious Meetings Ordinance and Act prevented public meetings, the leaders of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* sought to avoid the objects of the law by a series of secret meetings held in their houses and elsewhere. Such meetings continued even after the privilege of public meeting was restored, and one meeting was held in October in the house of a member of the *Samiti*. It is worthy of note in this connection that a new secret society, called the "Gita Society" has recently been created at Barisal, and persons connected with the Braja Mohan Institution are said to have promoted this new departure.

(b) **The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti has used the Braja Mohan Institution, and teachers and students generally in fostering agitation :—**

The centre of the *Samiti* is the Braja Mohan Institution of which Aswini Kumar Dutt is the proprietor and Satis Chandra Chatterji a professor. Other professors and teachers of the institution are members of the *samiti*, or have aided them in a most constant and intimate manner in their work. The institution takes the prominent place in every political meeting and in every political demonstration in the town, and its students are taught to regard agitation and boycott as part of their duty. Other high schools have followed this example closely. The branch of the *samiti* at Jhalakati is practically the organization of the local high school, and the teachers and students of that institution have been no less busy and zealous than those of the Braja Mohan Institution. They have made Jhalakati a notorious centre of sedition; and at one time they practically took possession of the market, and their rowdyism made it necessary to quarter additional police in Jhalakati. The other high schools have formed similar foci of boycoot and agitation, and out of the fifteen schools of this class in the Bakarganj district there are only three schools not known to have mixed in the political affray. Organised volunteering, picketing, spying, reporting victims for social boycott, collecting funds for these purposes, and participating in objectionable demonstration have been an ordinary part of high school life in the Bakarganj district. This deplorable

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condition of affairs is in the main to be attributed to Aswini Kumar Dutt, Satis Chandra Chatterji, and the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti.*

(c) **The leaders use their influences as zamindars to organise boycott and discontent :**

Among the leaders of the headquarters *samiti* Aswini Kumar Dutt and Upendra Nath Sen have been specially active in using their powers as landlords to further the objects of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti.* Many other local landlords, who are either members or co-adjutors of the *samiti,* have done the same, and prominent among them are the landlords of Bhowal (general lawlessness and riot against the police), Amrajuri, Jalabari, Kowkhali (active boycott), Golachipa (boycott violence), Khalaskati (turbulence, specially marked at the steamer station where extra police has been posted), and Goila (organized boycott). Some of the most tyrannical phases of the boycott have been marked in the areas over which these persons or their agents exercise a paramount influence.

(d) **The leaders of the samiti tour the country, exciting lawlessness :—**

Aswini Kumar Dutt, Satis Chandra Chatterji, and other leaders, as well as paid preachers, such as Nishi Kanta Bose and Sris Chandra Ray, have been indefatigable in touring in the interior for the purpose of stirring up discontent, gaining converts and funds, and perfecting to organization. Aswini Kumar Dutt has made frequent tours of this character, the most important of which is that which he undertook in the rains of 1907. He went from place to place, delivered speeches of the most objectionable character, and held secret conclaves with the leaders of the agitation, with merchants to be persuaded or coerced, and so forth. He has quite recently taken a part in agitation near his home at Batajore and in some other villages of the interior. In company with the Kishorganj firebrand, Surendra Nath Sen, he paid a ceremonial visit of condolence to the father of the convicted editor Durga Mohan Sen. Satis Chandra Chatterji has of late been specially active in touring and organising. The objectionable speech alluded to in clause (a) above was made by him both at Pirozepur and at Jhalakati in one of these tours. Nishi Kanta Bose is also an active touring agent, and he goes beyond the district. He has visited Begra, Pabna, and Rajshahi. These various tours are naturally followed by more vigorous boycott and more pronounced hostility to the Government. At one time the agents of

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the *samiti* made the villagers in certain parts believe that they were no longer to pay chaukidari tax. The ordinary levy of the tax was therefore resisted and it required prompt police action to prevent a serious breach of the peace. An incident which occurred at Turki, a large business centre in Gournadi police station, is instructive. A party from a political meeting, inflamed by speeches delivered by Aswini Kumar Dutt and others, tried to board the daily steamer in order to prevent the landing of foreign goods and they caused an affray and pelted the European Steamer Inspector. A somewhat similar instance took place at a station on the Bhola-Barisal line, where a pleader from Barisal headed a gang who tried to prevent goods from being taken on board a steamer. Vexatious boycott, rowdyism attempts to interfere with passengers, and defiance of the serang's authority have been so frequent on board steamers that the serangs represented their difficulties in a body to the Company. Similar disorderly scenes and incidents have taken place at steamer ghats. On the representation of the steamer agents elaborate police arrangements, involving considerable expense and the introduction of special procedure to deal with offences of this nature, were introduced by Government. It is to such incitements and lawlessness that the fatal riot of Ujirpur is to be attributed in which a man was stoned to death by villagers who were pelting boats carrying grain for exportation.

(e) **The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti endeavours to widen and tighten its hold on the country by the formation of village samitis :—**

These have ostensibly various beneficent purposes and under the cover of these the *samiti* succeeds in ingratiating itself with the public and is thus able to advance its main objects, i.e., to foster boycott, to increase disaffection, and to organise resistance against Government. This aspect of the scheme is at present much to the fore and Satis Chandra Chatterji and other leaders are making every effort to promote the formation of village societies. These also hold a prominent place in the overt propaganda of the *samiti*.

(f) **The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti has made the most sustained and vigorous effort to enmesh the Muhammadan peasantry and the Namasudras in its net :—**

They are induced to attend meetings and are promised social and other favours if they join with the *bhadralok*. The tours of

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the leaders, such as Aswini Kumar Dutt's tour in the rains of 1907, are largely devoted to this end. The organisation of village *samitis* is for much the same purpose. As regards the Muhammadans, paid preachers are engaged, and wherever a Muhammedan of education can be induced by any means to take up the agitation, the most is made of his example and services. The indebtedness of the Muhammadan landlords to the Hindu money-lenders and the general dependence of these zamindars on the service of Hindus, are used to the utmost to coerce them into lending their countenance to the boycott and the agitation. But the most audacious bid which the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* made for Muhammadan support was when they procured Leakat Hossein to come to the district in order to preach that the salvation of a true Muhammadan in India lies in rebellion against the British Government.

(g) **The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti also promulgates its instructions by means of printed circulars and general orders :**

A notice issued by Aswini Kumar Dutt advocating boycott, etc., in 1906, is a case in point. Another example is the last partition day notice of the *samiti* advocating boycott, *rakhibandhan,* and village *samitis.* Recently a notice was issued at Jhalakati, asking the public to refrain from joining in *Kali puja* amusements as Tilak and Pillay were in jail and Arabinda under trial. In pursuance of a similar order made last year the police officers were forbidden to hold their annual *Kali puja* festival. They disobeyed and rowdy youths connected with the *samiti* succeeded in making a disturbance and breaking up the party.

(h) **The Samiti-inflames the minds of the people by means of dramatic performances and songs given by so-called Jatra parties :—**

A *swadeshi jatra* party, organised by the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti,* under the management of a certain Jogeshwar De, has been used for the purpose of exciting the people. This *jatra* party has given many performances, both in the district of Bakarganj and elsewhere. One of the items of its performance is the notorious "White Rat" song composed by Jogeshwar De. The nature of the performance is so objectionable that prohibitory orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, have been passed against the party by Magistrates in several districts in both the provinces. This party is also used

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for the purpose of collecting subscriptions to the "National Fund" which is controlled by the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti.* A very objectionable book of songs containing, amongst others, the "White Rat" song has been published at Barisal by agitators connected with the *samiti.* Criminal proceedings have been instituted against Jogeshwar De and his party, and it is contemplated to include also the publisher of the book. Jogeshwar De is intimately associated with the *samiti,* he performs at its meetings and he is well known as its employe and he has received a medal of honour from it. Aswini Kumar Dutta exercises special protection over him. Other *jatra* parties have caught this contagion, and a few days ago the Magistraté was obliged to issue prohibitory orders against the best known *jatra* party of Jhalakati. He has also reported the visit of a party from Calcutta which performed a new seditious *Matripuja* and left before proceedings could be taken.

(i) **The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti uses the press to excite lawlessness and sedition :—**

At the time of the excitement occasioned by the Provincial Conference, held in Barisal in 1906, some persons, including Aswini Kumar Dutta and Upendra Nath Sen, made over a press belonging to them to a certain Durga Mohan Sen, first a pupil and afterwards a teacher of the Braja Mohan Institution, for the avowed purpose of the agitation. From this press the local extremist journal *Barisal Hitaishi* has been issued. The many inflammatory articles which it has published have contributed greatly to the unrest of the district. Durga Mohan Sen was imprisoned for sedition in connection with a special malignant article.

Recent articles have been violent and the question of further criminal proceedings has been considered.

(j) **The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti supports and sympathises overtly with criminals who disturb the public peace.—**

The *samiti* has almost invariably arranged for the defence of persons accused of crimes connected with the agitation. It has in the most public manner testified its admiration of those who have been imprisoned for such crimes, and it has collected money to help those who have been fined. The defiant demonstrations of sympathy were not confined to local criminals, but have taken place whenever a notorious agitator has suffered from, or escaped, the penalty of the law.

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(k) **The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti is the founder and supporter of the volunteer side of the agitation :—**
Aswini Kumar Dutta is the father of the volunteer movement, and he and his lieutenant must therefore be held largely responsible for the development of lawlessness among the *bhadralok* youths. The volunteers, who have been enrolled all over the district, are the weapons and tools of the *Swdesh Bandhab Samiti* and the more irritating incidents of boycotting and picketing are largely their work. In the beginning of 1907 the origanisation, which was under the particular charge of Satis Chandra Chatterji, indulged in orgies of defiant rowdyism. This culminated in the siege of Jhalakati *hat,* to which allusion has been made above, and in an organised armed demonstration by night at Barisal, when the volunteers held the street and would not allow even a senior officer of the police to pass. Ever since this time it has been found necessary to maintain a body of Gurkha Military Police at Barisal. The *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti,* like the *Anushilan* and the *Suhrid Samitis* of Dacca and Mymensingh, holds the martial training of its young men as one of its principal objects. *Lathials* have been hired and bands of boys trained in *lathi*-play and military evolutions. These trained bands of the *samiti* display their prowess at political meetings and receive prizes and rewards. This evil aspect of the *samiti's* activity has latterly become more pronounced by the establishment at Barisal, in intimate relationship with the local association, of two branches of Pulin Behari Das's *Anushilan Samiti.*

(i) **The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti inspires all political demonstrations in the district :—**
On every occasion which gives a prétext for political excitement, processions, meetings, and ceremonials have been the order of the day, and in all of them the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* leads the way. Boycott days, partition days, Surendra Nath's conference memorial day, all give the excuse for demonstration, and there are also outburst of sympathy for convicted criminals referred to above. Similar demonstrations are made in every part of the mofussil in which the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* holds sway, and it was reported that on the last *rakhibandhan* day processions or other demonstrations occurred in almost all the Hindu villages of the district.

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(m) **Social boycott is the favourite coercive weapon of the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti :—**

This cruel punishment is inflicted freely on those who infringe the boycott orders of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* and for other offences under the agitators' Penal Code. The social boycott has many forms, all of them calculated to inflict misery on the victim. The performance of religious rites by the Brahmins of the offender is prevented, and Brahmins who disobey are themselves boycotted. The compeers of the persons ostracised refuse to associate with him and will not permit him to eat with them or join in their religious ceremonials. The marriage of the children of the obnoxious persons is prevented. Their barbers, washermen, and other such like servants are prevented from serving them. The question was mooted whether they should be denied the relief of their doctors, but I am informed that this stage has not yet been reached, although individual cases have occurred. This aspect of the boycott has been carefully organised. At one time Aswini Kumar Dutt held a meeting of the barbers and made them vow not to shave a man who used European goods; at another time the *dhobis* were required to make a similar vow so also the Uriya domestic servants and the *manjhis*. Even the prostitutes were not considered too low. In the last annual report of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* it is stated that 80 persons were socially ostracised during the year for using European commodities. Many others have been boycotted for other political reasons. One of the best known cases is that of certain Saha merchants of Barisal, who refused to abstain from selling European goods. The case was a crucial one, for a considerable portion of the cloth-supply of the district is in their hands. Every possible form of boycott and repression and other annoyances were brought into use, and the boycott was continued for a long period. The victims appealed to Government for aid but in such a case it is difficult to afford protection. A recent instance, which is of interest, is that of the sweetmeat-seller Syama Charan Ghosh. The course of the proceedings in this case is typical. The sweetmeat-sellers were made to attend a meeting under the auspices of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* and were required to make a promise that they would not use European sugar in their sweetmeats. All of them were obedient except Syama Charan Ghosh, who was turned

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out of the meeting. The next stage was the annoyance and insult of the renegade by the students of the Braja Mohan Institution, and this was followed by a printed notice issued by the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* publicly proclaiming the boycott of the culprit. The following is another interesting case. The District Magistrate gave away the prizes at a Sanskrit College at Goila. In order that the proprietor of the Institution might be punished for this crime, the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* demanded of his landlord that he should be turned out of his house.

Another form of oppression akin to the social boycott is the boycott by legal practitioners. When this is in force, the pleaders and mukhtears either decline to take up the cases or charge an exorbitant fee. In a district where every one has his quarrels and every one is dependent on his lawyers for conducting them, this is an engine of oppression of very great power.

(n) **The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti endeavour to frustrate the operation of the law by intimidating and harassing the officers of the police :—**

This has been a favourite weapon of the leaders of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti*, and the police officers have complained bitterly of the sufferings which they endure through trying to perform their duty. Social boycott is employed against them, and several cruel instances have been reported. Police officers are insulted and sometimes assaulted in the street. They are harassed by threatening letters and by anonymous notices. Vexatious civil suits are brought against them, and they have been made the accused in false cases of rape. Lately, the house of a Sub-Inspector was set on fire, it is believed, at the instance of the agitators. This incident, coupled with letters threatening incendiarism and murder in other cases, and the murder of a police officer in Calcutta, have created great alarm in the minds of our police officers. In a recent speech which gives the lie to the whole policy of his association, Aswini Kumar Dutt deprecates these outrages on the police, but they are the immediate outcome of the speeches and operations of the *Swadesh Bandhba Samiti* and its leaders.

(o) **The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti is evoking a general feeling of alarm and insecurity among those who are not content to follow its behest :—**

Anonymous letters and anonymous notices threatening loot or arson if shopkeepers of a particular place or if some particular

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shopkeeper will not abandon the use of European goods, are now of daily occurrence. Similar threatening letters are being sent to zamindars and other persons coercing them to pay money to the funds of the agitators or to fall in with their plans in some other way. Point is given to these threats by the dacoities, murders, and arsons that have actually been perpetrated, and a wide feeling of fear is thus engendered. The Hindu Vice-Chairman of the Bakarganj District Board complained to me bitterly this morning of the terrorism that is exercised in the district.

4. By all these means and devices the promoters and members of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* have kept the always turbulent district of Bakarganj in a ferment, and have forced Government to apply a series of repressive measures, which have been unsuccessful in quelling the growing spirit of lawlessness. The aims of the association are made abundantly clear by its utterances and its operations. They are simply to excite the widest and deepest feelings of hostility against the British Government and to create an organisation which shall render the continuance of that Government impossible.

14th December 1908 R. Nathan

No. 27

Demi-official No. 1892-97S., dated Dacca, the 8th January 1909

From—R. Nathan, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

To—H. LeMesurier, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

In continuation of paragraph 2 of my demi-official letter no. 1620S, dated the 9th December, I forward for information a copy of a report by Inspector Bhaumik on the *zilla* samitis. This report makes it clear that, as we apprehended, the *zilla samiti* is merely one aspect of the work of the *Bandhab Samiti*, apparently especially designed for local propagandism.

Demi-official No. 1326C., dated Barisal, the 2nd January 1909

From—W. J. Reid, Esq., I.C.S.

To—R. Nathan, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Your No. 1619S., dated the 9th December 1908. I forward copies of two reports submitted by Inspector J. C. Bhaumik. I don't think that the second report contains any information which I have not already sent you.

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Dated the 26th December 1908

From— Babu J. C. Bhaumik, Inspector of Police, Criminal Investigation Department;

To— The District Magistrate of Bakarganj.

I beg to report that in the last District Conference, which was held on the 17th and 18th of August, it was proposed that there should be subdivisional *samiti* and village *samitis* in every big village, and in cases of small villages there should be village *samiti* consisting of a group of villages. To give effect to that proposal, Patuakhali has already started a subdivisional *samiti*. The rules and regulations of these *samitis* were framed and printed by the members of the *Bandhab Samiti* at Barisal. These new proposals of forming *samitis* were nothing but another form of *Bandhab Samiti* and guided by the members of the said *samiti*. The ostensible objects of these *samitis* are the same as those professed by the *Bandhab Samiti*, and gradually the *Bandhab Samiti* would have been amalgamated to the new *samitis* if the new ones were approved of by the people and would have been prosperous in the long run.

In don't think that any such new *samitis* are to be formed now, as the leaders of the district have been deported and the passing of the *Samiti* Act has produced a great anxiety in the minds of the people. However, I shall gradually report on the subject as the occasion will arise and when a new *samiti* is formed in future.

Date the December 1908

From— Babu J. C. Bhaumik, Inspector of Police, Criminal Investigation Department

To— The District Magistrate of Bakarganj.

I beg most respectfully to report that of the two *Gita Samitis* as referred to in my previous report, I have come to know a few particulars of one, which are as follows :—

The members of the said *samiti* sometimes go to the house of Jagadish Chandra Mukharji, Head-master, B. M. School, and take lessons in *Gita*, which is being read by Jagadish and other members of his house, so I mentioned it as *Gita Samiti*, but really this *samiti* in nothing but *Anushilan Samiti*. I have come to know the names of some members of this *samiti*. Their teachings and objects are the same as Dacca *Anushilan Samiti* and probably a branch of that *samiti*. The members take written vows about sacrificing their lives, when it is necessary, in the presence of the goddess *Mahamaya* in Kashipur village in the dead of the night. The members have to change their real names and obtain fictitious names in such a manner that even most of the

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members do not know their respective real names. The main object of the society is to collect money by plunder; they generally try to induce sons of well-to-do men to become the members of the *samiti*. As the *samiti* has not fully developed as yet, so nothing more can be had now. I have deputed a special man to shadow some of the members, who have since been known to us. It is said that, after the deportation of the leaders and passing of the *Samiti* Act, the work of enrolling members to the *samiti* has been at a standstill and no further progress is visible. I will gradually report the progress of it as it comes to my notice.

As regards the other society, Sub-Inspector Abinash Chandra Ghosal was able to collect no further information. I am trying to collect further information about it, which shall gradually be reported.

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PART III

Samitis in the Mymensingh District

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PART III
CONTENTS

No. 28. Note on the *Sadhana Samaj*, Mymensingh, by the commissioner, Dacca Division, dated the 14th December 1908

No. 29. Note on the *Surhid Samiti, Mymensingh*, by the Commissioner Dacca Division, dated the 14th December 1908

No. 30. Demi-official No. 709, dated the 10th December 1908, from Magistrate, Mymensingh District, reporting on the following *samitis* :—
I.—*Sadhana Samiaj*
II—*Sakti Samiti*
III—Students' Association
IV—*Anushilan Alias* Bharat *Samiti*
V—*Akhara* at the house of Dr., Bipin Behari Sen
VI—Mymensingh Association
VII—Mymensingh National School

No. 30A. Demi-official No. 936, dated the 28th January 1909, from Magistrate, Mymensingh

No. 28

Note on the Sadhana Samaj, Mymensingh

This association was founded in the year 1907. Its members originally belonged, it is stated, to the *Surhid Samiti* and they seceded from it in consequence of some disagreement between the followers of Sarala Devi and of the Bengal party of Surendra Nath Banarji and Bipin Chandra Pal. The ostensible objects of the association are the development of physical culture and the pursuit of political agitation. Its real objects would appear to be precisely similar to those of the *Surhid Samiti* . It is said, however, to be more closely the agent of the leaders of that agitation at Mymensingh, and it is also intimately connected with the local National School. The Head-master and Secretary of that school are the Secretary and assistant Secretary of the *Samiti*. The members are also mostly students of the National School . They celebrate the anniversary of the school by meetings, seditious songs and *lathi*-play. The 3rd anniversary celebration was held on the 24th September 1907 and criminal proceedings are being instituted against its promoters . The member practise *lathi*-play , sword-play, and other exercises, and they took part in the sham fight in April last with the *Surhid Samiti* . They are

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believed to have been concerned in the night attack of the police on the 4th January 1908. The associations supported almost entirely by subscriptions from the professional classes, and especially those professional men who patroniese the National School. Kali Prasanna Das Gupta, the Head-master of the National School and Secretary of the association, was formerly Head-master of the High School at Madaripur, and he was dismissed for leading the school into pernicious forms of agitation. He is a fanatical and dangerous man. Members of the *Sadhana Samaj* are believed to have been concerned in the attack on the police at Mymensingh on the 4th January 1908.

The 14th December 1908 R.NATHAN

No. 29

Note on the Surhid Samiti, Mymensingh

This association was founded as a benevolent institution some 8 years ago. It owes its present sinister political character to the trend of the time in general and to two special causes. One of these is the visit to the Mymensingh district in April 1906 of Arabinda Ghosh, Subodh Mullick, and Bipin Chander Pal. The last named made a number of fiery and seditious speeches at the headquarters and in the interior, and inflamed the minds of the educated public, and particularly of its youthful member. The other special cause is the predominant influence of the "Devi" (Miss Sarala Ghosal, now the wife of Rambhuj Datta Chaudhuri of Lahore). This person came to Mymensingh in April 1905 to attend the Provincial Conference and then organized the *Surhid Samiti* as an instrument for political work, and tried to infuse a martial spirit into the members by introducing religious ceremonies in honour of departed heroes. These ceremonies — the *Birastami Brata* and *Pratapaditya Brata*— are modelled on the lines of the *Sivajiutsab* of the young Maharattas, who follow Tilak, and just as the Maharattas celebrate the *puja* of *Bhabani*, titulary deity of Sivaji, so the *Surhid Samiti* celebrate the *puja* of *Kali*, titulary goddess of *Pratapaditya*. They perform the *puja* of *Kali*, at night and do not fail to emphasise the story that *Kali* rid the country of the *Asuras* or demons. The influence of such a teaching on the present temper of the *bhadralog* youths of Eastern Bengal may readily be imagined.

2 The association has its headquarters at Mymensingh and branches extending over a considerable portion of Eastern Bengal. The principal branches in the district of Mymensingh and at Sakhuai,

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Muktagacha, Fulpur, Gugudia, Tangail, Sherpur, and Nandina. There are a number of branches in the district of Dacca (especially in Bikrampur) and others in the Noakhali, Sylhet, and Tippera districts. The promoters devote much attention to spreading their influence, and they send their agents around to confer with local agitators and start new centres. Some interesting reports by these agents have come to light. An influential member, named Hemendra Chandra Ghosh, wrote to the Secretary that he had been visiting and organising the Bikrampur *samitis*, working hand in hand with another member, who had been sent to Chittagong. In the same letter he reports to the Secretary that one of the drill instructors in Sylhet is doing bad work and asks the Secretary to deal with the case. Sitangsu Bhusan Sen, the Assistant Secretary, is an energetic organiser. In one of his reports he narrates how he has arranged for eight centres each in charge of worker, the Dacca, Noakhali, Chittagong, and sylhet districts. The following extract from the report is of such interest that I quote it at length:

" Came to Munshiganj and talked with the Secretary, the Captain, and the leading members. Talked also with the men of Bajrajogini and Sonarang. The result is that I have come to the conclusion that work will not prosper if Mymensingh is made the centre. Accordingly, after taking the opinion of all, I have settled to make Malkhanagar the centre. Malkhanagar is the central place in this quarter, and work is also going on well here, as there are some energetic and zealous workers in this village. It is only owing to their zeal that whatever work was done in Vikrampur, was one. The centre should be made therefore in that village. I am shortly going to Malkhanagar to talk with all about this matter. If you and others agree to my proposal then write to Chandra Kanta Basu of the village. I hope that work will go on nicely if that village be made the centre."

Malkhanagar has always been regarded as one of the worst localities in the Dacca district, and persistent reports have been received of the secretion of arms in this place. The members of the Malkhanagar Bose family are among the most mischievous of our agitators, and the above allusions to this locality and this family are most sinister. The "work" here referred to must be secret and criminal work. Another active member, named Priya Sankar, writes to the Secretary that progress in not good in the Tangail subdivision and that the *Anushilan Samiti* is more energetic. He asks for a special Inspector to move about the Tangail centre. He also suggests

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co-operation with the *Anushilan Samiti, i.e.,* Pulin Behari Das's association. He complains of slackness on the part of the drill instructors of some places.

Another means of propagandism in the formation of village societies ostensibly for the arbitration of criminal and civil cases, the encouragement of physical culture, and so forth, but really to further the main ends of the association. Babu Anath Bandhu Guha, the head of the agitators in the Mymensingh district, with Brajendra Lal Ganguli, a notorious leader of the *Surhid Samiti,* have been active in inaugurating these societies, which are known in the Mymensingh district as " *Palli Samitis*". The family resemblance to Aswini Kumar Dutt's Village *samitis* of the Bakarganj district is noteworthy.

3. The documents discovered from time to time in the course of searches which it has been necessary to make in the houses of various of the members of the association have afforded occasional glimpses of its inner purport and life. Sarala Devi continues to exert a powerful influence from Lahore. We find her instructing Kedar Nath Chakrabatti, the Secretary of *Surhid Samiti,* to go to Calcutta to arrange for a *Birastami* celebration. He is to help a young man in Calcutta, and Sarala forwards copy of her letter to this youth, who is informed that Kedar Nath knows all the relevant quarters in Calcutta and is known to all the clubs. In another letter written from Lahore by Srish Chandra Datta, a member of the *Samiti,* who apparently assisted Sarala Devi, Kedar Nath is informed that the "Devi" is rather displeased with him, because he did not send a certain Basanta to Calcutta, who was wanted for the *Bahirati* office. In another letter this Srish sends instructions for the celebration of *Birastami* at Mymensingh, and Kedar Nath is informed that they are trying to send down professional *palwans* from the Punjab for a wrestling match. In a third letter Srish says that a certain "Chaudhuri Sahib" and "Ma" (presumably Sarala Devi) will go to Cabul, and that he will also go there. He adds that if they do not go there, they will certainly go to Kashmir, and he says that if he can go to Cabul, much work will then be done. This same Srish is, on his own showing, a fanatical revolutionist whom no earthly consideration can restrain. He is at present the Head-master of the Sylhet National School. Quite in accordance with this spirit are other seditious documents which have been found from time to time. One manuscript (The Awakening) found in the *Surhid Samiti* premises is a revolutionary song of the most extreme and

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blood-thirsty character. A copy of the seditious work "*Bartaman Rana Niti*" which has figured in both the Calcutta and the Dacca searches, was found in Kedar Nath's house. In a letter written to Brajendra Lal Ganguli, sympathising with him for having been beaten by the police at Barisal, a prayer to God is uttered to overthrow the British rule. Other documents are redolent of seditious organisation, but the above are the most overt instances that have come to light. The set of general vows is a document of non-political character, but, as in the case of the *Anushilan Samiti*, there are doubtless inner vows of a very different character. There is a correspondence between a member of the *Samiti*, named Jitendra Mohan Ray, with "A friend" in which the former is urged to sign some special form of oath, and he is told that it is strictly forbidden that any other person should see this form.

4. At the same time that the minds of the members of *Surhid Samiti* are trained by inflammatory religious ceremonies, speeches, songs, and literature and by participation in political meetings and demonstrations, they are themselves subjected to a physical training designed both to develop their muscles and arouse their martial spirit. Boxing, wrestling, drill, *lathi* exercise, sword and dagger exercises are among the ordinary items of this training. Most of the volunteers are said to possess daggers and sword-sticks. It is reported that many have unlicensed revolvers, and it is probable that they make free use of the guns which are in the possession of pleaders, Honorary Magistrate, and others. There have been frequent instances of *lathi* and dagger display, often connected with some political demonstration or celebration. In April last the members of the Dacca *Anushilan Samiti* had a sham fight with the members of all the other *samitis* in the town of Mymensingh. In July Pulin Behari Das, Captain-General of the Dacca *Anushilan Samiti*, visited Tangail. His party contained one or more members of the *Surhid Samiti*, and it was joined by Kedar Nath Chakrabatti, the Secretary. There was worship of *Kali*, sacrifice of goats, boycott lectures, and grand assault-at-arms. The programme included *lathi*, knife, and sword exercises, and metal daggers were used in the combat. In all these respects the training of the members of the *Surhid Samiti* is on a par with that of the Dacca *Anushilan Samiti*. A special feature of the *Surhid Samiti* training is to be found in the so-called agricultural farm at Dulania. This is situated at an isolated place at the foot of the Garo Hills, two days' journey by boat from Sunamganj, and it lies in the Sylhet district on the Mymensingh

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border. The land was leased from Babu Brajendra Kishore Ray Chaudhuri of Gauripur, a zamindar who has mixed himself conspicuously in the agitation. The arrangements were made by Kedar Nath Chakrabatti on the instructions of Sarala Devi. The ostensible object of the farm is to teach the arts of agriculture to *bhadralog* youths. An inspection of, and a search made at, the farm during the last rains showed conclusively that the agricultural aspect of the "farm" was, if not a mere pretext, then at any rate a subsidiary object. There was very little cultivation to be seen; whilst documents and books found on the premises showed that the youths of the farm were in the closest touch with the authorities of the *Surhid Samiti*, that they were interesting themselves deeply in affairs connected with the agitation, and that they were practising their *lathi* and other exercises. The deduction to be made is that batches of boys were sent to the farm to be trained as active members of the *Surhid Samiti.*

5. The members of the *Surhid Samiti* have figured in numerous political demonstrations and affrays. Instances in point are the students' riot of 1906, which occurred at Mymensingh as an outcome of picketing, and the rowdy demonstration which took place outside the Mymensingh jail in 1907 in honour of a released political convict. The participators in this demonstration had to be dispersed by armed police. Brajendra Lal Ganguli was at Jamalpur at the time of the great disturbance of April 1907, and there is every reason to believe that the members of the *Surhid Samiti* were concerned in this trouble. *Surhid Samiti* youths, both at the head-quarters and in the district, are suspected of having been guilty of pulling down notices offering a reward for the detection of the would-be murderers of Mr. Allen. The members of the *Surhid Samiti* were also implicated in the assault on the police, which arose out of the notice-tearing incident. On this occasion 50 or 60 Bengalis, armed with spears and *lathis,* attacked 5 or 6 of the armed police and wounded them.

Various of the mofussil branches have made themselves conspicuous in a similar manner. The District Magistrate reported in March last that the Sakhuai branch had probably done most mischief, since the outbreak of rioting at Fulpur was generally attributed by the local Muhammadan witnesses to the irritating tactics of the Bhattacharji's of Sakhuai, who are its chief members. It was alleged that these men had not only insulted the Muhammadans by parading a one-eyed goat dressed in English

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cloth in ridicule of the Nawab of Dacca, but had also burnt effigies of Lord Curzon and the King-Emperor on partition day. The Tangail *Samiti* made itself a nuisance by *lathi*-play in public places and references has already been made to Pulin's demonstration there. Both at Muktagacha and Nandina there were complaints last year of forcible interference with the sale of goods. The Bajitpur branch, started early in 1908, has also made itself conspicuous, and members of it were, it is believed, concerned in tearing down the Allen-reward notices. Reports of political demonstrations at Netrakona have become frequent, and recently the Secretary of the local *Samiti* organised, and members of the *Samiti* attended, a meeting in honour of Kanai Lal Dutt, the murderer. In this assembly various exciting songs, such as *Santan-Abhijan*, were sung.

Allusion has been made above to several of the prominent members of the *Surhid Samiti*. The President, Hari Har Chakrabatti, is a pleader and appears to be merely a figurehead, who gives an air of comparative respectability to the meetings held at Mymensingh. Kedar Nath Chakrabatti, the Secretary of the Association and the Agent of Sarala Devi, has ever since the beginning of the agitation, mixed himself in every form of political intrigue and demonstration. The murdered informer, Narendra Gosain, accused Kedar Nath of being concerned in the manufacture of bombs. Brajendra Ganguli is also an ardent agitator. He took a part in the disturbance that marked the Barisal District Conference of 1906. In addition to the organisation of agitation and *lathi*-play, Brajendra Ganguli's special mission is to sing inflammatory songs. Some of the songs in his repertoire are most seditious, and it is proposed to prosecute him. Sitangsu Bhusan Sen, Assistant Secretary, appears from the correspondence to be an energetic and capable organiser, and he would also seem to be mixed up in mysterious and presumably criminal operations. Allusion has also been made to revolutionary Srish Chandra Dutt, who was at Lahore with Sarala Devi and is now the Head-master of the National School at Sylhet.

6. Babu Anath Bandhu Guha, the head of the local bar, is the patron both of the *Surhid Samiti* and of the allied *Sadhana Samiti*. He has kept ostensibly aloof from the more violent and seditious aspect of the association, and it is not easy to gauge how far he may be implicated in it. He recently presided at an objectionable public meeting at the Town Hall in commemoration of the anniversary of the local National School. The boys of the school went through a long programme, all the items of which were designed to inflame

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martial ardour and to excite hostility against the Government. The whole proceeding was covertly seditious in tone, and criminal proceedings are being instituted against Anath Bandhu Guha and the Secretary to the school.

The 14th December 1908 R. Nathan

No. 30

Demi-official No. 709, dated Mymensingh, the 10th December 1908.

From — J. R. Blackwood, Esq., I.C.S.
To — R. Nathan, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Your letter marked secret dated the 30th November.

2. A list of *samitis* and other volunteer organisations in the district has already been submitted to Ryland in my No. 668, dated the 2nd December 1908.
3. In Garlick's reports submitted in March last a statement of the history and aims of the seven *samitis* obtaining in the Mymensingh town was given. I need not recapitulate it now.
4. We have little evidence available against any *samiti* except the *Surhid Samiti*. This *Samiti* has the following branches in the district with the following leading members :—

(1). Muktagacha Jadab Chandra Ray,
(2) Fulpur (Sakhani Sebak) Durga Sundar Bidyabinode,
(3) Gugudia Kali Prasanna Sarma,
(4) Tangail Priya Sankar Sen Gupta,
(5) Sherpur (Sakti) Jogendra Chandra Nag,
(6) Nandina Nakuleswar Chakrabatti,
(7) Madanganj (Dacca district) Hara Lal Bhowmick and Surendra Lal Bhowmick,
(8) Munshiganj (Dacca district), Harendra Chandra Ghosh,
(9) Bajrajogini (Sakti), Dacca district, Hemanta Singha and Ramesh Singha,
(10) Bidgaon Buherak (Dacca district) Sidheswar,
(11) Noakhali Harendra

and other branches in Sylhet and Tippera, of which we have not yet been able to discover the names. Documents found in the *Samiti* show that it is now controlled from Lahore.

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5. This *Samiti* has also opened an agricultural national farm at Bisharpara in the Sylhet district. Sarala Devi is the moving spirit. The land has been given by Babu Brajendra Kishore Chaudhuri, zamindar of Gauripur.
6. The following charges can be made against the members of this *Samiti*:—
   (1) In the year 1906 several members of the *Samiti* were implicated in the rioting case in which the Superintendent of Police and Kotwali police were attacked and assaulted. The case ended in conviction.
   (2) Some leading members of the *Samiti* started *Bande Mataram* procession without a license in the year 1906 and were prosecuted.
   (3) In January 1908 some of the members were implicated in the sensational police assault case, when the Secretary of the *Samiti*, Kedar Nath Chakrabatti, absconded. One member — Jitendra Chandra Ray — was sent up, but was acquitted.
   (4) In the recent Alipur bomb case, the name of Kedar Nath Chakrabatti, the Secretary, was mentioned by the late informer Narendra Goswami. His house was searched, but nothing of an incriminating nature was found.
   (5) Brajendra Ganguli (a principal member of the *Samiti*) was concerned in the disturbance that took place at the Barisal District Conference in the year 1906, where he went as a representative of the *Samiti*.
   (6) The members of the *Samiti* headed by Kedar Chakrabatti made a demonstration near the Mymensingh jail when Rajendra Lal Saha (convicted in a *swadeshi* case) was released.
   (7) Proceedings have been taken against Brajendra Ganguli this year in Chittagong for singing seditious songs and giving seditious lectures.
   (8) Brajendra Ganguli and Kedar Nath Chakrabatti are known to go about giving instructions in *lathi*-play.
   (9) Lately information was received from the Calcutta police that bullets had been sold to the *Surhid Samiti*. The premises were searched in consequence; but no bullets or firearms were found.
   (10) During the search of Kedar Nath Chakrabatti's house in January last, a book was discovered called *Bartaman Rana Niti*. In this book the art of war is described.

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7. The following documents, which were found in the January searches and have been translated, throw light on the aims and objects of this society :—

(1) Exhibit I shows the connection of the society with Muktagacha branch.

(2) Exhibit II shows the connection of the society with Sarala Devi.

(3) Exhibit III shows that members are deputed to other places and incidentally throws light on the loyalty of Ramgopalpur.

(4) Exhibit IV shows connection with Sarala Devi, and in that letter the dangerous proposition is put forward that there is nothing wrong in murdering one's relatives for the motherland.

(5) Exhibit V shows connection with Sarala Devi.

(6) Exhibit VI contains references to branch *samitis* and sword exercises, to the deputation of an Inspector from the head office to Tangail, and to the engaging of a boy as a detective by the police.

(7) Exhibit VII contains a reference to the festival "*Birastami*," which is one of the two festivals established by Sarala Devi.

(8) Exhibit VIII contains a reference to bring *palwans* from Punjab.

In another letter to Kedar Nath Chakrabatti, there is a curious reference to the policy of working in these hard days.

(9) Exhibit IX is an important letter, as it contains a reference to an attempt to instigate the Ameer of Afghanistan.

(10) Exhibit X contains a discussion as to the situation of the central office and the general organisation.

(11) Exhibit XI has reference to the grant of land from Gauripur for agricultural purposes.

(12) Exhibit XII contains a reference to some secret form of oath.

(13) Exhibit XIII contains also a reference to the same thing.

(14) Exhibit XIV contains a reference to a probable disturbance.

(15) Exhibit XV is a form of oath : but as all the objects indicated in this oath are praiseworthy, it is probably not the real form of oath.

(16) Exhibit XVI is a very seditious pamphlet entitled "*Jagaran*."

(17) Exhibit XVII shows that Brajendra Ganguli went to Jamalpur immediately before the disturbances of last year.

(18) Exhibit XVIII is an illustration of the disregard for authority which animates the society.

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8. Only one case of a sham fight in this district has come to notice. It occurred in April last, when some members of the Dacca *Anushilan Samiti* had a sham fight with the members of all the other *samitis* of this town. But there have been frequent instances of *lathi* display and dagger displays. In particular there is the famous visit of Pulin Babu to Tangail in August last for the purpose of giving a demonstration in which metal daggers were used.

9. I don't think that there is any member of this *Samiti* who can be regarded as really dangerous. Kedar Nath Chakrabatti has attained a notoriety quite out of proportion to his character and attainments owing to being named by the informer Goswami. He has little or no influence among his own community and is not regarded with any degree of respect. His father was the *am-mukhtear* of Dinamani Chaudhurani and the son aspired to the same position. Dinamani Chaudhurani refused to have him without a certificate from the Magistrate, and the result is that he is now without any employment except what he finds in the *Samiti*.
Brajendra Ganguli is said to have a good voice and collects money in the villages by singing songs to be found in "*Deshar Gan*" and "*Mayer Gan*"; but he is a person of no position and is reported to have a kept woman at Muktagacha. The name of Sitangsu Sen Gupta, a brother of a copyist in the Judge's Court, came before me in certain anonymous communications : but he is a person of little or no importance. Although people of influence, such as Anath Bandhu Guha, support the *Samiti* and sympathise with it, it cannot be said that any person of influence takes an active part in it.

10. It was the *Surhid Samiti* that invited Bipin Pal to come to the district last May. The invitation was subsequently withdrawn possibly owing to the news of the Muzaffarpur outrage.

11. (a) There is *samiti* in Kishorganj known as the *Bandhab Samiti* . It is not known whether this is the branch of the *Surhid Samiti* or independent of it. The words "*Bandhab*" and "*Surhid*" mean, however, practically the same thing. The *Samiti* is closely connected with the National School, and Surendra Nath Sen (the Head-master of the school) is the most dangerous person in the subdivision from the fact that he is an effective speaker. He goes about the country raising subscriptions and incites the people to keep the boycott agitation alive. He has not yet, however, brought himself within the clutches of the law.

(b) Next in order of the persons who are inclined to give trouble in the Kishorganj subdivision are Prafulla Chandra Mukharji

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and Rajendra Kishor Mazumdar. They were convicted last year in a case under sections 341, 143, and 426, Indian Penal Code, for waylaying a *gari* containing foreign liquor on its way from Kishorganj to Hussenpur. Prafulla is concerned in the case of an assault on a constable on the 7th of August last and is now absconding.

(c) A mukhtear, Ramani Kanta Ray, a prominent agitator, is supposed to be concerned with Prafulla in this affair.

(d) Manmohan Ray and Behari Ray are supposed to be concerned in the Bazitpur robbery case. They are members of the *Samalkandi Samiti*. They are now absconding. In March last Manmohan was arrested with a seditious leaflet in his possession headed "To arms," which incited people to rise against the British. He was let off with a warning by Mr. Stinton. It is suspected that he brought two men from Calcutta to commit the Bazitpur robbery.

(e) Girendra Narain Chaudhuri, lately a clerk in the Subdivisional Officer's office, who resigned after hearing lecture of Bipin Chandra Pal, was found loitering with Manmohan when the latter was arrested with the seditious leaflet.

(f) Surendra Chandra Chakrabatti was found loitering with Manmohan in the same case.

(g) Rajendra Kishor Ray of Jayka, an itinerant agitator, travels to Dacca, Calcutta, and other distant places and collects money for the national cause. He is one of the leading volunteers.

(h) Ramesh Chandra Chaudhuri, a teacher of the local National School and a resident of the Sylhet district, organised the anniversary meeting of the 22nd September and is known to be a leader of volunteers.

(i) Surendra Nath Chaudhuri of Baniagon was bound down for instigating school boys to throw away Liverpool salt. He has a *samiti* at his house.

(j) Naresh Chandra Chaudhuri of Nandina is a friend of Prafulla and Manmohan. He is suspected to have pointed out the house where the Bazitpur robbery was committed to the Calcutta volunteers. His house was searched in this connection.

(k) Ishan Chandra Chakrabatti, mukhtear, is a leader of volunteers and Assistant Secretary of the National School. I have not been able to obtain corresponding information from the other subdivisions.

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12. None of the other institutions in Mymensingh can be regarded as of equal importance with the *Surhid Samiti.* The following information has been gathered regarding them :

I. The Sadhana Samaj

(a) This *Samaj* was founded in the year 1907. The professed object of this *Samiti* is the development of physical culture and political agitation.

(b) The members are mostly students of the National School. They celebrate annually the anniversary of the National School, at which seditious songs are sung and plays are performed. The third anniversary was celebrated on 24th September last. The matter is still under consideration.

(c) Jogendra Bhattacharjya, No. II, a member of the *Samiti,* was an accused in the Mymensingh students' riot case of 1906.

(d) The members practise *lathi*-play, sword play, and other gymnastics every day. Several members of this *Samaj* joined in the sham fight in April last already noted in the case of the *Surhid Samiti.*

(e) Sources of income are the subscriptions from the members and donations from gentlemen, mostly pleaders and mukhtears, and also from the patrons of National School, but the list could not be secured.

(f) It has connection with the *Surhid Samiti,* which has connection with Dacca and Calcutta.

(g) The following are the leading members :—

(1) Babu Kali Prasanna Das Gupta, M.A., Head-master, National School, Secretary.

(2) Mohini Sankar Ray, teacher National School, and brother-in-law of Mahim Chandra Ray, B.L., the Secretary of the National School, Assistant Secretary.

(3) Harendra Kishore Acharjya, a pensioner of Jagat Babu, Zemindar of Muktagacha, Assistant Secretary.

(4) Jogendra Bhattacharjya,
(5) Kula Chandra Dey,
(6) Kiran Chandra Bose,
(7) Pulin Chandra Ghosh,
(8) Jogendra Kishore Dhar,
} members

(h) The probable places of deposit of papers are —
The *Sadhana Samaj*
The National School
The houses of the Secretary and Assistant Secretaries.

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II. The Sakti Samiti

(a) This *Samiti* was first started by Sudhir Chandra Acharjya, son of Gopal Chandra Acharjya, zamindar of Muktagacha, at his town residence, and it was named at first the *Sudhir Samiti*. That gentleman is still the President of the *Samiti*; but the *Samiti* has been removed from that place to the house of Mahesh Chandra Sanyal and is now called the "*Dhiren Samiti*," i.e., after the name of Dhirendra Nath Sen, Captain. This *Samiti* is otherwise known as the *Sakti Samiti*.

(b) Several members of this *Samiti* were sent up in a police case under sections 143, 379, Indian Penal Code, for assaulting a Muhammadan boy and taking away his *bilati alwan*. The case was subsequently withdrawn, and the matter was dealt with departmentally by the school authorities.

(c) The ostensible object of the *Samiti* is alleged to be only physical exercises. There is a *palwan* by name Bhabani Prasad Chaudhuri in the *Samiti* who went to Muktagacha on the 29th November to give a display of wrestling with the *palwan* of Jagat Babu.

(d) Sudhir Babu; is the principal supporter of the *Samiti*, but there are other donors and subscribers, the list of whom has not yet been secured. The following are the office-bearers :—

(1) Sudhir Chandra Acharjya, of Muktagacha, President,
(2) Jadab Chandra Sanyal, son of Mahesh Sanyal, Secretary,
(3) Dhirendra Nath Sen, Captain,
(4) Bhabani Prasad Chaudhuri, *palwan*,
(5) Kshitish Chandra Dutta, ex-student,
(6) Manmatha Kumar Bardhan, student,
(7) Atul Chandra Sen, student,
and several other students.

(e) The probable places of deposit of papers are :
The *Samiti* house.
The house of the President, Secretaries, and Captain.

III Students' Association

This is now mostly composed of the boys of the National School, who hold the school anniversary before *puja* holidays. The following persons might be held responsible for the last meeting, which was seditious in character :

(1) Babu Mahim Chandra Ray, pleader, Secretary of the National School, received the guests.

(2) Babu Ramesh Chandra Sen, pleader, Assistant Secretary of the National School, received the guests.
(3) Babu Jitendra Nath Mazumdar, teacher of National School, brother-in-law of Mahim Ray, and puts up with him. He is a Secretary of the Students' Association, gave invitation letters, and was present in the meetings.
(4) Babu Kali Prasanna Das Gupta, Head-master, National School. He also took active part in the meeting.
(5) Babu Hemendra Kishore Acharjya, Assistant Secretary of *Shadhana Samaj*. He also took an active part in the meeting.
(6) Babu Anath Bandhu Guha, pleader, Secretary of the Mymensingh Association, was made President.

IV. Anushilan Samiti alias Bharat Samiti

Physical exercise is said to be the only object of this *Samiti*.
The following are the leading members :—
(1) Prasanna Kumar Ghosh, Secretary,
(2) Srinath Bose,
(3) Manasha Ghosh,
(4) Braja Gopal Dey,
(5) Ramesh Chandra Ghosh,
(6) Atul Chandra Sen,
(7) Akalu *alias* Jitendra Nath Guha,
(8) Harendra Nath Bose, and many others.

Several members of this *Samiti* were accused and sent up for trial in the police case already noted in the remarks about the *Sakti Samiti*.

V. Akhara at Bipin Sen's house

Dr. Bipin Behari Sen is the Captain of the National Volunteers of Mymensingh. At the time of the Astami Snan festival in April last a number of volunteers was sent out too various parts of the district, such as Jamalpur, Motkhola, Husainpur and Baiganbari. Responsible leaders were sent out with the National Volunteers and prevented any disturbances. Several volunteers practice lathi-play in the compound of Dr. Bipin Behari Sen daily. Bipin Babu is an extremist and a follower of Bipin Pal.

VI. The Mymensingh Association

This association professes to represent the public in political and social matters.

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Babu Anath Bandhu Guha is the Secretary and Babu Monmohan Neogi is the Assistant Secretary of this association. Meetings are held in cases of public interest.

VII. The Mymensingh National School

This school was started in this town shortly after the visit of Bipin Chandra Pal, Arabinda Ghose and Subodh Mullick in April 1907. Babu Bipin Chandra Pal in 1907 delivered a number of speeches in Mymensingh and other parts of the district and advised the Mymensingh agitators to start a national school.

For the first six months it is said that Kumar Upendra Chandra Chaudhuri, zamindar of Golukpur, maintained the school by paying Rs. 1,500. It is also said that the Council of National Education gives a monthly grant of Rs. 75 and Srimati Bisweswari Debya, the lady zamindar of Gauripur (mother of Brajendra Babu), has been paying Rs. 100 a month. The school is also supported from students' fees and local subscriptions.

The following donations are said to have been given :—

(1) Srimati Bisweswari Debya of Gauripur, Rs. 3,000, for a technical department.

(2) Babu Anath Bandhu Guha, pleader, Rs. 50, for a science laboratory.

(3) Jamini Kishore Ray, M.A., B.L., reward of gold medal for best gymnast.

(4) Girish Chandra Ray	Rewards to students
(5) Abhay Datta, pleader	
(6) Mahim Ray, M.A., B.L.	
(7) Prasanna Guha, B.L.	
(8) Surja Shome, B.L.	

Babu Mahim Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., is the Secretary, and Ramesh Chandra Sen, B.L., is the Assistant Secretary. The following are the members of the school committee :—

(1) Babu Kali Sanker Guha, pleader,

(2) Babu Mahim Chandra Ray, pleader,

(3) Babu Ramesh Chandra Sen, pleader,

(4) Dr. Tara Nath Bal,

(5) Maulvi Hamiduddin,

(6) Babu Jagat Jiban Ray, mukhtear.

The number of students will be about 150, most of them are members of *Sadhana Samaj* of this town.

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The following is a list of teachers of the National School :—

(1) Kaliprasanna Das Gupta, M.A., Head-master, village Sinhati, police station Kotwali, district Khulna, sister's husband of Surendra Chandra Sen, Head-master, National School, Kishorganj, pay Rs. 80.

(2) Jitendra Nath Mazumdar, B.A., 2nd master, son of Durga Nath Mazumdar, village Guchinatha, police station Kathiadi, wife's brother of Mahim Chandra Ray, pleader, and Secretary to the school, pay Rs. 40.

(3) Mahindra Chandra Ray, teacher, village Shuhila, police station Badla, pay Rs. 30.

(4) Purna Chandra Mazumdar, village Banpara, police station Kendua, brother of Pratap Chandra Mazumdar, Naib Nazir, Civil Court, pay Rs. 25.

(5) Mohini Sankar Ray, clerk, village Bangoo, police station Kathiadi, brother of Revati Sankar Ray, pleader, pay Rs. 20.

(6) Mahindra Chandra Nandi, pay Rs. 25.

(7) Sarada Charan Sen, survey teacher, village Mahillora, police station Gournadi, district Barisal, pay Rs. 20.

(8) Atul Chandra Sarkar, Dacca, Bikrampur, teacher of earth and cane works, pay Rs. 20.

(9) Sorbananda Lahiri, Superintendent Teacher, Technical Branch, pay Rs. 100.

EXHIBIT I

(Found in Kedar Chakrabatti's house)

Apparently addressed to Kedar Chakrabatti

Bande Mataram

Muktagacha, 15-8-14

Dear Friend,

Very glad to read the contents of your letter of the 13th. I shall be very glad if you communicate to me every now and then the prosperity of the *Samiti* and accounts of your work. Jagat Kishore Babu, Madan Babu, Nogendra Babu, Ramesh Babu, and other zamindars are now in their house. Sudhir Babu is now at Puri. You will please come here at your convenience and then oblige and encourage the members of the *Samiti* by giving advice. Students cannot now regularly attend the *Samiti* as they are engaged in preparation for the annual examination. After the annual examination is over, the *Samiti* work will proceed regularly. The members of the *Samiti* are all right. Hope to hear that you and the *Samiti* are doing well.

Jadab Chandra Ray

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P.S. :— I wish to see you if I have to go to Mymensingh on account of sircari work.

EXHIBIT II

(Apprently addressed to Kedar Chakrabatti)

Lahore, the 31.3.13.

To the Blessed,

I have received your letter and the draft of the lease. The lease in my name cannot certainly be written according to this draft.

1. (The words) (Thou) etc., occur in this (draft). How can this be applied in my name.
2. What is the meaning of (regular lodgings?)
3. You yourself will do cultivation and train people in ideal cultivation, etc. How can this remain in my lease ? I am not going to cultivate myself. It will be done through you.
4. You will recognise any arrangement that may be made from time to time. What is the meaning of this ? Whatever new arrangements they made after ten years (if they actually made them) and without knowing them we shall have any objection to them, how can we, ten years before, agree to recognise those arrangements now ?

Send my (all these) objection to Brajendra Babu for his information. Last year a copy of another draft was shown to me. Where has that gone to ?

Sarala Devi

EXHIBIT III

(A manuscript article by Satyendra Mohan Sen Gupta)

Apparently intended for some newspaper

Srijukta Kedar Nath Chakravarti and Srijukta Lal Gangapadhya of the Mymensingh *Surhid Samiti* went to Jamalpur quarters. The local people received them well. There was a monster meeting at the *Durgabari.* Srijukta Satis Chandra Bandapadhya, B.A., became the president. Kedar Babu delivered a charming lecture on the present set of the country and national improvement. The president also explained the above lectures by good speech. Brajendra Babu enchanted and encouraged all by singing some national songs. Another meeting was held at the local Gauripur cutcherri *bari.* Many Musalmans attended this meeting. Kedar Babu clearly explained to them all about the use of country-made things and the present condition of the country. Brajendra Babu and Satyendra Mazumdar sang some songs (composed in rustic language) in rustic tunes. The lectures and the songs really touched the

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core of their hearts. Then there was a monster meeting in the village of Mahiramkole, in which about 500 Musalmans of Melando, Tulkacha and other villages attended. Mukhtears Bipin Behari Mukhapadya and Kedar Babu, as also the President Srijukta Ganga Chandra Bandopadhya fully explained all about the use of *swadeshi* things and our duties in our miserable plight. The speeches and Brajendra Babu's songs effects the hearts of many who took a vow to give up the use of foreign things.

In deputation from the *Surhid Samiti* Brajendra Babu visited Gauripur, Golukpur, and Ramgopalpur quarters. Meetings were held for three consecutive days at the Ramgopalpur school-house and in the house of the zamindar Srijukta Brajendra Kishore Ray Chaudhuri of Gauripur. Many Hindus and Musulmans joined these meetings. The laudable zeal displayed by the two youths Srijukta Suresh Chandra Thakur and Srijukta Surendra Prasad Chaudhuri gives rise to the hope that they will do much good to the country. It is to be regretted that the well-known zamindar Ray Jogendra Kishore Chaudhuri Bahadur of Ramgopalpur did not allow any meeting to be held in his *bari,* and did not allow his officers to attend any meeting. Do not know when these traitors will come to their sense. This is much to be deplored. May God give them good sense.

A meeting for the ladies was convened in the *buri* of Brajendra Babu of Gauripur. Many ladies attended this meeting. Babu........... fully explained (the present) the present state of the country and the duties of the ladies in view of the condition of the country. The ladies encouraged all by making *Huludhani.*

Satyendra Mohan Sen Gupta

EXHIBIT IV

A letter from Srish (Lahore), to "Thakur" Kedar Nath Chakrabatti

Bande Mataram
Lahore, 19-2-06

Thakur,

To (your) feet. I don't hear from you since a long time. Cannot understand why you don't write. Thakurdada came up to Mymensingh. Sent a telegram and threatened to come up to this place. You are not however giving me any advice what I should do under the circumstances. Came to know to-day from Ramesh's letter that sister-in-law is dead. God forbid it, but if it is true, then you can easily understand in what family difficulties I shall fall. There was a son aged 3 or 4 years old and again there is another son. I think she dies of *sutika* (puerperal) fever.

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Devi is ailing. I cannot ascertain what I shall do. There is nobody whom I can consult. You are also not writing anything. I cannot guess the number of obstacles and difficulties. However, I have made a firm determination (hardened my heart). Nothing will effect or move me. If hundreds of brothers and hundreds of mothers stand in the way, or obstruct me, even that will not dissuade me. I only want the help of God. Sometimes the heart becomes sad. Nothing cheers me when I think of the distress of mother, brother and others at home. And now there is a new calamity. But when I think of our sin I forget the family difficulties. The mother is the sin, the more are the obstacles and difficulties. Pratapaditya Ray attempted to murder his son-in-law and actually murdered his own uncle and cousins for the sake of his country and motherland. But we have not yet attained that state. When I shall become like that, I will look upon the motherland in a different way. However, you encourage me by letters every now and then, otherwise the heart becomes depressed. *Devi* is rather displeased with you. She wrote to send Basanta to Calcutta. One man is wanted for the Bahirati office. She wrote to Manu Babu that one would go from Mymensingh, but Manu Babu informed her that nobody had yet gone there. What is now to be done? If you don't send Basanta, then write about this, so that they may engage some one also. Send a replay soon. I am all right, and want to know your welfare.

Yours affectionately
Sirish

EXHIBIT V

Mymensingh, 25th March 1905

M. K. Dev, Esq., District Magistrate, Mymensingh.

Dear Sir,

I have been sent by Miss Sarala Devi Ghosal of Calcutta to see you and have a little private talk with you in respect of an experimental agricultural farm started by Miss Ghosal herself in the Gauripur zamindari. If you will kindly let me know beforehand what time of to-morrow will suit you best for the purpose.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Kedar Nath Chakrabatti

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Please come to-morrow between 9 and 10 A.M.

M. K. Dev
25-3

EXHIBIT VI

Sri Shabila Shatetaram
Bande Mataram

Kalihati, 7th Kartick.

To
The Most Respected Sir,

Learnt from Sitangsu's letter about your stay at Mymensingh. As I was laid up with cold and fever due to exposure from knocking about from place to place and undergoing incessant troubles in holding "*Rakhibandhan*" meetings, I could not write to you in time. To-day with great difficulty I write you this letter. Please accept my *Bijaya* and *Birashtami* greetings and carry them to all on my behalf. I could not send *rakhi* as I was not aware of the present whereabouts of all. Had time allowed, I would have even asked you to the *rakhi* on my behalf. There is little likelihood of my writing a separate letter to Shitangsu. Neither his *rakhi* nor his letter before 4-7-11 reached me. What the inmates of Hemanta Babu's house are about ? Shitangsu forgot to give me even his address. Where is Hirendra Babu, and how is he doing ? I am anxious to learn whether Satyendra is suffering from fever. I remain in great anxiety for hearing about his present whereabouts and health. I want to know in detail the progress of work. Please pay special attention to the following words :—

(1) It is necessary to know the names of the branches of the *Samiti* and the local officer incharge of each.
(2) Whether there are *samitis* in big towns like Dacca and Calcutta. If *samitis* do not exist there, endeavour should be made to establish them as soon as possible.
(3) What is the strain of feeling with *Anushilan* ? Whether members of our *Samiti* and those of *Anushilan* can resort to each other for wrestling. If that is not done, what course to adopt in places where our *Samiti* do not exist, but *Anushilan* exist.
(4) If regular work is to be performed, proper materials are necessary.
(5) Along with the establishment of the *Samiti* in different places, fit persons should be employed to look after them. These persons should be competent in all matters, or else we are liable to be put to great shame.
(6) Where is Srijut Debendra Bhattacharji and what is he doing ?

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(7) After careful enquiry I came to learn that two or three additional *samitis* have been established at Mymensingh. The reason of this, as far as I have been able to know, being the irregularity and mismanagement of wrestling. Many have complained of the non-existence of sword exercises, and that the *samitis* about almost always remain closed. A sifting enquiry should be made about this.

(8) Another complaint is that no one pays any heed to the learners. On the other hand, one Upendra Nag, an in-comer from Dacca, is teaching various matters very attentively. The man is said to be competent. *Shadhan Samiti* is already in existence.
It is a matter of pleasure that *samitis* should increase in number, but it is unbearable that our *samitis* should degrade on that account. I was much relieved to learn from you that the state of the *Samiti* has improved a great deal than before, but, on the other hand, I am in great mental agony for various reasons.

(9) No help is yet forthcoming from Tangail subdivision. But the principles of the *Anushilan Samiti* are different. They are exerting to their utmost to establish new *samitis* even by giving pecuniary help, and that is the infallible secret to success. If you only depend upon local people, they won't move.

(10) I wish that an Inspector may be deputed from the head office to move about in the Tangail centre only.

(11) I am much concerned to hear a faithful news. It is said that a boy living in Doctor Purna Dass's house has been engaged as a detective. Please enquire into this carefully.

(12) Please let me know where you bought bar, bell, and other things, and what is the price of each. Can you get them for us ? If not, please let me know how to get them.
Please get from Trading Company the addresses of S. Ray, an athletic sports firm.

(13) Two or four persons are very willing to go to the farm. Please let me know what to do with them.

(14) Please ask Shitangsu to send all the things ordered on the receipt of my letter and send at least, say, 10 copies of our(   ) National songs, new edition.

After much difficulty I finish this letter in two days. Will give more details on receipt of your letter.

PRIYA SANKAR.

P.S—Please let me know the address of Hemanta babu and others.

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EXHIBIT VII

To the Blessed,

I sent a telegram to Calcutta and celebrate the "*Birastami.*" I am not at Calcutta this year. Manilal is not also there. Unless therefore a hard-working man like you takes this charge this year, it will not be done well. Manilal's cousin is the Assistant Secretary of the Bengal gymnasium. Nalin is ready to do anything. But he has unripe and boyish sense. I cannot wholly depend on him. You will have to do everything, but in a way as if you are only helping him. I have written to him to-day full details of all that is to be done, and I am sending a copy of that letter to you. As soon as you receive this letter, start at once for Calcutta and then finish everything in a nice way.

SARALA DEVI.

P.S.— If I cannot go one or two days before the *Birastami,* I shall reach Calcutta on the moming of the day of celebration.

Copy of letter to Nalin.

To the Blessed,

Nalin, Manilal writes that you want to celebrate the *Birastami,* and that you have asked his advice as to what is to be done. Glad to hear that you want to celebrate it. I was going to give this charge to Srijukta Kedar Nath Chakrabatti, Secretary of Mymensingh *Surhid Samiti.* Received Manilal's letter to-day, but I sent a telegram yesterday to Kedar Nath Chakrabatti. (Prepare for going Calcutta, letter follows.) I was just going to send a letter to him to-day with full instructions when I received Manilal's letter.

Who amongst you will do it? Is it the Bengal gymnasium still existing? Are you still doing the exercises? Does Martaja still come? If the Bengal gymnasium is still existing, then send information to newspapers to this effect. Go yourself to the offices of the papers and personally hand over (the information) to the editor or manager.

(This is said in reference to advertisements Nos. 1 and 2.)

Write letters to the secretaries to the different clubs, all the athletic clubs, *Bande Mataram Sampraday* — Agricultural Society, and all the newly-established clubs.(This is said about letter No. 3) If you think that all this should be settled in a meeting, then call a meeting. If, however, you think there is no necessity of calling a meeting and that you can settle everything yourself, then you need not call a meeting.

You will publish these two notices in the *Bengalee,* the *A. B. Patrika,* the *Indian Mirror,* and the *New Indian.* You will write out the letter to be sent to the club, or you will have them type-written, and the

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type-written letters will have a respectable look. But if you can bear the expenses of printing them (post-cards are to be sent), you will attain successs if you work in the way indicated by me. Send information as soon as you receive this letter, as to how far you are ready to do. I am just writing to Kedar Chakrabatti to come down to Calcutta to help you. He knows all of that quarters in Calcutta and is known to all the clubs. He can work hard. If you don't begin your work now, you won't get success.

Srijut Kedar Nath Chakrabatti, Jama Branch, 5-3-1313.
Secretary, *Surhid Samiti*, Mymensingh.

It is hereby stated

Got all information from your letter dated 2nd *Asan* of the current year. If you give *Kabuliyats* to the sircar according to the common custom of this part of the country, that will suffice. If an am-mukhtear (one with power of attorney) is present at the time of the registration of the said *Kabuliyat*, it will then be considered as approved and accepted by the sircar estate, ad if you consult pleaders Kali Sanker Babu and Banewear, I think they will also advise you just as I am writing. If you execute the *Kabuliyat* here can be no objection for the sircar o give you a patta according to the term of the *Kabuliyat* which must be given, for there cannot be any patta without it.

A copy of letter No. 497, dated 13th *Falgun* B.E., to the address of Jadu Babu is herewith sent. If you show my letter and that copy to our pleader Srijut Baneswar Patranavis, he will draft the *Kabuliyat* and the patta in proper terms. Send the drafts to me. We will then sanction them and afterwards send them to the cutcherry of the pargana concerned. Then they may be executed there. I cannot understand what sort of a *Kabuliyat* would be given by Srimati Sarla Devi. She is now elsewhere. Please consider where her *Kabuliyat* will be registered and by whom.

Kumudini Kanta Sarma Bandopadhya.

EXHIBIT VIII.

Mother says that the *Birastami* of this year can be divided in two occasions. They are trying to bring down the professional *palwans* from the Punjab for wrestling match. If that is done, then the boys exercise may be shown on the *Austami* day and on the next day; the wrestling match of the *palwans*, the speeches of the speakers and the performances of the boys may be made on the *maidan* or in some hired place of the town for which tickets may be sold.

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SRISH.

Nalin Babu's address:
Nalin Chandra Banerjee,
49, Chakrabaree Road, North Bhowanipur.

P.S.— It will be better if you put up with somebody in Calcutta and thus save money, instead of living in any mess or boarding. Can't you live in the house of Babu Dwarka Nath Chakravatti, bother of our President Harihar Babu? It will be very near Baliganj. Harihar Babu will likely give you a letter for this.

Yours,
SRISH.

1. Athletic displays and tournaments at the *Birastami* festival.
2. The *Birastami* Championship Medal of Bengal for fencing.
   Subjects of discussion.
   1. The location of the festival.
   2. The programme—
      (a) Worship of the departed heroes.
      (b) Lists of athletic displays.
      (c) Athletic tournaments.
      (d) Music and musicians.
      (e) Recitation and recitors.
      (f) Readers and readings from Chandi, etc.
      (g) Suitable dramatic performances "Perform your duty."
      (h) Lectures and lecturers. (Lectures by Surendra Banerjee, Bipin Pal and others and Hindi lectures by Chowdhury Saheb).
      (i) Distribution of prizes and medals.
   3. Issue of invitation cards.
   4. The decision of subjects for which prizes and medals should be awarded.
   5. Estimate of expenses.
   6. Raising subscriptions.
   7. Volunteers.
   8. Distribution of work.
   9. Umpires.

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Sreejut Kedarnath Chakravarty,
Dulanama Hindusthan firm, P. S. Madhyanagar, Sylheet.

My dear Kedar Babu,

Many long days passed away. I am deprived of any letters from you till to-day. I always do my duty according to your instructions and think that you as my *guru* in political matters and others. I always keep in my mind to do a work as a model. Letters I sometimes received from Brajendra Babu and others. I have been here for over three months and visiting and organising the *Vikrampur samitis*. Hemanta and I always working hand in hand. I sent him the letter which you wrote to him. He is now at Chittagong, care of Robin Das pleader. I shall leave Madanganj for Mymensingh on the 30th *Aswin* and I hope you will be there in the meantime and wish to revive the policy of working in these hard days. I am well. I wish your success and health.

Hemendra Chandra Ghosh

Pyari Babu of Sylhet has been speaking to the probationers who learn exercise from Jitendra, that Jitendra's mode is wrong, and the result is that the probationers are losing confidence in him. Do what you think should be done. I will be here for a week. Send letters to this address. I am all right. Ramesh is now with me and is all right.

Hemendra

EXHIBIT IX

To your feet,

Many days ago I got a letter from you. Do not forget to write letters now and then. You wrote to me before that you would write to me in your next letter about your work and duties, but you have not yet written anything about that. I came to know from a letter from home that rice is selling about Rs. 6 per maund. May have to buy it, but they have not a single pice, So they are in great want. Again, my mother writes to say that as my brother has not married again, he in his old age is feeling much inconvenience. I cannot decide what to do. I came here with great hopes, but all hopes are vanishing one by one. The courts will close on the 1st August. Chaudhuri Sahed and Ma will both go to Kabul. I am also to go there. If they do not go there they will certainly go to Cashmere. If I can go to Kabul, much work will then be done. I am well in a manner. My left hand got hurt while I was wrestling. It is not yet all right. I cannot

therefore do the exercises. Write about your welfare in your reply. Where are Brajendra and others? Accept my *Pranams.*

Yours Affectionately,
(Sd.) Srish.

EXHIBIT X
Proposals.

1. Came to Munshiganj and talked with the Secretary, the Captain, and the leading members. Talked also with he man of Bajrajogini and Sansrang. The result is that I have come to the conclusion that work will not prosper if Mymensingh is made the centre. Accordingly, after taking the opinion of all, I have settled to make Malkhanagar the centre. Malkhanagar is the central place in this quarter and work is also going on well here, as there are some energetic and zealous workers in this village. It is only owing to their zeal that whatever work was done in Vikrampur was done. The centre should be made therefore in that village. I am shortly going to Malkhanagar to talk with all about this matter. If you and others agree to my proposal, then write to Chandra Kanta Basu of that village. I hope that work will go on nicely if that village be made the centre.
2. For the better management of work I have settled to make some centres; if there be one man in each centre, that will do.
   (a) There is every likelihood of there being a *Samiti* at Narayanganj. I went there, and from my conversation with the people there I am convinced that if there is a man there, there will be a *Samiti* I propose therefore to post one man for Narayanganj, Madanganj, Sakoi, and Munshiganj.
   (b) Bajrajogini, Sansrang, Kamarkhana, Malkhanagar, etc., one person.
   (c) Baburhat, Baborak, Bidgaon, Bharakair, etc, one person
   (d) Noakhali district, one person.
   (e) Chittagong, one man.
   (f) Sylhet (Jalsuka, Baniyachang, Sunamganj), one man.
   (g) Dhal, Asora, Charigoan, Bhadikira, Baristhan, one man. (There is already Jatindra there.)
   (h) Sylhet (Karimganj, Maulvi Bazar, etc.), one man.

I have settled that for five or six months Harendra will work in Noakhali circle, Ramesh in Vikrampur or Bajrajogini circle, Jatindra in Dhal, Asora circle, I myself in Sylhet Maulvi bazar circle, Siddheswar (member of Chandpur *Samiti*) in Madanganj, Munshiganj circle. Please

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let me have your opinion. Please wait a little, everything will be all right. What is there to be afraid of ?

Bande Mataram.

Surhid Samiti, Mymensingh,
10-6-14

To (your) feet,

Received your first letter and the letter that you wrote to Brajendra and Jiten Babu.

2. It is not yet certain who will be sent to the farm. You will know of Jatindra's illness from his letter. He will go to Dacca to-morrow. Ramini Babu is here for the present. He will probably go home during the *Pujas*. Debendra Dhar has taken the charge of a gentleman's *karbar* (business) at Dacca. We have sent a letter to Basanta. Let us see what reply he gives. Hemanta Singha has again gone to Chittagong. He has entreated much for going home during the *Pujas*. He will feel much if he does not get leave. We will, however, do some arrangement as soon as possible.
3. In your letter to Brajendra and others you have mentioned that Sitangsu has attacked me bitterly and unreasonably. But it is not unnatural for anyone who has rebuked for nothing to write in that way. If the matter is considered as between the secretary and the assistant secretary, then, of course, it cannot be written in that way. But can't it be written as between man and man, between Kedar Babu and Sitangsu ? Much of this sort of writing has been going on and will probably go on, but this is not at all to be desired.
4. The secretary has no power to spend more that Rs. 5 unless previously sanctioned. He has to obtain sanction of expenditure of more than Rs. 5. This rule cannot always be applied. Of the two items of expenditure sanctioned by you, one is the purchase of a *chat* (canvas) for the *Samiti* and the other including Ramani Babu's passage hire, *khoraki* and other expenses, exceed Rs. 5. It is not possible to know beforehand what would be required afterwards. But if you wait for sanction, it will take 15 or 20 days. On the other hand, two days mentioned by you the expenditure also included many items.
5. It will be convenient if You will increase my powers in this respect. I write this because if on one day it becomes necessary to spend more than Rs. 5 and if there is no time to wait for sanction, what is then to be done ?

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6. I think you should have better asked me directly all about this instead of asking others to enquire to me. You have probably treated me in this way in retaliation of my letter in harsh language. Do not know how far my guess is true.
7. I write this letter at the school-house. Cannot therefore write here. Will write more on Sunday next. We are all right, waiting to know your welfare.

Yours affectionately,
Sitangsu.

P.S. — Don't delay in sending a reply. Don't know when you would get this letter.

EXHIBIT XI

No. 497.

Gauripur Sadr Cutcherry,
Jama Department, 13-11-1311.

To
The greatly respected Srijut Jadu Nath Sen,
Superintendent, Bisapara.
Notice to the Blessed,

Got all information from your letter No. 195, dated the 8th *Falgoon,* about Jama matters. Srijut Kedar Nath Chakrabatti, Secretary of the Mymensingh *Surhid Samiti,* and Srijukta Sarala Devi have wanted some lands at Dulanalia near Bisapara cutcherry rent-free for ten years, in order to induce gentlemen to take to agriculture. This will be the first of its nature in this country, and thinking that it is our duty under the circumstances to encourage them in a work of this nature. We have promised to give 50 bighas of land to each of them. They have selected the land which Srijut Parsa Nath Sen was using for his own agricultural purpose. They have been informed that they will be given whatever land they would select. You are therefore requested to give them an *almaldari* (permit) to occupy lands cultivated by Srijut Parsa Nath Sen (Superintendent), rent-free for ten years from 1312 B.E. You will give separate *almaldaris* to Srijut Kedar Nath Chakrabatti and Srijukta Sarala Devi with boundaries of the land given to each of them. If the gentlemen themselves remain and work there, they will be allowed to possess and cultivate the lands for ten years rent-free. But they will not be empowered to sublet these lands. They should be informed of this. Do not give lands in pieces, but settle lands within the same boundaries. No expenses are to be borne by the estate to build houses for their agents to live in. If there

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is no sufficient accommodation in the cutcherry for them, they will have to build their own houses at their own cost.

No. 101. Gauripur Sadr Branch.

EXHIBIT XII

Papers found in Jitendra's house

Atharabari Basa

Bande Mataram

Atharabari, 30th June

Dearest Friend,

I am sending you the form of oath as I spoke to you at the time of your departure. You and I are to obey the rules in it. If you read it from beginning to end you will see that excepting the duties of a friend it has no concern with other rules. I give you the right to add or deduct anything from it if you like it. I don't think you will have any objection to it. I have signed it and it is sent to you for your signature.

Please sign your name with your village. After making any corrections in it, if you think it necessary, and then return it to me without delay. If you want to keep a copy I can then prepare one from here and send it to you. Please sign your name in the mother language. I hope you will gladly approve of this work. I have collected money. Karma peon has given me Rs. 2 that he owed me. I will send it to you when you inform me that you require it.

We are all right. Please let me know all about your welfare. Reply at once and send the oath form by book-post after signing it. More news in my next, farewell now.

Yours most sincerely,
Friend.

To be specially noted that no other person can see this form of oath for this is quite forbidden and in my opinion wrong. Keep it very carefully. Sign it and then send it to me without delay. When I receive your letter I will at once send money if you wish it.

Yours,
Friend.

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EXHIBIT XIII

To Babu Jitendra Mohan Ray,
Atharabari Lodge, Mymensingh.
Bande Mataram.
Atharabari, 2nd July.

Dearest Friend,

Last Saturday I sent to you a letter and a form of oath. There was also Devendra's letter with it. Received his letter, but I cannot understand why you are delaying.

I wanted you to send to me the oath form without delay, after signing your name in it. But what is the reason of this delay ? If you have not sent it meanwhile, then sign your name in it at once and then return it to me through Chota Lal who will hand it over safely to me.

I have collected money for you; if you require it, write to me, I will send it to you at once. Let me know if you don't require it, for I may spend it in other works. I write to you for your information so that you may not afterward find fault with me. If you require money now write to me now and send it through Chota. I will send you either a money order or send money through some one. But take care don't forget to send the oath form with your letter. Be sure and doubly sure to sign it and sent it through Chota Lal.

We are all right, etc.

Yours same,
Friend.

EXHIBIT XIV

Babu Jitendra Mohan Ray,
Atharabari, Mymensingh.

Dear Jitendra,

Received your letter. I will be also to take your things as requested by you. We will probably start by the morning train of Sunday. Ask my father and then send a man on the day he wants them to be sent.

There is sure to be a revolution (or disturbance) here within a day or two. No more news. We are all right. Want your welfare.

Yours,
D. C. CHAUDHURI.

N.B.— Let me know where you have kept your books. Could not find my books in your box. Cannot find the keys (?) of Aswini Babu's trunk. Jotin Basu also tried.

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EXHIBIT XV

Surhid Samiti

1. Established in 1307 B.E. Physical improvement was at first its only aim. Afterwards discussion of literature, nursing the invalids, *swadeshi*, improvement of moral character, helping the famine-stricken people and politics were added.
   Form of oath:
2. I take the following oath in the name of the all powerful God:
   1. Will not use any intoxicating thing.
   2. Will use *swadeshi* things.
   3. Will not behave in such a way that caste and religion may be destroyed and social rules may be slack.
   4. Will help a man who is being aggrieved for no fault of his own.
   5. Will help the poor as far as possible.
   6. Will not quarrel with any *surhid* or probationer, and will not make enmity with either of the two. Will live in good terms with all.
   7. Will not do anything that will bring on moral and physical degradation. As long as the blood of my parents runs in my veins I will not break these oaths.

EXHIBIT XVI.

3. A manuscript poem found in the *Surhid Samiti.*
   "On seeing the fallen condition of India a Bengali *sanyasini* named Srijukta Susila, used in the 1st year of the 17th century to recite the following war song in the different cities:

Jagaran (Awakening).

Protab, the hero of heroes, the boy Uday, Raja Sitaram and Sankar Bejoy gave their lives gladly as sacrifices to the feet of the mother by shedding their blood. The worship is now to be done in the same way. Betel tree leaves and Java flowers are not required. Then you will rise and become great and will be the conquerors of the world like Japan. Rise and awake ye all brothers in great strength. After crushing under feet everything foreign, standing on your own feet, advance in the way of your duty.

My mother is full of crops and riches (but her millions of children are crying in despair for starvation).

The robbers are snatching of the mouthfuls and tears only remain to console us, (you) die hundred times in disgraceful death of kicks from *Mlechchas* and of half starvation.

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Can a lakh of men rule thirty crores of sheep in any land?

Are you then more degraded than sheep? You have thrown away courage and principles.

Give up begging, be strong. (For) you know that more talk goes for nothing. Bloodshed is the only mystery to success and all other attempts are futile. If you take the swords, God will help you, as God is satisfied with any form of worship.

What is the fear to die for one's country? Sing in one chorus:— Victory to the mother," if you die in rescuing the mother and if you kill the enemies of your country then you will earn the reputation of being a warlike nation and your mother will look happy. You were not fallen for ever. You are the descendants of the same Aryans Sivaji, Pratap and Rani Durgabati belonged also to this Aryan nation. Now you are immersed in sleepy laziness and still licking the feet of *Mlechchas* (infidels) though you are 25 crores sons of India. To remove all your disgrace, misfortunes and sufferings and your habits of slavery and meanly aspirations awake and arise ye sons of the mother, hold sharp sword in a fierce grip and kill the Javans in any way you can do it. Religion and sin are mere false dreams (for) by what right have the foreigners robbed you of all that you had. The policy of divide and rule, false hopes and treachery are the only principles and objects of attainment for the foreigners. Then why do you speak of justice and suffer from bitter oppressions? Bind all in unity and then be engaged in warfare with full vigour. You will then be free or you will die (but) you should not follow any other course. With merciless hearts, sever the heads of all sinful demons, traitors and enemies. Firmly hold the swords besmeared with blood and advance from cities to cities. Be firm in the resolution that you will die after killing others and kill the enemies as Ghatathacha was killed. Put fire in the houses of the foreigners and burn to death all the demons. Destroy totally the foreign Javans by guns and spears. Destroy the tents and ditches and the walls of the enemies. Break the heads of the *Mlechchas* by kicks, cut open the breast of your enemies by your two hands and then drink blood as Brikodar once did. Sing the war song in a war dance and throw away all the milder qualities of the heart— love and affection. Cultivate for your life the spirit of revenge and all other satanic determination. The pains and sufferings of the *Mlechchas* and their key may strengthen your nerves. With a terrible war cry light the fire of war, so that all the waters in the Kauveri, Jamuna, Ganges, and Godaveri may be coloured with blood. Satisfy the thirst of the mother by the blood of the *Mlechchas*. Drive the foreigners like foxes all the other side of the ocean. When the cries of "beat and kill" will be heard in all directions, when the current of blood will flow over India, when the foreigners' blood will flow over India, when the foreigners' blood will

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be used in making tarpan, when the mother's *puja* will be done, then will no longer remain India sleeping and then will Liberty surely come.

Perform a holy bathing in the enemies' blood and then all your disgrace and suffering will be gone. You will have a new life and the world will rebound with your national glory.

Shake the earth by singing the war cry of *Hara Hara Bo.m.* Cry aloud, the mother's glory and recover your lost greatness.

EXHIBIT XVII

(Papers found in Brajendra Ganguli's house.)

My own heart,

Bindu, very glad to receive your letter. You love me much, but I cannot give its return. For I have given much of my love to another. However, I may see if I can again love you. I do not why the Musulmans are doing all these. I am afraid they may not seize you, who may not go from one's hands to another's. Received a letter from Brajendra Bahu to-day. Probably he had gone to Jamalpur. Received a letter from home to the effect I shall have to go to bring you; you may remain safe for a few days now. I won't give you intimation before, but I shall surprise you by a sudden visit. There is however no likelihood of my going soon. When you go home write to me if you get opportunity. I am ashamed to think that my brother-in-law could not go. Naresh and Paresh have no leisure. I feel much delicacy to go to father-in-law's house. Write to me always. I shall try not to go. This is our business time, there is no leisure, especially as I am alone now. If another comes, I shall go to home and other places. We are all right. Want your welfare in your next.

yours,
Khitish

EXHIBIT XVIII.

Translation of the letter of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter (Editor of "Sanjibani") of Calcutta, addressed to Babu Kedar Nath Chakrabatti, Secretary of Surhid Samiti, Mymensingh.

Sanjibani Office,
6, College Square, Calcutta.

Beloved Sir,

I am glad that you and Brajendra Babu have been arrested and held up for criminal prosecution for going out with a procession in the public

Note : The name of the writer is not given

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road without the permission of the police. The reason for delight is that you will not crave for pardon like cowards, but will undergo the punishment with a cheerful heart if convicted.

A procession can set out without permission of the police if it is not accompanied by music. Police can only direct by which side of the road the procession will proceed any by which side it will not. The police has no power to stop a precession or disperse it. It can be stopped where there is an apprehension of an affray or a rioting, but the police will have to prove that there is such an apprehension. It is very proper that procession should be formed without the permission of the police. Why should we give up our legal rights for fear of the Magistrate? Fear has ruined us. Let the police break the heads of 2 or 5 men, there is no harm in it. Should we give up the right we have got under the law at the threats of the Magistrate?

Well wisher,
KRISHNA KUMAR MITRA

Chief Secretary

I forward a copy of a letter from Blackwood, with enclosures, consisting of a number of copies of translations of papers found in various Mymensingh searches. They throw some further light of the same colour as before on the *Surhid Samiti.* They might perhaps be printed in continuation of the red book. It they can be printed quickly a copy might be sent at once to Salkeld, as the papers show some interesting relation between the *Sursid Samiti* and the Munshiganj subdivision. I should also like to have some printed copies.

6th February 1909. R. NATHAN.
Chief Secretary.

I was unable to finish reading these papers before making over charge. I support Mr. Nathan's recommendations as to printing, as these papers clinch the case already proved against the *Samiti.*

I would also suggest for consideration whether, in view of the discovery of all this mass of sedition, we should not take a more aggression line in the defence of the suits brought against Messrs. Clarke and Craven by Taranath Bal, Anath Bandhu Guha, etc., in respect of the search of their houses in January of last year. A cross-examination on some of these papers might be disconcerting to the plaintiffs and it is for consideration whether they could not be put in at the trial to show the

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officers had good grounds for suspecting that the Surhid *Samiti* had organized the attack on the police.

9th February 1909. H. Lemesurier

Demi-offical No.936, date Mymensingh, the 28th January 1909.

Form—J R Blackwood, Esq., I.C.S.

To—R. NATHAN, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

I am now in a position to give you the result of the enquiry into the papers found in the searches of—

(1) 14th November 1908, of the premises of the *Surhid Samiti*.

(2) January 1907, of the houses of members of the same *Samiti*.

2. Taking up the former list, Nos. 1 to 4 do not call for any comment. We know already about the *Matri Puja* and *Desher Gan*. The poem about the death of the Maharaja is innocuous and also the essay, entitled *Adarsha Charitra*. Paper marked No. 5 is, however, interesting, as it shows how the *Rakhibandhan* day was to be celebrated. The vow was to be taken in Anath Babu's house; but he did not sign the notice. It was, however, signed by his son. Paper No. 6 describes the starting of a branch *Samiti* in village Chandpur. Paper No. 7 gives a list of books. Among these occur the following

(1) Condemned as a Nihilist.

(2) Seven Murders.

(3) Oliver Cromwell.

(4) Life of Washington.

(5) New Japan.

(6) Battle of Plassey.

Paper No. 8 gives the list of subscribers. It is noticeable as containing two European names. Another point worthy of note, however, is that there has been no subscription after the allegation of Narendra Goswami that Kedar Nath Chakravarti was connected with the anarchists. The total monthly subscription is not much (Rs. 17). Paper No. 9 is a notice which was issued on the occasion of the projected visit of Bipin Pal. It is interesting as showing that there are at least 100 *Samitis* in Bengal and even outside of Bengal, and that the members are "those who gave hopes and energy during the disturbances at Comilla, Jamalpur, and Mymensingh."

3. Coming now to the papers found in the house searches of January last, let me first take paper No. 11, which gives a series of extracts from the proceedings of the *Samiti*. It is interesting as showing what subjects formed the subject of usual discussion. Extract marked (a)

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shows that flag-fighting and mock fighting are taught. Extract (b) shows that a Nepali was employed as a drill instructor and gives the rules of the *Samiti*. Extract (c) is an invocation to *Swajee*. Extracts from (d) to (h) show that discussions in support of *swadeshi* and boycott were prevalent.

Paper No. 12 is an interesting statement of accounts. It shows that money was spent on a gun license and on gunpowder. I have made enquiries about this gun license, and found that it was granted at Netrakona to Kedar Nath Chakrabarti. I have ordered the license to be cancelled. A number of other items are for travelling allowance to travelling members of branch *Samitis*. The items show a close connection with Munshiganj.

Paper No. 13 shows that Anath Bandhu Guha got Rs. 150 through one Basanta Kumar.

Paper No. 14 describes the programme at the *Protapaditya Utsab* celebration.

Paper No. 15 is a request from some young men of Nandina to be enlisted as volunteers.

Paper No. 16 refers to a proposal to present a medal to Brajendra Ganguli.

Paper No. 17 refers to the same subject.

Paper No. 18 is a letter from Krishna Kumar Mittra, a copy of which I have already submitted.

Paper No. 19 shows that there was a proposal to make Munshiganj the centre of the *Surhid Samiti*.

Paper No. 20 shows that the *Surhid Samiti* was used for the purpose of circulating copies of the *Jugantar*.

Paper No. 21 is a printed leaflet circulated apparently for the purpose of dissuading the people from doing honour to the Lieutenant-Governor.

Paper No. 22 is a seditious pamphlet. The language is vague and mystical; but the following words occur :— "*Feringhis*, be careful. If you want a blessing, go back to your own country, otherwise a battle is inevitable."

Paper No. 23 is a letter to the same person and enquires after Kedar Babu.

Paper No. 24 is a copy of a book found in the house of Rebati Mohan Guha, an extremist pleader. It is a collection of songs, among which the song *Sarigan* occurs.

Paper Nos. 25 to 27 were found in the house of Jitendra Mohan Rai. The two first letters, Nos. 25 and 26 refer to *rakhis*, and No. 27 refers to

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an attempt to get leave from a tea garden to hold the *Rakhibandhan* celebration.

Paper No. 28 is an anonymous petition to the District Magistrate which was found in the house of Harihar Chakravarti. He has put down himself as the leading witness for trying to run in certain persons under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code. As the paper was found in that gentleman's house, it shows his tortuous character.

4. In continuation of my previous report of the 7th December last, the above papers corroborate the truth of the theory that the *Surhid Samiti* is a wide organisation whose ultimate aim is the overthrow of the Government.

List of papers found in search of Surhid Samiti, dated the 14th November 1908.

1. A printed song book, called *Matri Puja*, published from *Ariya Samiti* by one Rajani Kanta Chaudhuri. (I understand he was formerly a drawing master in the Zilla School, Mymensingh.) He is a resident of village Faridpur under police station Gafargaon.
2. A printed book, called *Desher Gan*, published from Mymensingh *Surhid Samiti*.
3. A printed song, called *Shukasm*, published from *Surhid Samiti* on account of the death of late Maharaja, Mymensingh.
4. A manuscript essay, called *Adarsha Charitra*, written in Bengali language.
5. A notice published on the occasion of *Rakhibandhan* last 30th *Aswin*.
6. A letter written by one Khirod Chandra Ray of village Chandpur, to the Secretary of *Surhid Samiti*, about a branch *Surhid Samiti* which newly started at Chandpur.
7. List of the looks of *Surhid Samiti's* Library.
8. Subscription Book.
9. A notice of request published by *Surhid Samiti* under the signatures of Girish Chandra Ganguli, mukhtear, Anath Bandhu Guha, pleader, Rebati Mohan Guha, pleader, Har Chandra Chakravarti, pleader, Baikuntha Nath Shome, pleader, and Monomohan Neogi, pleader, asking for subscriptions to meet the expense of delegates coming from different places to join their *Pratapaditya Utsab* held in *Surhid Samiti* on 2nd and 3rd *Jaistha*, year not mentioned.
10. A notice, called *Desher Gan*, printed from *Surhid Samiti*. This is simply the well-known *Amar desh*.—(Not printed.)

List of papers found in search of Surhid Samiti during January 1908.

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11. Extracts from proceedings.
12. Extracts from accounts.
13. Letter from Anath Bandhu Guha, to Jitendra Rai, saying that he has received Rs. 150.
14. Programme of anniversary of the *Surhid Samiti.*
15. Letter from certain young men of Nandina, asking Kedar Nath Chakravarti to enrol them as volunteers.
16. Letter to Kedar Nath Chakravarti, intimating that a medal will be given to Brajendra Ganguli.
17. Letter to Brajendra Ganguli on the same subject.
18. Letter from Krishna Kumar Mittra, instigating the members of the *Samiti* to conduct processions without permission.
19. A letter from the Branch *Samiti* at Munshiganj showing a quarrel between Harendra and Hemanta about money.
20. Letter from Bhupendra N. Dutt (probably one of the editors of the *Jugantar) to Jitendra Nath Rai, asking him to distribute 20 copies of the Jugantar.*
21. A printed leaflet against honouring the Lieutenant-Governor on the occasion of his visit to Mymensingh.
22. Manuscript written by Aswini Kumar Rai, a member of the *Samiti,* expressing wild views on the subject of liberty.
23. Another letter of the same person.
24. Book called ( ) containing "*Sarigan.*"
25. Letter from R. B. Ghosh, Srinagar (Dacca), to Jitendra Rai.
26. Letter from Gangatia, to Jitendra Mohan Rai.
27. Letter to the same person describing an agitation in a tea garden in Sylhet.
28. An anonymous petition found int he house of Harihar Chakravarti, making allegations against the zamindar of Gangatia.

List of books in Hem Chandra Library.

Mymensingh *Surhid Samiti*

1. Condemned as a Nihilist.
2. Bengaler Gan.
3. Hem Chandra's Granthaboli (contains Britya Shraghar).
4. Amrita Granthaboli.
5. Seven Murders.
6. Oliver Cromwell.
7. Sheraj-ud-dowlah.
8. Inorganic Chemistry.
9. Life of Washington.

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10. Swadesh.
11. Citizens of India.
12. Matri Puja.
13. Bangya Sangit (Bengal songs).
14. Japaner Katha and Silpa Sanghad (Tale of Japanese and news of its arts).
15. Nabya Japan (New Japan).
16. Palashirjudha (Battle of Plassey).

5

Bande Mataram

Celebration of the National Unity — Rakhibandan

30th Aswin 1965 *Sambat*

The 30th day of *Aswin* is the day of partition of Bengal. This year also we will do the following acts like the previous year. We hope every Hindu, every Muhammadan, every Brahmo and every Christian, who has sympathy for his own country, will join the national vow.

30th *Aswin* is *Arandhan* (nobody will cook his food). No fire will be lighted on that day for cooking. Milk and fruits will be the food, or to fast throughout the day. Fires can be lighted in a separate *chula* (hearth) for cooking food only for the children and the sick.

On that day *hat*, bazar, sale, and purchase will be *stopped* and everyone will pray to his god for the benefit of his country.

Everyone will bathe in the morning, and after bathing, at about 7 A.M., all will assemble at Anath Babu's house and will tie *rakhi* at each other's hand.

It should be remembered by everyone that to use *swadeshi* goods and to boycott foreign goods is the means of removing our national misery.

Maulvi Hamiduddin Ahamad
Tara Nath Bal.
Ray Mohan Mazumdar.
Behari Lal Rai.
A. C. Pal & Co.
Jogesh Chandra Lahiri.
Mathura Nath Sen.
Hara Prasanna Das Gupta.
Keramatulla Bepari.
Anath Chandra Shaha Borhikya.
Brajendra Kumar Shaha Mandal.
Girish Chandra Chakravarti.
Nagendra Kumar Mazumdar.
Ram Chandra Sen.
Nishi Kanta Das.
Rohini Nath Sen.
Bhabani Nath Rai.
Nil Madhab Rai.
Ramanath Ghosh.
Syama Charan Basu.
Mia Hossein.
Khetra Nath Suker.
Deb Nath Shaha.
Manik Chandra Podder.
Bashi Nath Pal.
Akhil Bandhu Guha.

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6

English Translation of the letter written by one Khirode Chandra Rai, member No. 87 of Surhid Samiti, dated 26th Kartik 1315

To
The Secretary of the *Surhid Samiti* of Mymensingh.
Respected Sir,

In the month of last *Aswin* we have started a branch of the *Surhid Samiti* at village Chandpur, post office Chandpur, under the Kishoreganj subdivision. Babu Sarat Chandra Ray has been elected Secretary and Gurudas Ray, Assistant Secretary, and Girendra Lal Aich Rai, the Captain of the said *samiti*. There are 42 members, and we hope that it will improve in future.

Ost obediently,
87, Khirode Ch. Rai,
Member, Mymensingh Surhid Samiti.

7

Bande Mataram
Mymensingh *Surhid Samiti*
Hem Chandra Library

List of Books

No.	Name of book and author's name	Remarks	Name of persons who presented.
1	2	3	4
1	The Poetical Works of Milton	—	—
2	Verner's Pride	—	—
3	The works of Tennyson	—	—
4	Plain Living and High Thinking	—	—
5	The Last Days of Pompeii	—	—
6	Plutarch's Lives, Part I	—	—
7	Plutarch's Lives, Part III	—	—
8	Captain Cook's Voyage	—	—
9	Bangabhasa and Sahitya	—	—
10	Sadhan Prodwip	—	—
11	Condemned as a Nihilist	—	—
12	Guilty or not Guilty ?	—	—
13	Perseverance Island	—	—

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1	2	3	4
14	Authobiographies of Boyhood	—	—
15	North and West Journey	—	—
16	Anderson's Stories for the young	—	—
17	From Log Cabin to White House	—	—
18	..... (Rainbow)	—	—
19	Folklore Library	—	—
20	Cobbett's Advice to Young Men	—	—
21	Life of Marlborough	—	—
22	The Iron Master	—	—
23	Outline of English History	—	—
24	Abbott's Life of Napoleon Bonaparte	—	—
25	Perseverance and Success	—	—
26	Sandford and Merton	—	—
27	Anderson's Favourite Tales	—	—
28	Kabita Sangraha	—	—
29	Bhakli-jai (2 copies)	—	—
30	British India	—	—
31	Bangaler Gan	—	—
32	Hem Chandra's Granthaboli	—	—
33	Amarkosh	—	—
34	Amrita Granthaboli	—	—
35	Ramesh Chandra's Granthaboli	—	—
36	Ramdhann	—	—
37	Grimm's Fairy Tales	—	—
38	Rana Rao	—	—
39	Self-help	—	—
40	Free Trade and Protection	—	—
41	Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin	—	—
42	Student's Manual	—	—
43	Robinson Crusoe	—	—
44	History Primer of Greece	—	—
45	Robert Nelson	—	—
46	Paul and Virginia	—	—
47	Seven Murders	—	—
48	Manavatatta	—	—
49	Hari Bangsa	—	—
50	Arati	—	—
51	Padnia	—	—
52	Gitika	—	—

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1	2	3	4
53	Oliver Cromwell	—	—
54	History of India	—	—
55	Ovid's Art of Love	—	—
56	The Pleasures of Life	—	—
57	Dipali	—	—
58	Sabdukalpa Lotika	—	—
59	Selections from the Spectators	—	—
60	Life of Charles George Gordon	—	—
61	Marmanchbash	—	—
62	Rambanabash Upakhan	—	—
63	Mukul	—	—
64	Self-culture	—	—
65	David Livingstone	—	—
66	The Founder of Christianity	—	—
67	History of India	—	—
68	Royal Reader No. III	—	—
69	New Testament	—	—
70	Pictures from Italy	—	—
71	Enoch Arden, Tennyson	—	—
72	Sir Walter Scott	—	—
73	Authoathsorga (Self-sacrifice)	—	—
74	The New Indian Reader	—	—
75	Elementary cause of reading	—	—
76	Select Readings	—	—
77	Bengali Dictionary	—	—
78	Industrial India	—	—
79	Radhika	—	—
80	Lahori	—	—
81	Manajaba	—	—
82	Sheraj-ud-dowlah	—	—
83	The Earl of Shaftesbury	—	—
84	Royal Reader No. IV	—	—
85	Goldsmith	—	—
86	Inorganic Chemistry	—	—
87	Mathra	—	—
88	Prabash	—	—
89	Porebrajak (a Religious Traveller)	—	—
90	History of Mymensingh	—	—
91	Life of Washington	—	—

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1	2	3	4
92	Moral Readers	—	—
93	Radnium Upakhyan	—	—
94	Chinbraman (Tour in China)	—	—
95	Patraboli	—	—
96	Life and Teachings of Swami Vivekananda	—	—
97	Meghnathbadha Kabya	—	—
98	Melmoth	—	—
99	Hriday Uchhash	—	—
100	Biraha	—	—
101	Sabdartha Prokashika	—	—
102	Khanika	—	—
103	Chitru (Painting)	—	—
104	Prasad Padaboli	—	—
105	Amyagatha	—	—
106	Swami Vivekananda's Reply	—	—
107	A Persian book	—	—
108	Sreemat Bhagbat	—	—
109	Manu Sanhita	—	—
110	Help's Essays	—	—
111	Life and letters of Henry Martin	—	—
112	Athma Sakti	—	—
113	Bhaktichaitanya Chandrika	—	—
114	Mahammad and the Koran	—	—
115	Harishchandra Natak	—	—
116	Swadesh	—	—
117	The Old Man's Tale	—	—
118	Routledge's Comic	—	—
119	Sree Sree Harililarashamrita Sindhu	—	—
120	Sanrav	—	—
121	Citizens of India	—	—
122	Sanatan Dharmasikha	—	—
123	Royal Reader No. II	—	—
124	Zenaphon	—	—
125	George Stephenson's Railway	—	—
126	Gatha	—	—
127	Marikanthamala	—	—
128	Life of Ananda Mohan Bose	—	—
129	Sanghini	—	—
130	Solomon the Wisest	—	—

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1	2	3	4
131	What the Brahmo Samaj has done for India	—	—
132	Self-culture	—	—
133	Baba Padamanji	—	—
135	King Henry the II	—	—
136	A Brief History of the Indian People	—	—
137	Swami Vivekananda on Hinduism	—	—
138	The Tempest	—	—
139	Sreekrishna Charitra	—	—
140	Longer English Poems	—	—
141	Prasadi Sangit	—	—
142	Speeches by Mr. George Yule	—	—
143	Prokriti Charcha	—	—
144	Bharate Jubaraj (Prince in India)	—	—
145	Satrusikha	—	—
146	Dorpan of Bijnyan	—	—
147	Poetical works of Robert Burns	—	—
148	Pure Essays on the Promotion of the Indians	—	—
149	Bangya Bilap	—	—
150	Sruti Patak	—	—
151	Chini Bash	—	—
152	Halath-Nawab	—	—
153	Children's Treasury	—	—
154	Matri Puja	—	—
155	Bangya Sangit (Bengal songs)	—	—
156	Grehaster Adorsh Dehatyag (Model of a householder)	—	—
157	Noble Lives	—	—
158	Arjya Dharma Tatta	—	—
159	Chanakya Slaka	—	—
160	Srabani	—	—
161	Kutaba Porjyanata	—	—
162	Stabakabachamrita Lahari	—	—
163	Padartha Bidya	—	—
164	Nitipath	—	—
165	Japanir Kotha and Silpa Sanghad (Tale of Japanese and news of its art)	—	—
166	Country Stories	—	—
167	Nabya Japan (New Japan)	—	—

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1	2	3	4
168	Satya Patak	—	—
169	Gitakabitu	—	—
170	Student's Life	—	—
171	The Piano Ben History (?)	—	—
172	Selected Essays	—	—
173	The International Library	—	—
174	Bharat Milan	—	—
175	Sahitya and Samaj (Literature and Society)	—	—
176	Haji Muhammad Mohsin	—	—
177	Padma Puran	—	—
178	Ganankur	—	—
179	The Governor-Generals of India	—	—
180	England	—	—
181	Debabani	—	—
182	Romeo and Juliet	—	—
183	Vicar of Wakefield	—	—
184	Luther, the Great Reformer	—	—
185	King Arthur	—	—
186	Buddha and his Religion	—	—
187	Siv or Brahmanpashana (Worship of Siva or Brahma)		—
188	The English Pandit	—	—
189	Vaktilila	—	—
190	Paralok	—	—
191	Aitihashik Sandarbha	—	—
192	General Garfield	—	—
193	Mangalik	—	—
194	Pratasharanya Charitamala	—	—
195	Sahityatar	—	—
196	Sahitya Parichoy, Part I	—	—
197	Sahitya Parichoy, Part II	—	—
198	Sahitya Sandarbha	—	—
199	Daybreak in Britain	—	—
200	Sahitya Sapan	—	—
201	Panchali	—	—
202	Lakshmancharit	—	—
203	Lokasru	—	—
204	Ganankur	—	—
205	Padma Kusumanjali	—	—
206	Guru and Sadhan Tatta	—	—

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1	2	3	4
207	Sashya Sikha	—	—
208	Santan Surhid	—	—
209	Kumar Udayaditya	—	—
210	Jag and Byag (Addition and Subtraction)	—	—
211	Sasrna Pronali	—	—
212	Kalidarsan	—	—
213	Saral Sasthya Rakha	—	—
214	Byabhasa	—	—
215	Harinam Sarkatha	—	—
216	Proverbs from East to West	—	—
217	Picture Stories and Noble Women	—	—
218	Madhabika	—	—
219	Sahitya Sangraha	—	—
220	Palashirjudha (Battle of Plassey)	Taken away by the giver.	Ramesh Ch. Guha.
221	Bharat Sadhinata (Pratapaditya) by Promode Kanta Basu.	—	—
222	Maharaj Nanda Kumar Charit (Life of Maharaj Nanda Kumar).	—	—
223	Abasar	—	—
224	Talimakas	—	—
225	Janmantar Rahashya (History of the Next World).	—	—
226	Sree Sree Ramkrishna Kathamritu	—	—
227	Prachya and Paschatya (Oriental and Western)	—	—
228	Is this the Oudh of Ram	—	—
229	Chitra (Picture)	—	—
230	Diksha and Sadhana (Invitation and Worship)	—	—

8

List of monthly subscriptions to the Mymensingh Surhid Samiti

		Rs.	a.
1.	Babu Anath Bandhu Guha	1	0
2.	Hari Har Chakravarti	1	0
3.	Shurja Kumar Shome	1	0
4.	Har Chandra Chakravarti	1	0
5.	Revati Mohan Guha	1	0

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		Rs.	a.
6.	Prosonna Kumar Guha	1	0
7.	Bepin Chandra Ray	1	0
8.	Revati Sankar Ray, pleader	1	0
9.	Amar Bandhu Guha, son of Anath Bandhu	0	8
10.	Dinesh Chandra Guha	0	8
11.	Srinath Ray, Manager	0	8
12.	Monmohan Neogi, pleader	0	8
13.	Shyama Charan Bose	0	8
14.	Annada Charan Ganguli	0	4
15.	Sarat Chandra Pal	0	4
16.	Khirode Chandra Sen Gupta	0	4
17.	Parbati Charan Dey, pleader	0	4
18.	Some friend	1	0
19.	A. D. Stephenson	1	0
20.	Nagendra Kumar Mazumdar, pleader	0	8
21.	H. Howard	2	0
22.	Hridoy Nath Bhaumik	0	8
23.	Promode Kanta Bose	1	0
	Total	17	0

9

Notice of Request

Surhid Samiti has made preparations for the celebration of *Protapaditya Utshab* on the 2nd and 3rd *Jaista* next. This celebration was successfully performed in this town for the last few years. Once on that occasion the famous Sarala Devi of the Calcutta Tagore family visited this town, and it is notable in the history of this town the vigour and energy the people of this town showed during that occasion.

Babu Bipin Chandra Pal is coming in this town during that celebration. Before that, at the visit of Babu Bipin Chandra Pal in this town on some occasions the people of this district got new life in national ideas. Many shed tears hearing the miseries of the country from him. The day in which he gladly obeyed the hard punishment of the Government to keep the discipline of honesty, that day the people of Mymensingh was very much excited in anger and sorrow, and even the hearts of the ladies were touched.

The people of this Mymensingh district expressed their heart-felt pleasure at his release from the jail, and the people were very much delighted at the grand reception of Bepin Babu at Calcutta.

Many central and branch *Samitis* of *Surhid Samiti* have been started in many places in Bengal and outside of Bengal, and all these *Samitis*

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have been invited at the celebration of *Protapaditya Utshab,* and if at least 5 members of each *Samiti* come, then there will be more than 500 friends. Who are they? We may take pride in introducing them. They are the members of those who gave hopes and energy during the disturbances at Comilla, Jamalpur and Mymensingh and those who are the volunteers of *Ardhaya Jog* and who nursed the pilgrims at the bank of river Brahmaputra without caring for rains or burning heat of the sun. Leaving aside the high education and respectability, several sons of gentlemen joined these parties.

These young people, who are the well-wishers of the country, well-wishers of their race and friends of the distressed, are coming here from different districts.

Those volunteers have come here to-day as our guests and will stay here for two days. We are not fit for their proper reception, and it will require a good deal of money even to receive them poorly, and *Surhid Samiti* cannot except to afford them without the help of the people, and we hope that everybody will help us. The subscriptions should be sent to the President, Babu Harihar Chakravarti.

Most obediently,
Girish Chandra Ganguli,
Anath Bandhu Guha,
Rebati Mohan Guha,
Har Chandra Chakravarti,
Baikuntha Nath Shome,
Mon Mohan Neogi

10

Amar Desh. — (Not printed)

11

(a) **Meeting and Discussion Department**

Every Saturday there will be held a weekly meeting and discussion of literature in the *Surhid Samiti.* On the said meeting essays in Bengali and English will be read and lectures delivered.

On the first week of the month the discussion on the national improvement will be made.

On the second week of the month the discussion on the old *Shastras* will be made and moral teaching will be given.

On the third week of the month the discussion on the literature and on the science will be made.

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On the fourth week of the month the discussion will be made regarding the *Yarvedic Shastras* and on the bodily science.

Drill Department

The following drill and gymnastics are taught in the *Surhid Samiti* : —

1. Drill
2. Wrestling
3. Sword-play
4. Exercise of *lathi*
5. Boxing
6. Exercise of Breast
7. Baithak
8. Dumb-bells
9. Exercise of *moodgors*
10. Ranmar
11. Barbells
12. Throwing of balls
13. Parallel bars
14. Rowing
15. Tug-of-war
16. Flag-fighting
17. Mock fight

(b)
Rules of the Surhid Samiti, Mymensingh, 1313
Work Department

Secretary :—Harihar Chakravarti, B.L.

President :—Kedar Nath Chakravarti

Assistant President :—Sitangsu Bhusan Sen, Brajendra Lal Ganguli

Drill Instructors :—Captain Gopal Singh, Nepali, Goya Prasad Shukul

General Rules

1. Every *Surhid* and every apprentice or probationer of the *samiti* must be particularly attentive to obedience, discipline, regularity, and character.
2. Those who are characterless and addicted to vices should never be enlisted into the *Samiti.*
3. Every man should show honour and love to the leaders of the *samiti.*

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4. One should salute other in accordance with custom and should be united with a tie of love.
5. Elderly members should be respected properly and courtesy should be shown to them.
6. The use of intoxicating thing is not desirable.
7. One should be bound to use the *swadeshi* made goods (*swadeshi* goods).
8. Immoral talks and laughing are prohibited.
9. Every one should pay one anna at the time of enlisting, and two annas each month as monthly subscription.
10. The monthly subscription should be paid within the first fortnight of the month (Bengali). If any one fails to do so without any reliable reason, he is to pay a fine of 3 pice per day.
11. There should be drill and gymnastic six days within the week, and on every Saturday there should be a meeting and discussion.
12. If any one is addicted to vice or if any one willingly disobey the rules of the *samiti*, the Secretary and the members of the *samiti* at first should try to check him, and if there is no good result then he should be driven out from the *Samiti*.
13. Two classes of $\frac{\text{apprentices}}{\text{probationers}}$ are taken in the *Samiti*:—
    (1) Apprentice probationer.
    (2) General apprentice probationer.

The Special Rules for the Surhids *and the Apprentices (Probationers).*

1. Every man should be present in the *Samiti* in a fixed time and learn drill and gymnastic under control of the leaders and should attend every meeting.
2. To try always not to use any intoxicating thing.
3. If anyone is unable to attend for any reason, he should apply for leave to the President.
4. None should be considered as a *surhid* until he signs the form of oath, and before this has been done, he will be considered as a probationer.
5. No probationer should be enlisted as a *surhid* until he can show his ability and sign of good character.

Over and above these rules, the general rules are also to be attended to.

Particular Rules for the general Probationers

1. The general probationers are not bound to attend the *Samiti* daily, but they must be present at least three days in the week, and they should attend every meeting.

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2. To try not to use any sort of intoxicating thing.
3. Over and above these rules, they should also be bound to obey the general rules.

(c)

Account of what is done in the Samiti (From 1308 to 1315)

In the month of *Sraban* 1309 we held a celebration on account of the Hindu pride and revered *Sivaji's* attaining the throne. The nobleman removed the national dishonour and ill-treatment of hundreds and hundreds of years. By his noble resistance the hard chains on the part of the Hindus broke up. We became joyous, discussing the character of this nobleman (*Sivaji*) and we all pray heartily on that day. On, *Bhogaban !* Bengal is going to be destroyed by oppression and vice. Oh, Lord! keep us up, remove this great downfall of the Bengali. Oh, kind God! paint *Sivaji's* virtue and his *swadeshi* feeling in the Bengali's heart.,

Kedar Nath Chakravarti

(d)

On the 2nd *Chaitra* last there was held a weekly meeting of the *Surhid Samiti.* The work began after national songs. At first Srijukta Sitangsu Bhusan Sen Gupta read out the essay called *Bharate-British-Santi* (British peace in India) from the *Nabyabharat.* After that the *swadeshi* preacher Srijukta Harkumar Chakravarti gave a lecture on the subject of *swadeshi* and *swaraj,* which was suitable for the time being. Then, after a song, the meeting was dissolved.

Sitangsu Bhusan Sen Gupta

(e)

22nd *Sraban* (7th August) 1313 B.S. is the memorable and worshipping day for the Bengali. To-day is the third anniversary of boycotting foreign goods. The *Surhid Samiti* has taken much trouble and interest to have a thorough amusement and decoration with light and other beautiful things throughout the town. The *Samiti* house has been decorated beautifully with light, flowers and flags and leaves. In the morning, after *sankirtan,* the members bathe in the river Brahmaputra, and after that they make a prayer and sing songs to the mother of the world (*Kalimai*) for giving strength to raise *swadeshi* and *swaraj* and to keep the vow for (boycotting foreign goods).

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In the evening the decoration of the *Samiti* house with light and singing are going on. All the respected gentry and the public of the town join this celebration. Srijukta Sitangsu Bhusan Sen Gupta reads out the esay called Raja and Praja from the *Nabyabharat* magazine, and the Secretary, Haribar Chakravarti, gives instructions on the subject of *swadeshi* and boycott.

After all there is a feast amongst the members.

Sitangsu Bhusan Sen Gupta

(f)

On Friday, the 24th *Sraban* 1313 B.S., the fifteenth day of dark nights, there are prayers and songs as a part of the celebration of boycotting foreign goods.

Sitangsu Bhusan Sen Gupta

(g)

The members of the *Surhid Samiti* assembled together in the *Samiti* house on Wednesday, the 25th *Bhadra* 113 B.S., on hearing six months' imprisonment of noble Bipin Chandra Pal, who engaged himself for the interest of *Swadeshi* for not giving evidence in the *Bande Mataram* case, for obeying the virtue of truth, being guided by the conscience for the sake of the *swadeshi*. They discussed about the matchless mind and for the love of truth of reverend Bipin Pal. Everyone feels pride and happiness for the work. The work of the meeting has been with shouts of *Bande Mataram* and with a resolution that the works of the *Samiti* will be stopped to-morrow in his honour.

Sitangsu Bhusan Sen Gupta

(h)

The *Biroshtami Brata* was performed in the *Surhid Samiti* on Monday, the 27th *Aswin* 1313 B.S. The members, after bathing in the morning, made preparation of the *Brata*. There were worship of arms, prayer and songs.

Sitangsu Bhusan Sen Gupta

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12

Note

In an examination of the account books of the *Surhid Samiti* the following interesting items have been discovered :—

On the 25th *Falgoon* 1313 B.S. Rs. 2-8 were paid to one *Durga Charan Dutt of Netrakona* through Ramesh Chaudhuri for the renewal of a gun license.

That on the 21st of *Baisak* 1314 B.S. a telegram was sent to Chandpur, Tippera, to bring one Kali Mohan Ghosh.

That on the 7th *Jaista* annas 2 were paid for the feeding of one Prafulla Chandra Sen, who came from Chandpur. On the same date annas $3^1/2$ were paid for the diet expenses of a person from Barisal, whose name was not mentioned.

That on the 11th *Asar* Rs. 2-10-6 were given to one Begala Sen for travelling allowance from Munshiganj.

(Note : From other information it has been discovered that there is a close connection with Munshiganj. In fact it was discussed whether Munshiganj should not be made the centre. This corroborates that information.)

On the 6th *Sraban* Rs. 3 were paid as diet expenses of one member of Munshiganj.

On the 30th *Bhadra* Rs. 2 were paid to Ramini Bhadra for his passage to Pabna for preaching *swadeshi.*

That on the 2nd *Aswin* the *Samiti* received Rc. 1 sent by money order from one Jitendra Chandra Chakravarti of No. 203, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

That on the 3rd *Aswin* Rs. 4-10 were paid for the boarding expenses of one Atal Chandra Mazumdar, sent by the Munshiganj *Samiti.*

That on the 7th *Aswin* the *Surhid Samiti* received Rc. 1 sent by money order from *Santikootir* of Cooch Behar. The money was sent by one Asanga Mohan Ghosh of the said *Samiti.*

That on the same date the *Samiti* sent a telegram, sympathising with the meeting held on the occasion of the imprisonment of Bepin Chandra Pal. The telegram was sent to one Aswini Kumar Banerji of Calcutta. Address not mentioned. The cost of the telegram was Rc. 1-2.

That on 12th *Aswin* the *Surhid Samiti* paid Re. 1-7 for sending one Ramini Mohan Bhadra to Subomakhab for preaching *swadeshi.*

That on 30th *Aswin* Rs. 2 were given to Surendra Kumar Bose and Baikuntha Nath Sukir for travelling allowance to Juggernathganj for *swadeshi* preaching there.

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That on the 5th *Posh* Rs. 2 were paid by the *Surhid Samiti* for purchasing gunpowder for their farm in Sylhet. An enquiry is being made whether the *Samiti* was granted a pass for a gun or not, and if so, what has become of the gun.

That on the 8th *Posh* 1314, annas 5 were paid for sweetmeats to one member, Ananda Chandra Shaha, who came from Madanganj (Dacca).

13

[This letter was written by Babu Anath Bandhu Guha to Jitendra Ray of the *Surhid Samiti*]

Bande Mataram.

Mymensingh,
7th Chaitra 1312, B.S.

Dear,

Received Rupees 150 through Basanta Kumar. Pay the remaining sum at your convenience.

I was very sorry on hearing several rumours regarding the *Surhid Samiti*, but on hearing the real fact from Basanta Kumar I have become glad.

Ananta Bandhu Guha

Bande Mataram

Respectfully requested

On the 6th and 7th of *Baisak* the 9th anniversary of the *Surhid Samiti* and the *Pratapaditya Utsab* will be celebrated. We shall be highly indebted if you be kind enough to attend the celebration. The programme is given on the other side. The Reverend Miss Sarala Devi has kindly consented to be president of the celebration.

Mymensingh;
The 5th Baisak 1312 B.S.

Harihar Chakravarrti, Secretary
Kamini Kumar Sen,
Assistant Secretary, Surhid Samiti

Programme

6th Baisak—

1. On the morning, at 6.30 A.M., reception for the president at the Railway station.
2. In the evening, at 4 P.M., show of gymnastic at the *Samiti* premises.

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7th Baisak—

1. *Nagar Sankirtan* in the morning.
2. In the evening, from 5 to 6 P.M., show of gymnastic in the Town Hall.
3. From 6 to 7 P.M., meeting at the Town Hall.
4. From 7 to 9 P.M., play of *Anandamath* at the Town Hall.

15

[This letter was written to Kedarnath Chakravarty by the following volunteers.]

P.O. Nandina
Nandina Cutcherry
Jamalpur, 7th Asar 1313 B.S.

Bande Mataram

"Mother and motherland are dearer than Heaven".

Sir,

We, the following persons, have firmly resolved to serve our *swadesh*, and so we request you to have our names enlisted as volunteers and thus oblige.

Nakuleswar Chakravarty
Ananta Bandhu Rai
Promotha Bhusan Chakravarty
Dinesh Chandra Sirkar
Hemanta Kumar Rauth
Surendra Chandra Banerji
Umesh Chandra Chakravarty

Note :— The Sub-Inspector of Jamalpur has been ordered to make enquiries regarding the present whereabouts of these men and their present doings. It appears from this letter that there is a branch of the *Surhid Samiti* at Nandina.

16

[This letter was written to Kedar Nath Chakravarti, the Secretary of the *Surhid Samiti*.]

Shaknai Sebak Samiti,
Postal Office Shaknai
Police-station Fulpur,
21st Baisak 1313 B.S.

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Respected Sir,

There is a proposal to raise subscriptions for Rs. 5 or 6 from the Shaknai *Sebak Samiti* to show honour to Babu Brajendra Lal Ganguli, either by presenting him a medal or utilising the sum for other good works in his name. As it will not be possible to give this prize annually, so we propose to present him a medal. We want your instruction on this subject.

We propose to present him this medal, as Brajendra Babu was mercilessly beaten at Barisal, without any reason, in the cause of the motherland. Please let us know whether Brajendra Babu will accept this our poor reward and this oblige. If it be utilized in other purposes, it will be called Brajendra Medal. We want your instructions, as you are more considerate than we are.

Durga Sundar Bidyavinode

Note : The Sub-Inspector of Fulpur has been ordered to report about the present doings of the *Sebak Samiti* think it is also a branch of the *Surhid Samiti.*

17

[This letter was written by Surendra Chandra Bhattacharjee, Secretary of the Shaknai *Sebak Samiti,* to Brajendra Lal Ganguli.]

Sebak Samiti, Shaknai
Post Office Shaknai
Mymensingh, 27th Baisak 1313

Respectfully requested,

The Shaknai *Sebak Samiti* wishes to present you with a medal with a view to show sympathy for the oppression you have suffered at Barisal. Will you kindly let us know your opinion and thus oblige? If you like, you can give it to the Saraswat Exhibition or to some other good works, but it will be called Brajendra's Medal. We hope you will make no objection to our request. We are sorry to say that though the Secretary was written to on this subject, but has not yet replied to our letter. We hope you are in good health through the grace of God.

Surendra Ch. Bhattacharjee,
Secretary

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[This letter was written by Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra to Babu Kedar Nath Chakravarti, the Secretary of the *Surhid Samiti.*]

The Sanjibani Office,
6, College Square, Calcutta
The 3rd June 1906

Dear Sir,

I am glad to hear that you and Brajendra were arrested and sent up for trial by the police for bringing out a procession in the public road without the permission of the police. The reason of my gladness is this, that you will never make an apology like a coward, or if punished, you will bear it cheerfully. Processions can be brought out without the permission of the police if not accompanied by music. The police can order that a procession will be passed through these roads or will not be allowed to pass through these roads. The police have power to stop or break a procession. But police can break a procession if there is a likelihood of the breach of peace, and it will be their duty to prove that there is a likelihood of the breach of peace.

Processions ought to be brought out without the permission of the police. Why shall we give up our rights for fear of a Magistrate? Fear has brought our ruin. There is no harm if the police break the skulls of two or ten persons. Shall we give up the rights which we have got according to law through the oppression of a Magistrate ?

Your well-wisher,
Krishna Kumar Mitra

19

Bande Mataram

Munshiganj, Surhid Samiti
Saturday (date not given)

On my arrival at Madanganj I wrote a letter to you. Probably you have received it. I met with Hemanta. To-day I am starting for Bajrajogini. On the last night and to-day morning I met with Poresh Chandra Banerji and consulted with him many matters. He will start for his home to-day and will come back on Monday. In *his opinion Munshiganj can be made the centre of Bikrampur if a man (member) is kept there.* Brajendra and you told me to remain here. I told this to Poresh Babu, and he agreed to it. But I hear that there is none at Noakhali. Hemanta told me that it will be better if I go to Noakhali. I am unable to understand what is to be done now. On receipt of

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my letter please write to me in the address of Bajrajogini.

Through the grace of God I have settled the long accounts of Madanganj with the Secretary, Babu Hara Lal Bhaumick. He wants a man. Please send him one, if possible. All the boys went home. My own accounts have also been settled.

In the meantime a serious misunderstanding took place between myself and Hemanta Singh for certain matters. Firstly, why so long I did not go to Madanganj any why the accounts were not settled previously. Hemanta thinks that I embezzled the money or fled away with them and I am quite unfit for work. Hemanta wants to see that every bit of his authority shall be obeyed, and none of my proposals should be accepted. So long I have worked according to his wishes, but there was no success. I don't work according to my own wishes, but I want to work jointly. He turns a deaf ear to my every proposal. I think he will work according to your advice, but you are not giving him proper advice. He does not want to consult with me, and he thinks me to be a worthless creature. So long I did not let you know all these things, but to-day I am compelled to let you know. I give below one or two examples of his works. Up to this time he was only establishing the *samitis*, but he never played the part of a master. He shows so much familiarity with the students that they think him to be a talkative. He makes himself known to be an Inspector. And when we are going to teach the boys they do not mind us, as they always give familiarity with the Inspector. He does not understand what is an organisation. He cuts jokes with every one, and so they do not obey him, and he only comes there when they are found disobedient. It becomes too difficult to work in this way, and without a proper system no work can be done. Please tell him to smoke privately. I shall let you know other things when we shall meet together. My mind is very bad. Hemanta is now at Bajrajogini. Nothing will be done if the work is going on in this way. I hope you will reply my letter sharp.

Yours,
Horendra

20

[This letter was written by one Bhupen N. Dutt from 27, Kanailal Dhar's Lane, Calcutta, to Jitendra Nath Rai, Mymensingh *Surhid Samiti.*]

My dear friend,

I am sending 20 copies of *Jugantar* to you. Please try to have them circulated. It will be better if you will let me know how many copies are to be sent. One of my friends was a promised editor, who resigned, and his

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mind has changed. You were requested to canvass him. Tender my compliments to Kedar Babu. Where is he? Please send local news and essays.

Note : The letter was not dated. The postal seal bears 29th March 1906. It was found in the house of Kedar Chakrabarty. Jatindra is a member of the *Surhid Samiti.*

21

[This is a printed leaflet against honouring His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor when he came to Mymensingh. It was found in the house of Aswini Kumar Rai of the *Surhid Samiti.*]

Bande Mataram.

How the Hindus will join the worship of that Governor to seek his favour by whose devilish administration the Hindu religion was insulted, the Hindu images were broken to pieces and the wealth of the Hindu women's chastity was taken away. Shame! Shame! Are the Aryans, who are the descendants of Arya Rishis (Saints), Arya warriors and the sons of Sita, Sabitri, and Padmini, so mean?

Look upward, there is fire of anger of the insulted gods, and on all sides there is fire of course of the stained chaste women. Be careful if you want blessing.

22

[This manuscript pamplet was found in the house of Aswini Kumar Rai of *Surhid Samiti* and it was written by him.]

Oh Mother.

The soul leaves an old body and takes a new one, as man leaves an old cloth and takes a new one— (22nd *Slak of Gita*)

Neither it can be cut by an instrument nor burnt by fire, nor made wet by water—*(23rd Salak* of *Gita).*

As the soul is not mortal and not ruinable, so you coward give up your cowardice and be brave.

As you are born to establish liberty, to improve religion, to kill the *Mlechhas* and to improve the happiness of the pious, so you need not sleep. Your mother is standing by you and is calling you. Don't fear, work and work. Liberty can bring real religion and religion is the source of personal and national happiness.

We are desirous to get liberty. We will uproot those powers which will stand in our way of getting this heavenly light. Oh oppressive, wealth-eager, religion-destroyers and full of royal power, Feringhis, be careful. If you want a blessing go back to your own country, otherwise

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a battle in unavoidable. You will be burnt in great fire like the insect. We bore the oppression for a long time, and no more. We suffered the fruit of vice of our ancestors. We brought our ruin ourselves, so by and by you are trying to ruin our wealth, our honour, life, and even religion. The boat is loaded with vice, and it is about to sink. None can save it.

23

[This letter was written to Aswini Kumar Rai
of the *Surhid Samiti* by one Himangsu.]

Amabodya

My dear Aswin,

Glad to received yours. The delay in replying is due to my absence from this place.

I am sorry for not attending the *Samiti* to-day. I think Jitendra told you the cause of my absence.

Mother *(Kalimai)* will fulfil our desire. How are you and how is Kedar Babu?

Yours,
Hemangsu

24

[Paper found in Rebati Mohan Guhas house.]

1. A copy of the book called (   )

This book was also published from the *Surhid Samiti*. The *Sari* song is the worst of all the songs it contains.

Submitted
R. K. Rai

25

[This letter was written to Jitendra Rai by one R. B. Ghosh from
Srinagar (Dacca).]

Srinagar, 11th October 1907.

Dear Jitendra,

Received your letter with *rakhis*. I am suffering from fever since the *Nabami Puja* last. Yesterday I took boiled rice. Please let me know whether Aswini Babu has come home or not. Please let me know when you are coming. I may come after the *Kali Puja*. *Rakhibandhan* was well celebrated here, but I am sorry that I was ill at the time. I am well. How

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are you ?

Yours,
R. B. Ghosh

[Papers found in the house of Jitendra Mohan Rai]

[This post-card was written from Gangatia to Jatindra (writer's name not mentioned).]

Bande Mataram

Gangatia

My dear Jitendra,

Received *rakhis* sent by you. I am always ready for the national cause. Satyendra is not yet cured. I am well. How do you do ?

27

[This letter was written to Jitendra Ray by one Norendra from Fenchuganj in Sylhet.]

Fenchuganj, 25th October 1907.

My dear Jitendra,

I came back to my lodging after 15 days and got your letter with *rakhi.* What was the condition of my mind on *Rakhibandhan* day was only known to God. The proverb that "All days are not passed well" seems to me a new thing on that day, and that was the only consolation of my mind. I was so unfortunate that on that pure day I was in the Badarpur tea garden which was full of coolies. There is no *Swadeshi* agitation, and moreover the *sahebs* of the gardens are not good men. However, all the Babus (clerks) prayed for three hours' time, which was not granted by the *Sahebs.* I also joined the Babus. The Babus made some agreements with the *sahebs,* who then and there sent a wire to the Silchar police-station. The Superintendent of Police, with 2,000 (!!) constables and Gurkha Police, hastened to the garden, and all was quiet. I will write in details in my next.

Yours,
Norendra

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28

[The anonymous petition was found in the house of Hari Har Chakravarty]

To—The District Magistrate, Mymensingh.

Oh, incarnation of God.

We respectfully pray to submit that there is a zamindar named Atul Chandra Chakravarty in village Gangatia under Kishorganj subdivision. He is oppressing us by his following acts. It becomes too difficult for us to keep our money and valuables in our houses : he takes them away. There are some clever bad characters under his control. They do not get any pay from him. They possess no lands. They are living by thieving only. We give below their names. He has no messenger, naibs, or any *amlas*. During his father's time there were several highly-paid officers. He is not keeping any good *amlas*, as they will not allow him to oppress the people in this way. He is fulfilling his desires by the help of these bad characters. He used to lease lands to one tenant on receipt of *nazars* (fees) and then dispossessed him if any one comes forwards to pay *nazar* for them. He dispossesses the poor tenants from their lands with a view to lease them to others. He sues the debtors for the interest already paid. He causes the decree to be executed though the money was paid out of court. He institutes false rent-suits and appears in court to give false evidence, if necessary. In fact, by all these means he is taking away the property of the poor of the vicinity. He has in his possession four or five unlicensed guns. There are lots of stolen property in his house. He is responsible for numerous thefts occurring in village Gangatia and Govindapur. If Your Honour makes personal enquiry or deputes a Deputy Magistrate, the whole case will be brought to light. Under these circumstances, we pray that your Worship will be pleased to appoint a good manager in his estates or to give it to the Court of Wards for management, and to prosecute the following persons :—

List of bad characters

1. Gangadhar Dey
2. Naba Kishore Dey
3. Hari Bal Dey
4. Kali Mohan Dey
5. Joy Chandra Dey of Gangatia
6. Durga Prasad Dey Sarkar
7. Chandra Kumar Sirkar of Govindapur
8. Ram Doyal Chakravarty

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9. Rajani Kanta Chakravarty
10. Chandra Kishore Chakravarty of Horesh Chandrapati police station Kishorganj.

Names of witnesses

Babu Hari Har Chakravarty
Babu Kali Narayan Chakravarty
Rakhini Kanta Chakravarty
Bhubeneswar Chakravarty
Koilash Chandra Chakravarty of Gangatia.
Joy Nath Rai, mukhtear, of Mymensingh.
Mohan Kishore Rai Chaudhuri, pleader, of Mymensingh

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PART IV

Samitis in the Faridpur District

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PART IV

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No. 32. Note on the *Brati Samiti*, Faridpur, by the Commissioner, Dacca Division, dated the 14th December 1908

No. 33. Demi-official No. 122S., dated the 3rd December 1908, from Magistrate, Faridpur, reporting on the following *Samitis* :—

I.	*Brati Samiti,*	*Faridpur*
II.	*Sakti Samiti,*	*Alipur*
III.	" "	Rajbari
IV.	*Brati Samiti,*	Rajbari
V.	*Anushilan Samiti,*	Palong
VI.	" "	Rudrakar
VII.	" "	Fatehjangpur
VIII.	" "	Chikandi
IX.	" "	Idilpur, Gosairghat
X.	" "	Kartikpur
XI.	" "	Bajitpur
XII.	" "	Olpur

XIII. Pasora Ramkrishna Paramo Hangshu (Kotwali)

XIV. Maharajpur Hari Saba, Muksudpur

XV. Kalamridha *Swadesh Sebak Samiti,* Bhanga

XVI. *Damuka Shaha Samiti,* Palong

XVII. *Swadesh Sanmilani,* Negarkanda

XVIII. *Jubak Samiti,* Silchar

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XXI. District Association

XXII. Union Club, Mulgao, Gosairhat

XXIII. *Jubak Samiti,* Madaripur

XXIV. *Khalia Hitaishi Samiti,* Madaripur

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No. 31.

Demi-official No. 1663S., dated Dacca, the 14th December 1908

From—R. Nathan, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

To—H. LeMesurier, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

In continuation of my letter No. 1620S., dated the 9th instant, forwarding a copy of the police report on *Samitis* in the Bakarganj district, I now enclose copies of the reports from Donald on Faridpur and from Blackwood on Mymensingh *Samitis*. I have used these in preparing the reports submitted to you with my official letter. I suggest that the whole set of reports should be printed, together with my reports and Salkeld's report and bound up together. They would form a useful book of reference.

No. 32

Note on the Brati Samiti, Faridpur

This Association was at one time the most violent and dangerous in the province. Although originally instituted for benevolent purposes during a period of scarcity in 1906, it soon degenerated into a "volunteer" association, the ostensible objects of which were agitation and boycott. The vows of the postulants made them abjure all ties of family and friendship and pledged them to renounce allegiance to the King. The members trained themselves to use *lathis*, bamboos, spears, and wooden swords and to perform military evolutions. They held two sham-fights in 1907, and on the 17th October of that year they gave a great display of *lathi*-play in celebration of partition day. From time to time the volunteers of the association attempt to interfere in the sale of Liverpool salt in the local markets. They also joined in various political demonstrations, such as the procession in honour of the release of Bepin Chandra Pal. A number of reports have been received from time to time that members of the association purchased and stored arms. The efforts made to verify these reports were all unsuccessful, but the charge itself was probably true. In fact, the whole type of the organisation resembled the evil features of similar associations in Dacca and Calcutta. The founder and captain of the institution was one Brahma Mohan Ghosh, a dismissed Sub-Inspector of Police and a very dangerous character. He negotiated with the leaders at Dacca and Barisal and endeavored to extend his organisation to other districts in the division. In this he was not successful and the great influence and popularity of Pulin Behari Das of Dacca injured the organisation of the lesser captain. When the organisation was at its highest, there were a headquarter and three

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branches in the town and the number of members was some 150–200. The association included a teacher and a number of students of the Ishan Institution (a local High School), and other students of the school, although not enrolled as members, also attended the gymnasium. The *Sakti Samiti* at Rajbari, another volunteer and drill club, was also at one time connected with the *Brati Samiti*. It was reported in July 1907 that there were 3 *Brati Samitis* in Calcutta, and that the original of these headed by Krishna Kumar Mitra, of the Mymensingh district, arrested on the 12th instant on a charge of sedition, was connected with the Faridpur Association.

2. Brahma Mohan Ghosh's influence waned with the growing popularity of Pulin Behari Das, and the establishment of a number of branches of Pulin's *Anushilan Samitis* in the Madaripur subdivision coincided with the decline of the *Brati Samiti*. Brahma Mohan Ghosh having apparently realized this, left Faridpur and joined Pulin Behari Das at Dacca. The Magistrate reports that, the *Brati Samiti* as a body is practically now non-existent but various among its dangerous members still remain at Faridpur. Of these Atul Moitra, Kali Mohan Gupta, Bhuban Mohan Gupta, and Jyotish Chandra Chakrabatti, a singer of so called national songs, are specially mentioned. Jatindra Mohan Ganguli, another dangerous member, is believed to have joined Pulin at Dacca. Any decline in the influence of the *Anushilan Samiti* or of Pulin Behari Das is likely to be followed by a recrudescence of activity in the *Brati Samiti*.

The 14th December 1908. R. Nathan

No. 33.

Demi-official No. 122S., dated Faridpur, the 3rd December 1908.

From—J. Donald, Esq., I.C.S.,

To—R. Nathan, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

I enclose notes on the various *Samitis* of this district, which contain all the information gathered in regard to them. I have not included in the list those associations which do not deal with politics, nor have I added the Muhammadan Associations — Anjumans — which have been in existence for several years. Information in respect of these is not, I presume, required.

There have not been this year any cases of importance to be put down to these societies or their members during the present year, and there are no others beyond those mentioned in the notes, against whom any proceedings could be taken. There are none in the district who could,

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on the information we possess, be called particularly dangerous. The worst, including Brahma Mohan Ghosh, have gone to Dacca.

From the majority of the *Samitis* nothing need, I think, be feared. The worst are the branches of the *Anushilan Samiti* which are mostly in the Palong neighbourhood, and appear to be in close communication with the Dacca society. But so far they have shown no aggressive tendencies. They must, however, be looked on as dangerous, inasmuch as they are branches of the Dacca society.

Of national schools we have only one of any importance and hear little about it. The boys seem on the whole well behaved. This is the school at Kamagram, police station Bhusna. The school is said to be patronised by the *Bandhab Samiti* of Calcutta. The Secretary is Surendra Narayan Mitra of Muhammadpur in Jessore, a former Professor in the Braja Mohan Institution and now a Professor in the Ripon College.

List of Samitis in the Faridpur district

1. *Brati Samiti*, Faridpur.
2. *Sakti Samiti*, Alipur, Faridpur.
3. *Sakti Samiti*, Rajbari.
4. *Brati Samiti*, Rajbari.
5. *Anushilan Samiti*, Palong,
6. Anushilan Samiti, Rudrakar
7. *Anushilan Samiti*, Fatehjangpur,   police station Palong
8. *Anushilan Samiti*, Chikandi,
9. *Anushilan Samiti*, Idilpur, police station Gosairhat.
10. *Anushilan Samiti*, Kartikpur, police station Bhedarganj.
11. *Anushilan Samiti*, Bajitpur, police station Gopalganj.
12. *Anushilan Samiti*, Olpur, police station Gopalganj.
13. Pasora Ramkrishna Paramo Hangsha, police station Kotwali.
14. Maharajpur *Hari Sava*, police station Muksudpur.
15. *Kalamridha Swadesh Sabak Samiti*, police station Bhanga.
16. *Dhanuka Shaha Samiti*, police station Palong.
17. *Swadesh Sanmilani*, Kachail, police station Nagarkanda.
18. *Jubak Samiti*, Panchar, police station Sibchar.
19. *Fukra Samiti*, police station Kasiani.
20. *Swadeshi Sechha Sebak Samiti*, Kotalipara.
21. District Association of Faridpur.
22. Union *Samiti*, Mulgaon, Gosairhat.
23. Madaripur *Jubak Samiti*.
24. *Khalia Hitaishi Samiti*, Madaripur.

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1. Brati Samiti, Faridpur

Originally instituted for benevolent purposes during the time of the scarcity in 1906 alleviate the distress then prevailing in the district. This association subsequently devoted its attention to politics. In April 1907 it degenerated into a huge pugilistic association, having for its object ostensibly *swadeshi* and boycott agitation, but in reality physical culture, self-help, and independence of alien rule. The members became National volunteers, and where required to develop their muscles by dumb-bells and Indian clubs, and to acquire proficiency in fencing and *lathi*-play. An oath of conformity appended was drawn up, which every member was required to take on admission.

Originally there were about 150 members, but the number has gone down considerably, and very few are left. There were formerly three branches, but two have now no independent status. The third branch is the *Sakti Samiti,* Alipur (*vide* No. 2).

The members used to drill with *lathis,* bamboos, spears, and wooden swords, and exercised themselves with dumb-bells and Indian clubs. They held two sham-fights in 1907, on the 26th April and the 12th July, and on the 17th October 1907 a great show of *lathi*-play was made in celebration of partition day. This year, probably owing to depleted numbers, no such shows took place.

From time to time these volunteers attempted to interfere in the sale of Liverpool salt in the local markets, but they were thwarted by the local police. They had a procession on the occasion of the release of Bipin Chandra Pal from prison, in which Brahma Mohan Ghosh took a prominent part.

The members of the *Samiti* were implicated in the following cases :—

1. In 1906, before the *puja* holidays, Jyotish Chandra Chakrabatti and Nalini Kanta Mitra, volunteers, were implicated in a case under section 379, Indian Penal Code, for taking away by force a piece of *bilati* cloth from a constable. They were sent up for trial, but the Magistrate declared the case as mistake of fact.
2. In June 1907 Hiramba Chandra Ghosh, with some other volunteers, assaulted a servant of Babu Kali Prasanna Ghosh, pleader. The servant filed a petition of complaint against them and process was issued against Hiramba Chandra Ghosh. The case was, however, subsequently compromised.
3. In January last volunteers Kali Mohun Gupta, Atul Chandra Moitra, Hiramba Chandra Ghosh, and Jitendra Mohun Ganguli were

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members of an unlawful assembly in the Faridpur *mela* ground. The last named at the same time and place also severely assaulted a Gurkha guard of the Settlement Office on the head with a brickbat. All the principal witnesses, including two police constables, were gained over by heavy bribes and the case could not be sent up for want of sufficient evidence. The Committee of the *mela*, consisting of several of the leading pleaders, although they promised assistance to detect the culprits, did nothing.

This association was originally promoted by Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar and other leading pleaders of Faridpur, but I do not think they now take any particular interest in the *Samiti*, which is almost a defunct body. Their influence, if any is exercised, would be towards keeping its members on the side of law and order.

The active leader and Captain of the *Samiti* was Brahma Mohan Ghosh, a dismissed Sub-Inspector of Police, and a very dangerous character. He has recently gone to Dacca. The Vice-Captain is Anukul Chandra Das Gupta, Hem Chandra Das Gupta, teacher, Ishan Institution, is the Secretary, and Atul Moitra is the Assistant Secretary.

The most dangerous members now in Faridpur are Atul Moitra, Kali Mohun Gupta, and Bhuban Mohun Gupta. Jitesh Chandra Chakrabarti is the great singer of national songs, Jitendra Mohun Ganguli, another dangerous character, seems to have gone away without his guardian's knowledge to work for the Motherland, and is probably with Pulin Behari Das in Dacca.

The principal *lathi*-play instructors were Brahma Mohan Ghosh and Mastaq Hussain.

At the outset the Society's meeting place was in a hut in front of the house of Dinabandhu Das Gupta, father of Kali Mohun Gupta, but they removed from that place in January 1908. No other habitation has as yet been secured. Any incriminating papers or materials are most likely to be found with Kali Mohun Gupta.

The *Samiti* is practically now non-existent as a body, and it has suffered by the departure of Brahma Mohan Ghosh to Dacca.

Oath

I swear by my God and soul that —

1. From this day I will sacrifice my wealth, property and life in the cause of my motherland.
2. One-fourth of our income will be set apart and devoted to the cause of my country.

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3. We will cut off all connection with an anti-*swadeshi*, be he our son or father.
4. We will not hesitate to give our own life or take away another's for our country.
5. We will sacrifice our life, wealth and property for a *swadeshi* brother and hail hundreds of obstacles in our way as so many heaps of flowers.
6. We will not give out our secrets to any one, not even to our dearest and nearest relations, without thoroughly examining him first.
7. Whenever any *swadeshi* duty comes before us, we will exert our best efforts to preform it without giving the least consideration to our own private business.
8. If any of our members is guilty of any violation of the rules or disobeys the Captain, he will not be taken in again without his undergoing a severe penance.
9. We will not consider the English as our king and ruler and will not go to his door begging.
10. We will keep up to our vow, even though it cost our heart blood and observe *Rakhibandan* for ever.
11. We will utter *Bande Mataram* a thousand times a day with a pious and holy mind.

2. Sakti Samiti, Alipur, Faridpur

The object of this Association is the teaching of *lathi*-play and physical exercise. It follows the rules and regulations of the *Brati Samiti*. It was a branch of the *Brati Samiti*, Faridpur, but is on the verge of extinction. The Captain is Narendra Chandra Bal, a relative of a clerk in the Magistrate's office.

3. Sakti Samiti, Rajbari

This *Samiti* came into existence about the month of July 1907 as an organised attempt to stimulate physical culture, which received an impetus at the time of the Muhammadan raids at Jamalpur and elsewhere. It was said to be purely an athletic club, but subsequent information shows that the boycott of foreign goods and the attainment of *swaraj* also form part of the programme. It was organised by one Bireswar Lahiri, son of Mohin Lahiri, a local mukhtear. Its President is Babu Rajendra Lal Das, a Loco night clerk on the Eastern Bengal State Railway. Bireswar Lahiri is its Captain. The members are students resident in the northern part of Rajbari belonging mostly to the Raja S. K. Institution. About 100 boys of this Institution joined the *Samiti* in March last. They

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assemble in the evening on the eastern bank of a tank near the bazar and perform gymnastic exercises on harizontal bars, parallel bars, and with dumb-bells. The boys are formed into squads of 10 each with one boy as Captain of each squad, and with sticks, serving as guns, they were taught drill somewhat on the lines of military drill. A Guard on the Eastern Bengal State Railway, by name Panna Lal Budhan, on one or two occasions showed them some exercises in sword-play, but they did not take this up. In the absence of the Captain at college little is done. There are no regular rules or regulations, either written or printed.

They have given no trouble and there have been no *swadeshi* cases at Rajbari since the *Samiti* was formed.

4. Brati Samiti, Rajbari

This is purely an athletic club. An up-country cook of the boarding house of the Banibaha School was occasionally called in to teach the art of *lathi*-play. The *Samiti* is not organised and it is practically defunct. It has no rules or regulations.

5. Anushilan Samiti, Palong and Tulasar, police station Palong

This *Samiti* has been started as a branch of the Dacca *Anushilan Samiti* and Inspectors from headquarters are periodically sent to supervise the work of the branch.

The object of the *Samiti* is to acquire physical strength by *lathi*-play and fencing, and to promote *swadeshi* with *swaraj* as the ultimate goal. The *Samiti* has its "*Pratigya Patra*" but a copy of it has not been obtained.

The Secretary of this *Samiti* is Paresh Nath Sen of Palong, at whose house meetings are held.

Mahendra Mukhati of Dhanuka and Mozuffer Khan of palong are the two most active members. They are both also preachers of the district. Mahendra recently incurred the displeasure of that body and was warned, apparently on account of his expression of extremist views.

One Pulin Chandra Chaterji of Kagdi, a member of this branch, usually lives at Dacca where he belongs to Pulin Das's party. He visits this branch and teaches *lathi*-play there under Pulin Das's instructions. Ranendra Chakrabatti and Jatindra Chakrabatti of Rudrakar, students of the Tulasar High English School, are also instructors in *lathi*-play in this *Samiti*.

Some of the members have opened a shop in the bazar where they meet. Incriminating articles, if any, would most likely be found in the houses of the Secretary Mahendra Mukhati and Mozuffar Kha.

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The members of this *Samiti* celebrated by a procession the realease of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Sing, and also met and garlanded the men convicted in the Bajitpur *swadeshi* case on their release from jail.

Mahendra Mukhati is the most notorious of these volunteers owing to his frequent appearances as accused in Court. He has been convicted once for theft of *bilati* cloth and has been twice bound down under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code. He has also been concerned in one or two other cases which have failed for want of evidence. Mozuffer Kha has also been bound down under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code.

6. Anushilan Samiti, Rudrakar

This *Samiti* is closely connected with the branch at Palang, No. 5. It is a branch of the same Dacca society; it has the same organisation and the same ends. *Lathi*-play and fencing are taught. The Inspectors from Dacca visit this branch too in their tours.

The local supervisors of the branch are Nepal Chakrabatti *alias* Hemanta Kumar Chakrabatti, and Ram Lal Chakrabatti, both of Rudrakar.

On the occasion of the release of Bipin Pal from prison the members of this *Samiti* formed a procession and paraded through the village from Rudrakar to Palang. In March this year a consignment of *lathis* was sent by steamer to one of the Rudrakar Chakrabattis. These *lathis* were intended for the members of this *Samiti* or of that at Palang.

There are some temporary members of the branch whose homes are in Palang thana elaka, but who are resident elsewhere. Of these, Debendra Kumar Rai of Hogla, Palang, and Bhola, Bakarganj, and Girindra Kumar Chakrabatti, residing at Bhola, are expert *lathi*-players.

The local habitation of this *Samiti* is the house of the Rudrakar Chakrabattis.

7. Anushilan Samiti, Fatehjangpur

This branch of the *Anushilan Samiti* is closely allied to the *Samitis* at Palang and Rudrakar, and aims at the same objects. *Lathi*-play is however not so common here.

Rajani Kanta Gupta, a pleader of the Judge's Court, Dacca, is the principal promoter and Chief Secretary. Satish Chandra Chatterji and Jatindra Mohun Chatterji are Assistant Secretaries, and suspicion fell on them in connection with the Naria dacoity. The members of this *Samiti* are said to beg for rice from door to door, and to distribute it to the poor. The local habitation would seem to be the house of the Secretary, Satish Chandra Chatterji.

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8. Anushilan Samiti, Chikandi

This *Samiti* was organised under Pulin Das of Dacca in 1906. Girish Chandra Chakrabatti, a pleader of Chikandi, is the principal promoter and he is supported by other members of the local bar. Dhirendra Nath Bauri and Khagendra Nath Ghosh, students of the Chikandi High English School, are expert *lathi*-players and train the other members. Pulin Das himself or one of his representatives periodically inspects the branch. In March of this year Pulin Das sent three men to Chikandi to teach *lathi*-play and organize as many *samitis* as possible in this quarter. These three men brought with them *Pratigya Patras* consisting of three stages, into which the members are to be initiated in turn if they prove their fitness.

Three hundred volunteers, armed with *lathis*, swords, and a few guns, can, it is said, be raised by the Captain at any time.

The Chikandi branch is one of the most important of the branches in the Palang quarter. Everything is done in secret and the rules and regulations are strictly kept secret and preserved.

At Komarpur, a village close to Chikandi, there is a gang of volunteers, who are really members of the Chikandi *Samiti* and not a separate organisation. The leader of these, Lok Nath Bhattacharji, is at present bound down under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, for interfering with the sale of Liverpool salt in Komarpur *hat*.

9. Anushilan Samiti, Idilpur, police station Gosairhat

This *Samiti* is also a branch of the Dacca *Samiti* and is organized according to the instructions of Pulin Das.

The *Samiti* draws its members from several villages and is made up of three parties of volunteers : (1) from Mulgao and Bijneswar, (2) from Daserjungle, Patty, and Tengra, (3) from Dhipur and Jalchatra. The object of the *Samiti* is physical culture and the propagation of the *Swadeshi* cause. The *Samiti* is supported by the local talukdars — an old family with considerable influence. Babu Jogesh Chandra Rai Chaudhuri, one of this family, is an Honorary Magistrate of Palang. He has undoubtedly been a strong promoter of the *Swadeshi* cause, but is now trying to show that he is a supporter of Government.

The leading volunteers of this *Samiti* are ex-students without other employment. They are active and determined and require close watching.

Pulin Das himself has visited this *Samiti*. Sudhanya Bose, one of the members, is a friend of his and he stayed at his house. Pulin Das has also sent down Inspectors to supervise the work of this branch.

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Lathi-playing is taught in a clearing in Daserjungle, close to the house of Chandra Kumar Ghosh of Patty, the most active and prominent of the older members of the *Samiti*.

One Iadali of Kalurgao is retained as an instructor in *lathi*-play.

Other leading volunteers are Ashutosh and Debendra Rai of Tengra, Indu Bhusan Rai of Dhipur, Profulla Guha, Sarada Guha and Sashi Kumar Rai of Mulgao.

This *Samiti* has no fixed headquarters, but the house of Chandra Kumar Ghosh is used as a meeting place.

Formerly the volunteers used to picket the bazar and interfere with trade, but recently open measures of that nature have been abandoned. They tried to convene a meeting on the 7th of August—Boycott Day—but it failed, as none but the active volunteers put in an appearance.

Some of the volunteers of this *Samiti* attended the District Conference at Chandpur this year.

10. Anushilan Samiti, Kartikpur

This *Samiti* was founded in January 1907, and is also a branch of the Dacca *Samiti*.

The headquarters are at the house of the Secretary, Satish Chandra Das of Hogla, formerly a master of the Kartikpur High English School. Rajani Kanta Sen Sarkar of Hogla is the Captain. He is aged about 30 and is a man of bad character. He also teaches the members *lathi*-play.

Physical culture, boycott, *swadeshi* and *swaraj* are the objects of the *Samiti*.

A place, called Ananda math, was used for *lathi*-play and dagger practice. That site has now been given up and what *lathi*-play now goes on takes place in the Secretary's *bari*. Many students of the Kartikpur school belong to the *Samiti*. They attempted to boycott the head-master of the school last year over a *swadeshi* matter, in consequence of which some of the boys were rusticated.

11. Anushilan Samiti, Bajitpur, police station Madaripur

It was established in the middle of 1906 and consisted of some 20 members, most of whom were schoolboys. They style themselves volunteers, but they take part in no movement outside their jurisdiction. This *Samiti* was on the point of extinction when it was resuscitated by one Abhoy Kumar Mazumdar, a volunteer of Dacca who maintained by his relative, Babu Ananda Chandra Rai of Dacca. Its influence deteriorated again when the school authorities fell under the ban of the University. The work of the *Samiti* was supervised by Rasik Lal Bagchi,

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the teacher, who was convicted in the Bajitpur *swadeshi* case. Satish Chandra Chaudhuri, who was also convicted in that case, was the teacher of *lathi*-play. There were two other instructors, students of the school. They are said to have been taught *lathi*-play by one Tryambak Pathak of Madaripur, and expert *lathi*-player. A few copies of *"Pratigya Patra"* were sent by Pulin Das for the guidance of the *Samiti.*

The *lathi*-play takes place in different fields. There is no fixed field. Every Sunday a sham-fight used to take place. The *swadeshi* case referred to above was one in which Rasik Bagchi, the master, and some of the students were convicted for throwing away some *batasha* made of *bideshi* sugar in Bajitpur bazar.

12. Anushilan Samiti, Olpur.

This branch of the *Anushilan Samiti* was established about the middle of 1907. Its main object is that of improving health and acquiring Physical strength, the spread of *swaedshi* and the boycott of *bilati* goods. They seem to have no particular meeting place, but exercise in an open field. Their Captain is Usha Nath Rai, son of Chandra Kumar Rai of Olpur, and he teaches the boys *lathi* and sword-play. Another instructor in *lathi*-play is Nishi Nath Rai, a brother of the Captain.

We have no reports of any illegal or aggressive action on the part of this Samiti.

13. Pasora Ramkrishna Paramo Hangsha, police station Kotwali

It was formed to foster the national spirit, to spread the *Swadeshi* cause and to learn *lathi*-play and fencing. The Captain and Secretary is Promotha Nath Mukherji of Sadhuhati, police station Kotwali. He is an instructor in *lathi*-play. He was a student of the National school, Rangpur. He has a *basha* in Rangpur where he often goes.

14. Maharajpur Hari Sava, police station Muksudpur

A *swadeshi* society of which little or nothing is heard. It meets at the house of Kasi Doctor, its President. It has not been concerned in any case.

15. Kalamridha Swadeshi Sebak Samiti, Bhanga police station

The objects of this Association include that of helping the famine-stricken (this was probably the original idea), the acquisition of physical strength, and the spread of *swadeshi.* The President is Baman Chandra Chaudhuri, a zamindar. The Secretaries are Digendra Nath

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Banarji (Private Secretary to the Bhowal Raj Estate) and Purna Chandra Chaudhuri, Zamindar of Kalamridha. The society has no fixed place of meeting, but the members assemble generally at the house of the President or of Dinesh Chandra Banarji, father of one of the Secretaries. A relation of the last named, Narendra Nath Banarji, often visits Dacca, where he lives with Pulin Behari Das. Digendra Nath Banarji on a visit to his home in Kalamridha encouraged the people to give up *bilati* goods and threatened and advised the shopkeepers to remove *bilati* articles from the Kalamridha bazar. He is in constant communication with the Barisal leaders.

16. Dhanuka Shaha Samiti, police station Palong

Its object is to improve the status of the Shaha community and to spread the *swadeshi* spirit, and physical culture. It is a very recent institution. Mozuffer Ali Kha and Mahendra Mukhati, the *swadeshi* preachers of Palong, are the Joint Secretaries. They are dangerous characters (*vide Anushilan Samiti*, Palang), and it is owing to their influence that the *Samiti* has been started. It is not likely to come to anything.

17. Swadeshi Sanmilani, Kachail, police station Nagarkanda

This union was initiated by Babu Dina Nath Das, a leading pleader of the Faridpur Bar, in September 1906, and meetings were held when any *swadeshi* question came up for discussion. Since the publication of the Oridinance of 1907 no meetings have been held. There are no rules and regulations. This society is practically a nonentity.

18. Jubak Samiti, Panchar, police station Sibchar

A long standing *Samiti* with an *akhara* at Haritall, Panchar, being mainly a village union for the cultivation of healthy pastimes. Its President is Babu Hem Chand Ganguli of Panchar. Politically it is of no importance.

19. Fukra Samiti, police station Kasiani

This *Samiti* is intimately connected with the Pukra High English School, which is the centre of the *swadeshi* agitation. The students of this school seem to be utterly disloyal, and in this they are encouraged by their teachers. They have been with *lathis* of quite an unusual size, and processions of volunteers armed with *lathis* have been observed.

The Captain is Ananta Lal Banarji, formerly a teacher in the school, who resides in the village, Meetings are held in a house called Puran Bari,

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which is adjacent to the school and in which the head-master resides. These meetings are secret and the result of their deliberations has not been ascertained. They indulge in petty picketing, but they seem to have kept within the borders of the law. They pay little heed to their parents or guardians.

No definite complaint has been lodged against them, and beyond the fact that they are possessed of a spirit of disloyalty we have nothing against them.

20. Swadeshi Sechha Sebak Samiti, Kotalipara

This *Samiti* was formed in the village of Unashia, police station Kotalipara. Its recognised members are Jogendra Nath Chakrabatti, Jogendra Nath Chaudhuri, Jagat Kanta Chaudhuri, and Hem Chandra Samaddar. Its main object is the maintenance of a *swadeshi hat* at Unashia. They also started a theatrical company. There has been nothing objectionable in their doings and the society is of no importance.

21. District Association, Faridpur

This Association was formed in July 1907 on the occasion when the proposed District Conference was forbidden under the ordinance of 1907. The President is Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar. It holds very few meetings. When a large meeting is held, a big pandal is set up on the bank of the Jubilee Tank. Discussions are from time to time held in Ambika Babu's house by a few of the leading men in the town. A few *swadeshi* preachers were appointed, but there has been nothing in their conduct as such to which exception can be taken. For a short time there seemed to be a fear that extreme views would prevail, and the influence of Ambika Babu was receiving a set-back, but, probably owing to the outrages in other parts of the country Ambika Babu regained his influence, and moderate views now prevail. One of the preachers, Mahendra Mukhati, fell under the displeasure of the Association, because he was not acting according to the wishes of the Association. It is surmised that he was airing views which were of an extremist type. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar has stated to me that he is strongly opposed to those who are working by anarchist methods.

22. Union Club, Mulgao, police station Gosairhat

This *Samiti* is held at the house of Rash Behari Guha, its President. Baikuntha Nath Ray, M.A., is the Secretary and Asutosh Ray, Assistant Secretary.

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The object of the club is the development of physical strength and the spread of *swadeshi.*

Many of the volunteers of the Idilpur *Anushilan Samiti* belong also to this club.

23. Madaripur Jubak Samiti

It was established in the later part of 1906. It consists of 15 or 16 members, some of whom are students of he Madaripur H. E. School. Babu Binode Lal Ghosh, Secretary of the school and a *swadeshi* leader, supervises the work. Its object is to make the youths expert in *lathi*-play. Rajendra Datta was the instructor formerly, who is now an absconder in the Dacca Barra dacoity case. Now Triambak Pathak, who learnt at Calcutta, is teaching the members. One Surednra Chakrabatti, a brother of a *dagi,* is one of the leading members. He often goes to Barisal.

The *Samiti* is not at present flourishing.

24. Khalia Hitaishi Samiti, police station Madaripur

This is a secret *Samiti,* consisting of 10 or 20 members, who do not live permanently in the village. Amal Chandra Chattarji, B.A., is the chief supporter. Most of the members are related to Government servants. They work quietly, so that it is difficult to find out anything about them.

The main object of the members is to abandon foreign articles and introduce country-made goods.

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Supplementary Report on Samitis in the Dacca Division Eastern Bengal and Assam

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PART II

Samitis in the Bakarganj District
(Supplementary Report)

Note : The list at pages 5 and 6 supersedes that at pages 58-59 of the previous "Report on *Samitis* in the Dacca Division."

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PART II

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Samitis in the district of Bakarganj

No. 1

Demi-official No. 2463S., dated Dacca, the 18th February 1909.

From—H. LeMesurier, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,

To—The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Lyon, C.S.I., I.C.S.

In continuation of letter No. 2451S., dated the 17th February, I send some more papers received from Reid in regard to the *samitis* in Bakarganj. I do not think that there is matter sufficient for proceeding against the Kaunia *Sebak Samiti* on the materials before us. We have heard of the Fariaputty *Mahajan Samiti* in connection, I think, with the Brindaban Shaha case. The statement of Shyama Charan Gope throws an interesting sidelight on Bakarganj "patriotism."

No. 2.

Demi-official No. 1654C, dated Bakarganj, the 17th February 1909.

From—W.J. Reid,., Esq., I.C.S.,

To—H. LeMesurier, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

I return a letter[1] from Mr. Gupta which Nathan gave to me regarding the printed report on the *samitis* in the Dacca Division. I promised to get an explanatory note from Inspector J. C. Bhaumick, and now submit copies of this. The list of members of the *Bandhab Samiti* at Barisal should be corrected as shown by Inspector Bhaumick. The reason that there were so many mistakes in the list first submitted is that, being new to the district, and gathering from Nathan's letter that an immediate reply was required from me, I sent on a list which I found in the confidential file here, and which I concluded must have been properly verified. It now appears that it was as a matter of fact compiled by Inspector Abdul Zahur Khan and that Inspector J. C. Bhaumick had never been asked to check it.

2. Mr. Gupta points out that the Kaunia *Sebak Samiti* of Barisal does not find any place in the printed report. In this connection Inspector Bhaumick now has given an account of this *Samiti*, and also a brief account of the Fariaputty *Mahajan Samiti*. To illustrate the workings of this last body I append a statement made before me by Shyama Charan Gope, a leading confectioner in Barisal. I may say that this statement has not been made by way of complaint, and I have expressly promised that no proceedings will be based on it.

No. 3.

Dated Barisal, the 14th February 1909.

From—Babu J. C. Bhaumick, Inspector, Criminal Investigation Department, Barisal,

To—The District Magistrate, Bakarganj.

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In obedience to your Worship's verbal order, I made confidential inquiries about the *samitis* in the Bakarganj district in continuation of my previous reports. I beg to submit that at present we have come to know the names of 175 branch *Bandhab Samitis* in the district which were affiliated to the main *samiti* at Barisal; but as Inspector Abdul Zahur Khan has been deputed to verify locally the present condition of these *samitis* and also to collect other particulars, including the names of the members, so I refrain from dealing on those *samitis* for the present. I hope I will be able to do so as soon as the enquiries regarding them are finished by Maulvi Abdul Zahur Khan.

As regards the names of the members of the Barisal *Bandhab Samiti*, a list of which was formerly submitted by Maulvi Abdul Zahur Khan, who was specially deputed for the purpose, I beg to submit that the list does not appear to be a correct one. It appears that names of some important members were not at all included into it and, on the other hand, some names were so added who do not seem to be the members of the *Samiti* nor had they any connection with it; hence I submit a fresh list of the members of the *Samiti* in a separate sheet of paper attached herewith which I think is probably a correct one, including nearly all the members of the main *Samiti* at Barisal. With a view to verify the correctness of the present, I compared the names with the names of the members of the *Samiti* as found in the proceeding books of the meetings of the members which were held from the year 1906 to 1908 seized in the recent house-searches; hence the correctness of the present list can hardly be doubted.

I give below the names with a short description of the persons which are down in the printed list as members of the *samitis* along with others which I think wrongly included into the list, probably on an incorrect information received by the Inspector. I should, therefore, submit that as the names of these persons do not appear in the *samiti* papers, and as far as I know some of them did not at all join in the agitation, so in my humble opinion the printed list may be corrected according to the present one and names of undermentioned persons dealt with as your honour thinks fit.

1. Behari Lal Ray, sometimes found in mixing up with the agitation, but not an enrolled member of the *Samiti*.
2. Chand Mohan Das. There is no such agitator as Chand Mohan Das in the town, but there is a pleader of that name who is Chand Mohan Chatarji, who is always found to keep himself aloof from the agitation.

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3. Sarada Charan Sen, pleader. Was never found to join in any political demonstration and does not appear to be a member of the *Samiti.*
4. Chandra Nath Das. A Government pensioner, although found in mixing up with the agitation and sometimes took part in it by publishing a pamphlet entitled *Hasir Gan* (Comic songs), but does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
5. Kailash Chandra Das. There is no such mukhtear as Kailash Chandra Das, but there is a mukhtear of that name who is a Sen. He is sometimes found to mix up with agitation, but does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
6. Ramesh Chandra Sen. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
7. Dinesh Chandra Guha. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti*, but found in joining political meetings.
8. Ananda Mohan Ray Chaudhuri. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti*, but occasionally found in attending political meetings.
9. Lal Behari Sen. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti*, but found attending political meetings.
10. Dinabandhu Sen. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti*, but was occasionally found in joining some political meetings.
11. Basanta Kumar Das. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti*, but found mixing up with the agitation.
12. Kashiswar Bose. There is no such mukhtear as Kashiswar Bose, but there is one mukhtear of that name who is Kashiswar Dutt; he does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.* Rather on one occasion in favour of a political prosecution in Calcutta against the wishes of the agitators.
13. Jagabandhu Chatterji. There is a mukhtear of this name, but he does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
14. Ramani Mohan Ray Chaudhuri. Is a volunteer, but does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
15. Kailash Chandra Vidyaratna. There is no such pundit in the Broja Mohan Institution, but there is a pundit of the name of Kailash Chandra Bidyabinode, who seems to be a member of the *Samiti.* Hence his name has been entered in the new list.
16. Mathura Natha Sen, teacher, Broja Mohan Institution. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti*, but occasionally found in attending political meetings.

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17. Pyari Mohan Das, teacher, Broja Mohan Institution. Does not appear to be an enrolled member, but occasionally found attending political meetings.
18. Benoy Bhusan Gupta. He is a brother of Mr. N. Gupta. He is not a member of the *Samiti*, nor have I seen him taking any prominent part in any political demonstration in the district.
19. Pyari Mohan Das. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
20. Kula Bhusan Das. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
21. Bilash Chandra Sen. The son-in-law of Vice-Chairman Rajani Kanta Das, and lives in the same mess with him. He does not appear to be a member of the *Samiti.*
22. Durga Das Somaddar. He is known to be a village agitator of his own village. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the main *Samiti.*
23. Hemanta Kumar Sen. Is the proprietor of a sundry shop. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
24. Jogendra Nath Ray. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
25. Radhica Prasanna Ghoshal. There is no such man in the town, and does not appear to be a member of the *Samiti.*
26. Annada Ghosh. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
27. Baikantha Nath Chakravarty. He is an old mukhtear. He does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti.*
28. Sarada Charan Chakravarty. A zamindar of Rahamatpur. He does not appear to be a member of the main *samiti*, but always mixed up with the political agitation and sometimes took prominent part.
29. Dakshina Ranjan Sen. Does not appear to be an enrolled member of the *Samiti*, but found mixing up with the agitation.
30. Rajendra Lal Ghoshal, L.M.S. Was a doctor, but has left Barisal since over a year, and does not appear to be a member of the *Samiti.*

In the printed list Nos. (5) and (6) are not two different persons. Gopal Chandra Mahalanabis is only an *alias* of Upendra Nath Sen Mahalanabis, and No. (49) is a repetition of No. (4), as there is no other Srish Chandra Ray in the town who takes part in the agitation.

I also think that there are a few mistakes in the list of members of Wazirpur, Jhalakati, and Pirojpur lists as printed in the book, which also require slight correction.

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Besides the *Samitis* already noted in the printed book, I have come to know about two more *samitis* in the town namely, Kaunia *Sebak Samiti* and Fariaputty *Mahajan Samiti.* These *Samitis* are also the branches of the *Bandhab Samiti,* and their object and teachings were the same as that of *Bandhab Samiti,* and some of the members of these *Samitis* were common with the addition of a few more members who were only the members of the *Samitis* under report.

I. The Kaunia *Sebak Samiti* used to collect rice as alms from the inhabitants of the Kaunia part of the town through some students of the B. M. Institution, who also were residents of Kaunia. I am told that the idea of such collection of rice from the people's houses was given to them by their teachers. The way in which the rice was collected is this : One earthen pot, with a label on, was made over to every house with instructions that the proprietor of the house would keep a handful of rice every day from the rice which is taken out from the stock for cooking the daily meal of the family twice a day, and on every Sunday a company of students used to visit every house with a sack and take out the rice from the earthen pot which the owner kept therein. By this process there would be a considerable quantity of rice, which was subsequently sold in the market to a shopkeeper and the sale proceeds were made over to Aswini K. Dutt with a view to finance the *Swadeshi Bandhab* Fund. I also come to know that some members of this *Samiti* used to perform some national dramas, such as "Pratapaditya", "Shiraj-ud-daulah" and "Prithvi Raj", etc., with a view to impart national feeling in the minds of the people, and also to show that Indians used to fight for their own country before the English had taken profession of it. The works of this *Samiti* were suspended for the last few months. Probably for this reason it was not included in the former list by the local police.

I give below the names of the members of the *Samiti* and students who use to collect rice as far as I can recollect :

1. *Secretary* — Baikuntha Nath Das, Pleader.

Members

2. Bepin Chandra Das
3. Bocha *alias* Satish Chandra Das
4. Surendra Nath Bose, son of Satya Bhushan Bose
5. Upendra Nath Ghosh
6. Anadi Nath Ray
7. Rakhal Chandra Chatterji, teacher, B. M. Institution
8. Akshoy Kumar Banerji

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9. Nikunja Behari Chatterji
10. Surendra Nath De, son of Prasanna Kumar De, Civil Court amin.
11. Upendra Nath Das, teacher, Kaunia Pathsala
12. Shakha Nath Das
13. Bairagia *alias* Ashutosh Sen
14. Dakshina Ranjan Bose, son of Kalidayal Bose

Students (who collected rice)

1. Bechu, brother of Bepin Chandra Das, 6th class, B. M. Institution
2. Tokra, son of Gobinda Chandra Das, 3rd class, B. M. Institution
3. Debu, son of Tarini Das, 3rd class, B. M. Institution
4. Abira, son of Nibaran Ch. Ghosh, 5th class, B. M. Institution
5. Bhoca, son of Nibaran Ch. Ghosh, 7th class, B. M. Institution
6. Anadi Nath Kusari, 7th class, B. M. Institution
7. Kalia, son of Hori Singh, 7th class, B. M. Institution
8. Debendra Nath Mukerji, son of Sri Ram Mukherji
9. Gopal Chandra Mukherji, son of Sri Ram Mukherji, 5th class
10. Karuna, lives in the house of Nibaran Ghose
11. Bhusa Chakrabarty, son of Mahendra Chakrabarty, 5th class, B. M. Institution
12. Monoranjan Ganguly, son of Radhica Charan Ganguly
13. Kristo Bandhu Ganguly, son of Radhica Ganguly, 6th class, B. M. Institution
14. Surja of the 2nd class, B. M. Institution
15. Jogendra Nath De, son of Subal De
16. Prafulla Ch. Ray, son of Anukul Ch. Ray.

II. The Fariaputty *Mahajan Samiti.* This *Samiti* was founded at the request of Babu Aswini Kr. Dutt with a view to check the business of certain classes of shopkeepers of the town who used to deal in foreign sugar, salt, etc. As far as I have come to know, the members of this *Samiti* exercised great influence over the confectioners and the *mundi* shopkeepers, so much so that on many occasions several shopkeepers were fined for their having dealt in foreign sugar privately in the preparations of the sweets in spite of the bidding of the members. Among the victims I may mention here the names of Shyama Charan Ghose, Durga Charan Halui, and Gagan Maira, some of whom may reveal the secret now. The works of this *Samiti* was also suspended since a few months back. Some of the members of this *Samiti* are also common with the *Bandhab Samiti.*

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President — Dina Bandhu Shaha, son of Guruds Shaha, of Tulasar, police station Palong, district Faridpur.

Members

1. Hari Nath Poddar
2. Raj Mohan Shaha
3. Mohini Mohan Shaha
4. Khetra Nath Shaha
5. Gopi Mohan Shaha
6. Rajani Kanta Shaha
7. Joy Chandra Talukdar
8. Raj Mohan Shaha
9. Ram Gati Gopi

List of persons who are members of the Bandhab Samiti, Barisal

1. Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. Upendra Nath Sen Mahalanabis, zamindar, Basanda
3. Bejoy Mohan Ray, zamindar, Barisal
4. Sri Charan Sen, pleader, Barisal
5. Satish Chandra Chatterji, Professor, B. M. Institution
6. Bhabaranjan Mazumdar, teacher, B. M. Institution
7. Purna Chandra De, pleader
8. Khirode Behari Mukerji, private medical practitioner
9. Behary Lal Biswas, homeopathic practitioner
10. Chitta Ranjan Sen, Secretary, Loan office
11. Abani Mohan Banerji, pleader
12. Akhoy Kumar Sen, pleader
13. Shashi Kanta Gupta, pleader
14. Lalit Mohan Mukherji, pleader
15. Nishi Kanta Bose, paid preacher of the *Samiti.*
16. Tarani Kanta Sen, teacher, B. M. Institution
17. Annada Charan Das Gupta, mukhtear
18. Srish Chandra Ray, paid preacher of the *Samiti*
19. Srish Chandra Das, teacher, B. M. Institution
20. Dina Bandhu Shaha, pleader
21. Ramesh Chandra Bose
22. Rai Charan Biswas, Dr., private practitioner
23. Khetra Nath Ghosh, Professor, B. M. Institution
24. Brahmananda Das, a Brahmo, and agent, National Shoe C..
25. Bepin Behari Das, pleader
26. Durga Prasanna Das Gupta, pleader and law lecturer

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27. Khetra Nath Ganguly, mukhtear
28. Ram Charan Chatterji, mukhtear
29. Hara Nath Ghosh, pleader
30. Nibaran Ch. Das Gupta, pleader
31. Tarini Kr. Gupta, Dr., private practitioner
32. Nagendra Nath Dutt, pleader
33. Baikuntha Nath Das, pleader, Munsiff's Court
34. Amulya Charan Ray, zamindar
35. Satish Ch. Mukerji, teacher, B. M. Institution
36. Kali Kumar Chatterji, Government pensioner
37. Kali Prasanna Ghose, Vice-Principal, B. M. Institution
38. Barada Kanta Banerji, pleader
39. Mati Lal Das, Kaviraj (brother of Mukunda Lal Das, volunteer captain)
40. Nakuleswar Chakravarty, of Rupatali
41. Sarat Chandra Guha, pleader
42. Bepin Behari Ghose, manager Adarsa Press and Library
43. Lalit Mohan Sen, pleader
44. Kedar Nath Kar, proprietor, Satya Prakash Press, Barisal
45. Durga Mohan Sen, editor *Barisal Hitaishi*
46. Rajani Kanta Guha, Principal, B. M. Institution
47. Dhirendra Nath Chaudhury, late Professor, B. M. Institution
48. Bireswar Ganguly
49. Ananda Charan De Das, section-writer, Civil Court
50. Shyama Charan Dutt, pleader
51. Tara Prasanna Sen, mukhtear, Shaistabad estate
52. Bimala Charan Das, Educational clerk, now at Jalpaiguri Deputy Inspector's Office.
53. Surendra Nath Bose, of Chandahi, brother to Janakin N. Bose, clerk, Barisal Magistracy.
54. Hiran Kumar Sen Mahalanabis, zamindar, Basanda
55. Kiran Kumar Sen Mahalanabis, zamindar, Basanda
56. Mahim Mohan Shaha Chaudhury, of Tulasar in Faridpur, merchant, Barisal
57. Ananta Kumar Das
58. Satya Bhusan Das, son of late Gora Chand Das, Government Pleader
59. Surendra Narayan Mitra, late Professor, B. M. Institution
60. Ashutosh Banerji, ex-student, B. M. Institution, 4th year
61. Sarat Chandra Mazumdar
62. Sarat Ch. Ray

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63. Satya Saran Guha, late teacher, B. M. Institution, now a pleader
64. Surja Kumar Guha, gymnastic teacher, B. M. Institution
65. Akshoy Kumar Ganguly, teacher, B. M. Institution
66. Jogendra Kumar Banerji, pleader
67. Durga Mohan Das
68. Babu Deb Kumar Roy, zamindar, Lakutia
69. Aswini Kumar or Kanta Ghattak, pleader
70. Kailash Chandra Bidyabinode, pandit, B. M. Institution
71. Ram Chandra Das, Second Teacher, B. M. Institution
72. Shib Chandra Talukdar, clerk, B. M. Institution
73. Pramatha Nath Biswas, zamindar, Zalabari

J. C. BHAUMICK
Inspector, Criminal Investigation Department

Nos. (69) to (73) are not shown as members in the proceedings but known to Jogesh Babu as such.

No. (70) is captain of the "Little Brothers of the Poor".

W. J. REID

The 14th February 1909

No. 4

Statement of Shyama Charan Gope

I am a confectioner by trade. I use *bilati* sugar in the preparation of sweets. It will be three years next *Baisakh* since a *sradh* ceremony took place in the house of Babu Kali Prasanna Ray of uttar Shabazpur. They had ordered 30 maunds of sweets, of which I was asked to supply seven or eight maunds. At this time all the wholesale dealers of Barisal had given up using *bilati* sugar, and the Fariaputty *Mahajan Samiti* had forbidden the sweet-makers of the place to use *bilati* sugar, but I used *bilati* sugar in the making of the seven maunds of sweets mentioned above. The agitators got scent of this and at once informed Babu Kali Prasanna Ray, and brought pressure to bear on him to make him refuse to take delivery of the goods. Kali Prasanna babu's men brought a few professional men with them, who, after examining the sweets, came to the conclusion that these were prepared with *bilati* sugar. They cancelled the order on the spot. I represented to the Fariaputty *Mahajan Samiti* that it would mean a great loss to me, and prayed for the order.The *Samiti* thereupon decided that the order would be placed with me if I agreed to distribute the sweets already

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made (with *bilati* sugar) to *bairagis*, and also to pay a further fine of Rs. 25, with which rice would be purchased to be similarly distributed. I agreed. Gopi shaha was the spokesman of the *Samiti*. He came with seven or eight men to carry away the sweets. Some other men came, but I do not remember their names. The fine also (Rs. 25) I paid to Gopi Shaha. the *Samiti* proclaimed by beat of drum that these sweets would be distributed to beggars and asked them to congregate at the Raja Bahadur's *Haveli*. I was then allowed to supply my share of the order. I had to take my men to the house of Kali Babu and prepare my sweets with *swadeshi* sugar there. Aswini Babu and others at this time said that there would be no row if I made the sweets with sugar turned out by the Kashipur factory. This transaction meant a loss of Rs. 250 to me. For a few days I stopped using *bilati* sugar, and then used it again surreptitiously. There was not much difference in the price of the two sugars, but *bilati* sugar is cleaner and people do not like the look of sweets made with dirty *swadeshi* sugar. But as an immediate effect of the boycott of *bilati* sugar the price of the *swadeshi* article went up. In *Aswin* last I got a notice which stated that "Shyama Ghosh makes large sweets with *bilati* sugar", and which asked people not to buy from me.

Every one buys from me. I supplied sweets to the Conference during its sitting here. Those sweets also were made with bilati sugar. Now I openly use bilati sugar. As a matter of fact, every one does the same. Now batasha made from bilati sugar is selling in thousands of maunds at Jhalakati, though its sale was at a dead stop two years back. I am not molested now, and I am sure that the old free state of affairs will obtain again very soon, and that every one will be allowed to do just what he likes. The interference of the Mahajan Samiti was simply the outcome of their intention to cheat the retail dealers. On every maund of swadeshi sugar they used to charge us Re. 1 to Rs. 2 more than the current price, but they could not charge more than As. 6 to As. 12 on a maund of bilati sugar, as the price of the latter is regularly quoted in the newspapers.

No. 5

No. 1866S., dated Dacca, the 6th January 1909
Memo—By the Commissioner, Dacca Division

Copy, with copy of enclosures, forwarded to the Chief Secretary for information. The letter relates to papers found in the recent Barisal searches which have special reference to Dacca. Ananda Chandra Ray proved to be more potent than Ananda Chandra Chakrabarti on this

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occasion, since two delegates went from Dacca to the Madras Conference. The replies to Aswini Babu's circular should be of great interest.

No. 6

Demi-official No. 1327C., dated Bakarganj, the 2nd-3rd January 1909

From—W.J. REID, Esq. I.C.S.

To—R. NATHAN, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

2. The other is a most interesting document. I send you a copy of its and a copy of the circular letter which was apparently issued by Aswini Babu to numerous people in different districts, asking for their opinion about the coming Congress. We have got a large number of such replies and shall send copies of them to you in due course. The correspondence shows clearly the influence wielded by Aswini Babu in political matters throughout Eastern Bengal. And at least one letter was addressed to Sylhet.

Barisal

25th November 1908

Dear

I shall feel much obliged if you will kindly let me know what you are going to do about the Congress. It seems the Nationalists of Bombay and Nagpur are going to call a Congress at Nagpur. Will you join the Conventionalist' Congress at Madras or the Nationalists' at Nagpur, or keep yourself aloof from either? Some are of opinion that we shouldn't join either, but hold public meetings in districts protesting against the unconstitutional procedure of the Conventionists and their defiance of the resolutions of the Bengal and Bombay Provincial Conference and should wait one year to see if a united Congress could be brought about. An early reply will vastly oblige.

Yours sincerely,

No. 7

Demi-official No. 2451S., dated Dacca, the 17th February 1909

From—H. LeMesurier, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

To—The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Lyon, C.S.I., I.C.S.

In continuation of Nathan's letter No. 1866 of the 6th January, I forward the following papers :—

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(a) A copy of the account page of the *Anushilan Samiti* found at Barisal.
(b) Copies of the replies to Aswini Babu's circular. These show that on the whole the Extremists' opinion prevailed in the province and that Aswini was regarded as its exponent.
(c) Proceedings of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* during the years 1313-1314 B. S.
(d) Second and third proceedings of the same *Samiti.*
(e) Copy of the proceedings book of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti.*

Reid sends these documents without comment, and I have only to invite attention to the complete confirmation they afford of every assertion that has been made regarding this *Samiti* in our reports to the Government of India regarding it and the complicity in its proceedings of Aswini Kumar Dutt, Satish Chandra Chatterji and the staff of the Broja Mohan Institution generally. I venture to suggest that these papers might with advantage be printed and added to the compilation regarding *Samitis* in the Dacca Division.

No. 8

Demi-official No. 1626C., dated Bakarganj, the 11th February 1909

From— W. J. REID, Esq, I.C.S.
To—H. LeMesurier, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Will you please refer to Nathan's letter No. 1885S, dated the 7th January last. I now send a copy of the account page of the *Anushilan Samiti* for Salkeld's information.

2. I send also copies of the replies received to Aswini Babu's circular which we found among the papers seized.

Translation of account sheet of the Anushilan Samiti

	Credit				Debit		
	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
	75	11	0	Lent to Tarini Babu	5	0	0
J. Babu	5	0	0	" to *Swadeshi Bandhab*	13	0	0
J. Babu	5	0	0	" for constructing the house	63	11	0
	85	11	0	" to Debu Das (on account of the house)	2	0	0
Credit	85	11	0				
Debit	83	11	0		83	11	0
	2	0	0				
	(balance in hand)						

26th *Sraban* 1315 B.S.

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8th August—				Given to Jatin Babu to go to Dacca	8	0	0
Jagadish Basu	11	0	0	To Tarini Babu for paying of the thatchers	2	0	0
Pyari Babu	5	0	0	Lent to Jatin	2	0	0
				To Tarini Babu for thatching grass	6	0	0

Jalpaiguri

(1) The 5th December 1908

My dear Sir,

In reply to your letter asking me to tell you the course the Jalpaiguri public intend to adopt regarding the coming Congress at Madras, I beg to inform you that the opinion is practically unanimous here as to the advisability of not joining the Congress at Madras, but the opinion is somewhat divided as to whether some one from here should attend the National Congress at Nagpur. Friends at Rangpur and Dinajpur are being written to with a view to ascertain the course they are likely to adopt. Bireswar is not here; he is now practicing at Alipur, 24-Parganas. His opinion has also been sought in the matter. Speaking for myself, I quite agree with you and I intend to hold aloof from either of the Congress.

With the kindest regards,
I am,
Yours Sincerely,
Tarini Prasad Roy

(2)

Beadon Street, Calcutta
The 6th December 1908

My dear Sir,

I apologise for the delay in answering your circular letter of the 25th.

I was present at the Conference at the *Patrika* office, and fully concurred in the proceedings.

It is out of the question that we can attend the Madras Congress.

I put to Mati Babu and he approved that we should boycott the Madras Congress.

I was asked by Dr. Moorji at the Conference as to whether we should not have a separate Congress. I answered in the negative. This is what I

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shall do. Stand absolutely aloof except condemning the Madras Congress.

Yours sincerely,
Kamini K. Chander

(3)

Office of the Surma Valley Association, Sylhet, The 2nd December 1908.

My dear Sir,

In reply to your letter *re* the ensuing Indian National Congress, I beg to state that I had circulated your letter to the resident members of the Surma Valley Association in this town. Almost all are of opinion not to join either. However, we shall be waiting for a reply from you as to what you decide to before we come to any final decision on the matter.

Your letter reached me only day before yesterday, and as you want an early reply, I communicate to you the opinion of the members of the Central Committee of the Surma Valley Association. I have not been able to consult the opinion of the five subdivisional *Samities*. However, I shall try to consult their opinion in the meantime. We fully agree with the opinion expressed in the concluding portion of your letter.

Yours sincerely,
Nikunja Behary Dutt
Secretary, Surma Valley Association

(4)

Chandpur,
The 3rd December, 1908

My dear Aswini Babu,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 25th ultimo. The country is passing through a crisis. The problem before us is difficult to solve, but the publication of Mr. Metha's letter has made the solution somewhat easier. If some of the Bengal delegates join the Madras Congress at Madras, I do not see why the Bengal Nationalists should not attend the Nagpur Congress. I have yet doubts whether Government would allow the holding of any Congress at Nagpur this year. But if such a gathering is possible at Nagpur, I do not see why the Bengal Nationalists should not try their best to make it a success. If none from Bengal joins the Madras Congress, then of course in my humble opinion the Bengal Nationalists should also not join the Nagpur Congress. I view of the remarks made by Mr. Mehta, and the attitude of some of the

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Madras Moderates, I think none should join the Madras Congress.

Yours truly,
Hara Doyal Nag

(5)

Rangpur,
The 1st December 1908

My dear Aswini Babu,

I am in receipt of your favour.

I am to keep myself aloof this year from either of the Congresses. We will not elect any delegate this year for either. I am also for a united Congress. If that cannot be done, we will see what we ought to do for the next year.

Difference of opinion on such a matter in district towns will surely tell upon the real progress of the country. And as there is every probability of getting divisions in every district town, it is better to defer it as long as we can.

Yours sincerely,
Umes Chandra Gupta

(6)

P.O. Bekiteka, Barisal
The 1st December 1908

To—Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt, Barisal.

My dear Sir,

I am just in receipt of your favour of the 25th ultimo regarding the Indian National Congress. I am certainly not prepared to join the Conventionalist' Congress at Madras, as a united Congress has been made possible by Sir Ferojshah Mehta's reply to Srijut Bhupendra Nath Bose's negotiations for compromise suggestions at a meeting held in Calcutta on the 17th ultimo, under the chairmanship of Srijut Mati Lal Ghose, and undertaken by some of the leading Bengal Congressmen; nor I am very enthusiastic about the Congress which the nationalists of Bombay and Nagpur are going to call at Nagpur, although I do not conceal my sympathy with the promoters of the proposed Nagpur Congress. Considering, however, the present political situation of the country, I am at one in thinking with those who are of opinion that we should not join either but hold public meetings in districts protesting against usurping the name of the Indian National Congress by a gathering of men meeting together under an unauthorised and unconstitutional scheme of exclusive rules, conditions and restrictions. As it seems the leading "Moderates" of Bengal also do not approve the position taken by Sir Ferojshah Mehta which takes to be the position of other "big guns" of Bombay, Madras and North-Western

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Provinces, I confidently believe the course of aloofness from either will receive general support in the Bengali-speaking provinces.

Yours sincerely,
Sarindra Chandra Sinha

(7)

Bogra,
The 29th November 1908

My dear Aswini Babu,

Your letter reached me when we were vacillating what to do. I have referred the question to the Bar Library, and as I am going out I give my individual opinion. We cannot make a dissension in the Congress. I think Nationalist Congress will be approved by Government, so I am not for holding a separate Congress at Poona or Nagpur. If the Madras Congress does not take our four resolutions, we should not go there also. My opinion is, this year we should not join the Congress at all, as did Punjab for some years, and will join it whenever the deference is settled. In the meantime we may in the Christmas in our district towns, or if our leaders agree we may hold a Conference in Calcutta or Hughli of our united Bengal. I will be highly obliged by your kind reply.

Yours very sincerely,
Pyari Sankar Das Gupta

(8)

Pabna,
The 7th December 1908

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter dated the 25th November 1908, I beg to state that the Pabna people stick to the resolutions passed at the Pabna Provincial Conference on the subject of an united Congress of both the parties arrived at the instance of the All-India Congress Committee and not by the Convention. We will not join any sectional Congress be that called by the Moderates or Nationalists. The proposed Madras or the Nagpur Congress may have our sympathy and support if any of them is for a united Congress of all parties and political creeds. We hold ourselves aloof if that is not compiled with.

Yours sincerely,
MOHIM CHANDRA MAZUMDAR
Pleader and Secretary, Bar Library
Pabna

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(9)

Mymensingh,
The 30th November 1908

My dear Aswini Babu,

I think the best thing that we can do is to watch the course of events by keeping ourselves aloof from both the Congresses, the Conventionalist and the Nationalist. Mr. Mehta's letter has destroyed all prospects of any union this year. Such an intemperate and atrocious letter was not expected from a person of his age and position. We need not hold meetings, but we must announce in some shape our attitude in this matter.

I am not well, I am thinking of going to Benares for change by middle of December.

Yours sincerely,
Anath Bandhu Guha

(10)

Hospital Road Buildings,
Chittagong, the 29th November 1908

My dear Aswini Babu,

Thanks for the letter. My most positive opinion is—and I believe I express the feelings of a very considerable section of our countrymen — that Bengal must not under the circumstances, and having regard to the happenings of the past few weeks, join either the unconstitutional Conventionists' Madras Congress which seems to be the personal property of a few, or the Nagpur affair which cannot be expected to be an affair worthy of the present occasion. Before an united Congress is made possible we must meet either in the Bengal Provincial Congress, whose resolutions have been nullified, or any other Conference to be convened for the purpose. The attitude of the authorities must be comprehended and not overlooked, and in Bengal it is most so. I quite follow you in the suggestion that there should be protest meetings.

Yours sincerely,
Jamini Kanta Sen

(11)

Dacca,
The 30th November 1908

My dear Aswini Babu,

I duly received your favour of the 25th instant.

I have been seriously considering the question as to whether we

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should join the Conventionist Congress at Madras, or the Nationalists' Congress proposed to be held at Nagpur, or hold ourselves aloof from both. The question is so exceedingly difficult that I hesitate to express a *decided* opinion at the present stage as I may have to alter it on farther consideration and in reference to later developments.

As at present inclined, I am for holding aloof from both, if no means can be devised for holding a united Congress at Madras. But every true lover of the country should make an earnest endeavour to unite all parties and have a united Congress. Nothing can be a greater disaster to the best interests of the country than to allow the Congress to die at this critical juncture. It is only institution which can focus the united educated opinion in the country and formulate schemes and measure for the amelioration of its condition. I know you are one of the sincerest workers in the country, and I am therefore confident that you will not grudge to make any sacrifice to unite all shades of opinion and have a united Congress.

Before concluding this letter I am bound to say that the Bengal proposals were very fair, and Bengal may have made further concessions if approached in a fair spirit. But Sir Ferojshah Mehta's letter has naturally caused great irritation and made reconciliation more difficult. We should not however despair. The best interest of the country demand that we should shake off the irritation and throw our whole heart into the matter of bringing about a reconciliation between all parties and thus save an institution so dear to our heart.

Yours sincerely,
Trailyakya Nath Basu

(12)

Bhola,
The 30th November 1908

My dear Aswini Babu,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th instant. I have consulted all my friends here, and they all agree with me in holding that we should wait one year to see if a united Congress could be brought about instead of joining either of the Congresses this year. If you decide to hold public meetings in the district for purposes of protesting agaist the unconstitutional procedure of the Conventionist, etc., we will take part in it.

Yours sincerely,
Rajani Nath Rai (In Bengali)

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(13)

Malda
The 2nd December 1908

My dear Sir,

In reply to your favour of the 25th ultimo, about the Congress, I have the honour to inform you that I have consulted my friends here, and almost all of them are of opinion that we should wait at least one year to see if a united Congress may be convened. We are going to join neither the Conventionist Conference at Madras nor the Nationalist one at Nagpur. I beg to be informed when we should hold the public meeting you suggested, and what sort of resolutions should we pass if it would be necessary to send copies of our resolutions to the conveners of Congress at Madras and Nagpur. An early reply will greatly oblige.

Yours sincerely,
Radhica Chandra Sen

(14)

Ghoramara, Rajshahi
The 29th November 1908

My dear Aswini Babu,

Received your kind letter. Bengal is unanimous that a division in the Congress camp is not at all desirable. The majority of the delegates at Surat joined in forming the Convention Committee. I attended the Convention meeting at Allahabad. We Bengal members in a body tried our best to effort a compromise. As the circumstances stand now, it would be a disaster to have two Congresses instead of one united Congress for the whole India. We are going to have our standing Congress Committee here affiliated under the new rules framed by the Convention. Myself, Akshay and a few others are likely to attend the Madras Congress. Kindly do your best to avoid a split. Let us meet under the new constitution and discuss the situation together. Even if there be any difficulty, a separate meeting can be held at Madras, as was done at Surat. Kindly use your influence and anyhow induce our Nationalist friends to assemble at Madras, so that an effort may be made there for a united Congress. Hope you will not fail to be with us at Madras.

I am well. Hope you are now in good health.

I remain, yours very sincerely,
Kisori Mohan Chaudhuri

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(15)

The 30th November 1908

Dear Sir,

On receipt of your letter I consulted the leaders here. Nobody seems to be in favour of either of the proposed Congresses. As matters stand, I do not think anybody from Dacca town will attend any of the Congress meetings. I seriously think that the Bombay Nationalists should be dissuaded from holding a Congress this year. Let them postpone it this time and see what turn matters take during the course of the coming year.

As regards the third alternative, even in the meetings proposed united action is not probable, so that it would be giving a new handle to mischievous people by showing a division.

Yours sincerely,
Ananda Chandra Chakravarty

Demi-official No. 1631C., dated Barisal, the 14th February 1909

From—W. J. Reid, Esq., I.C.S.

To—H. LeMesurier, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Will you please refer to my No. 1319C., of 23rd December last, to Nathan, giving lists of the documents, etc., seized in the three hours that were searched in Barisal. I had intended to send on all the papers when they were complete. As you are aware, Maulvi Khabiruddin Ahmad is still hard at work translating. As, however, some of the papers which he has already done may be of use to Salkeld. I now send you copies of—

1. Proceedings of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti,* item 1 of list No. I
2. Second and Third Annual Proceedings of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti,* Item 16 of list No. I
3. History of the second Year of the *Swadeshi* movement, item 17 of list No. I

For the present I refrain from commenting on these documents.

No. 9

History of the second year of the Swadeshi Movement

22nd Sraban 1313-1314 B.S.

To-day *Swadeshi* movement steps into the second year. The second year's history is the history of its success. Fickleness is the greatest fault of the intelligent Bengalis. This fault lessens his determination and makes him quite incompetent on the field of action. This is the principal

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stigma in the character of the Bengalis. But in the second year of the *swadeshi* movement the Bengalis have partly set themselves free from that stain. The indomitable vow just begun not being suddenly suppressed with the hot breath of despair stably led the Bengalis into the path of eternal welfare. Hence I was saying that the second year's history is the success of the *swadeshi* movement. The *swadeshi* movement, which was at first adopted for the purpose of retaliating or counteracting the bitter insult offered by the partition of Bengal, was held fast as an infallible weapon for the solution of the financial problem of India. The *swadeshi* movement then rose beyond financial policy and became a political, social, and even a religious movement. Boycott is its inseparable friend and was therefore hailed. Hence during this year the *swadeshi* movement shone out with full splendour, gradually piercing through the garb of liberation when the policy of settled fact of Mr. Morley the philosopher, was discovered. The Bengalis cried—"Partition or no partition, *swadeshi* for ever", and the final turn of this declaration would be in "*swaraj*". When everybody understood that the gaining of partial remedy will not put an end to miseries and poverty, disease and disorer, and insults, persecutions prevalent over the mother country, then *swaraj* being considered to be the last hope of welfare, it was proclaimed in a thundering voice from the pandal of the Congress.

The influence of this *swadeshi* has spread in all direction. To-day we will discuss the history of the last year in Barisal.

On this day last year we took part in the annual ceremony with the respected Surendra Nath Banarji, the deceased Kabyabisharad, and Maulvi Dedar Bux under the presidency of Srijut Motahar Hossain, the pride of Barisal and the ornament of the Musalman society. Alas, we feel much pain to recollect that two of the genuine patriots have left us in this critical time, and entirely departed. National life is essential and immortal. Hence we should not be overcome by sorrow. We hope we will soon see them amongst us in a fresh spirited form. With their help we launched into the field of action on this auspicious day. The result was never bad.

Boycott and Swadeshi

Boycott and *swadeshi* are our main objects. With a view to accomplish this boycott village *samitis* were formed. Those *samitis*, having gradually taken charge of all work, have taught the principles of self-help. The country will not be saved from the clutches of everlasting poverty by boycotting British or foreign goods. Self-Government is the

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way to this solution. For this purpose the village *samitis* have by starting arbitration *samitis* decided their cases and suits. By this, on one hand, expenses have been curtailed, so, on the other, the decisions have been very fair. We may in this connection make a mention of the village Terachar. This village, inhabited by the Namasudras, was saved from the dreadful jaws of litigation. They have even given up registering their documents. They execute documents by putting the thumb impressions in the presence of five mandals of the village. If anybody denies the execution of the document, he is subjected to social discipline and punished. What other example can there be for self-help ? But famine afforded a greater opportunity to the people of Barisal to learn self-help. Self-praise is not to be sung, or else the portion is to be narrated in the language of the speaker. Never was such an excellent preparation made to fight with such widespread famine. If the work of which the foundation is sincerity, of which the motto is the worship of the country, and of which the motive is righteousness does not succeed, then there can be no success in the world. Hence during a fane of three or four months not more than a thousand rupees was spent in distributing rice of eighty thousand rupees in villages and town. Thanks to the patience of the hero of action and thanks to their capacity of work, thanks to their love for the country, and thanks to their feeling of brotherhood. Now those bands of active men having been named "National Volunteer", has become and eye-sore of the subject-loving Government. A quarter portion of the strength of Barisal was spent in constantly fighting against the famine lasting from *Sraban* to *Aswin*. Yet *swadeshi* and boycott movement did not slacken in Barisal. It was rather more properly conducted. At the time of the *Durga Puja* not a jot of *bilati* article was sold in the district.

Attempt for repressing swadeshi

But whatever help the authorities might have given during the famine, they left no stone unturned to repress the *swadeshi*. Over and above of stopping of open picketing they did not feel ashamed to adopt other despicable means. At this time they tried head and heart to introduce *bilati* articles in khas mahals. They compelled the shopkeepers to sell *bilati* goods with the threat of driving them off from *bilati* bazars. About this time open attempts were made to excite the Muhammadans against the Hindus by sending a Deputy Magistrate, named Abdul Aziz, to Sarupkati side. Although the subject was discussed in a newspaper, the authorities did not desist from carrying on this good work.

On the other hand, *parwanas* were sent to the police to collect information about the village *samitis*. On the occurrence of a salt case

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the punishment of the accused was a settled fact. Sarat Ghosh, the Sub-Inspector of Police of Nazirpur, was punished for having reported a salt case as false. Besides these, a salt depot has been established in the compound of the District Board with the utmost effort of Government. Attempts have also been made to open a salt depot in front of the Civil Court at Patuakhali.

Besides these, not an inconsiderable attempt has been made by giving punishments on supposition in salt cases.

The doctor and school pandit of Burguna were transferred on suspicion that they used to take part in the *swadeshi* movement. Five Sub-Inspectors were suspended and one was dismissed. When this scheme in suppressing *swadeshi* by minor means was being displayed, Muhammadan huliganism commenced in Comilla, Jamalpur, Dacca, and Rajshahi, which showed that, on account of the open encouragement of Government officials, the Muhammadans were being excited to repress the Hindus. It was given out that on the 8th *Jaistha* the Musalmans would attack the Hindus in Barisal. Then fully realising the state of Comilla and other places, the public began to learn help and *lathi*-play began in every house. Every one determined to defend his property and wife and children in case of an attack. When on the night of the 24th *Baisakh* information of disturbance was actually received from Kashipur, the inhabitants of the whole town running *lathi* in hand in that direction, the authorities were then suddenly brought to their senses. They understood that it was a hard place; that attack meant death. But the Magistrate is not a man to retreat. He, without allaying the fear of the frightened and panic-stricken people, brought soldiers, band after band, on this plea, and within a few days quartered them at Jhalakati as punitive police for the crime of the people for selling *swadeshi* articles. Walking with Lathis in hand on the roads was stopped. And men after men were arrested for disobeying orders and severely punished. About this time the leaders began to be harassed in a novel way. At Kaukhali Bandar the Secretary of the *Swadesh Bandhab* was persecuted by the Gurkhas. In the town lamps began to be put out at night and business of the people stopped. Travellers were persecuted by their umbrellas being broken. In short, Barisal then trembled under the foot of the police men.

Within a short time ordinance was passed. Meetings and *samitis* were stopped.

Persecution of the two Maulvis and of the students

After this Maulvis Leakat Hossein and Abdul Gaffur were arrested under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, and then under section 124A, Indian Penal Code. This is another indication of the desire of

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suppressing *Swadeshi.* Some innocent boys were persecuted by Mahabir for being the volunteers of Aswini Babu. Police disturbances commenced in the villages also at the same time as in the town. Jhalakati, Baufal, and Wazipur became their real theater of action.

Such attempts of suppressing the *swadeshi* were going on, but we find that to *swadeshi* movement is gaining victory by thwarting all such attempts.

Swadeshi case

Utmost has been brought about in the country by many false cases being fabricated in support of the cause of Government. On the other hand, in consequence of the above movements *swadeshi* was assumed a stronger form. In all, 25 *swadeshi* cases were brought during this year, and in most of them unjust and undue punishment were given. But is much to be congratulated that many accepted their punishment with cheerful countenance in the name of the motherland.

Preaching

The previous method was given up in the town, and a new method was adopted. Holding of meetings in *mahallas* being prevented, the sittings were held in Raja Bahadur's Haveli. On these occasions Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutta, Srijut Rajani Kanta Guha, Srijut Nibaran Chandra Das, Srijut Dhirendra N. Chaudhuri, Srijut Sri Charan Sen, and others delivered speeches instructing and encouraging the pubic in all ways. These meetings were a good means for preaching. Those who some times doubt about the necessity of speeches will now understand what an amount of inconvenience has been caused by the stoppage of meetings. We may in this connection say that we have suffered a serious loss on account of Dhirendra Babu's leaving Barisal.

Srijut Bepin Chandra Pal and Krishna Rao came to Barisal and delivered three speeches about *swaraj.* The people of Barisal were much awakened and encouraged by hearing their thoughtful, stirring speeches. Barisal it therefore much indebted to those two noble men.

Preaching in mofussil

Preaching in mofussil has been much less this year than the last because the villages became so much troubled with the severity of the dire famine that they would not turn their attention to external affairs of *swadeshi.* But yet there was no lack of preaching to the utmost. Speakers went to the following villages and preached *swadeshi* : —

Bhandaria, Jhalakati, Niamati, Batagi, Khulna, Bhola, Partha, Hasthi Sundar, Patuakhali, Kulkati, Rupatali, Santia, Phuljhuri,

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Kakchira, Angaria, Gabha, Dehergati, Kanaiganj, Goal Bhaor, Wazirpur, and Goila. Besides these, there was no necessity for preaching in many villages, because repeatedly hearing of *swadeshi, swaraj,* and boycott, they were stamped in the minds of the people. Hence many villages did not purposely invite the preacher.

Boycott and social discipline

We launched into the field to boycott *bilati* goods, but in the end it was found that, with a view to accomplishing our object, setting right our own houses were necessary. Hence it became necessary to boycott those who had caused mischief in the work of the country for their small self-interest, otherwise it grew to be impossible to do the work. For the welfare of the country a friend is to be deserted. This is the order of the world. If small self-interest are not sacrified before noble object, then that noble object cannot be gained.

Hence was it that Rajani Babu was openly rebuked in the meeting for a difference of opinion. His fault was that in spite of his being a competent person he had not so much strength of mind as he ought to have in the present unsteady field of politics. Hence we have been compelled to leave him out from the field of politics.

Ganga Charan Das, of Wazirpur, is in fact a *swadeshi,* but he does not want to lose his interest for his country and has not, therefore, agreed to sever his connection with the traitors to the *swadeshi* cause — shopkeepers. It has been necessary to boycott him for this meanness.

Purna Chandra Chakrabatti defended the case of Mr. Jack for his own self-interest against the desire of the public, and hence he became blameable to all. The case of Mr. Jack *versus* Aswini Babu was a case against all the country. Purna defended Mr. Jack in such a case for keeping his son in steady service. If the bitter hatred of the country be not shown towards him, then towards whom to be shown ?

Hence what was settled to be applied to specified articles was thought proper to be applied to specified persons, and in fact it has been proved that *swadeshi* gained a footing as much easily and firmly in these districts as the boycott weapon was used in them. Hence when Durga Charan Shaha of Chawk Bazar dealt a death-blow to faith and to the country by indenting *bilati* cloth, then the Shaha community had showed their real spirit and love for the country by excommunicating him. When being led astray by the fascination of spies, Krishna Brindaban Shaha, Radha Kanta, Madan Mohan Shaha, and Sonatan Madan Mohan Shaha indented *bilati* goods, even then the patriotic Shaha community

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boycotted them with their exemplary spirit. The general public also severed all connection with these and kept them as hated downcast people. Then the noble heart-piercing example which was witnessed during the *Sri Panchami* bears no comparison, and for that example along the success of the *swadeshi* would be proclaimed. The Brahmins who performed the *pujas* of the Shahas scornfully refused the offer of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, thus stopped *puja* in the house of the traitors to the country. A horrible cry ran through the town. But this did not completely awaken the wicked people. By being induced with sweet words of Mr. Emerson, made preparations for *Kali Puja,* but nobody joined. Then came of the annual festival. Brindaban is an inhabitant of village Shamsidhi in the Dacca district. There about 3,000 people take part in feast. This year not more than 13 attended. All articles of food were thrown away. The power of action which Dacca has shown is incomparable. Thousands of volunteers, without caring for he sun and hunger, surrounded villages extending over 10 miles and turned away the people from the feast by explaining to them the impropriety of the act. The people of the country were amazed to hear this and praised them with staring eyes. In this way social discipline being carried on, the *swadeshi* movement went on steadily well. But it is much to be regretted that social boycott was not so firmly made use of in town as in the villages. It is for this reason that Barindaban Shaha's shop is yet standing and Ganga Charan Das and Purna Charan Chakravarty are yet showing their faces in human society. The town people should therefore be ashamed before the village people.

BHOLA OCCURRENCE
Volunteer

Volunteer is a wonderful creation of the *swadeshi* movement. Those whom we so long heard only in May and whom we saw in pleasure meetings now assumed the form of active men. Without caring for honor or dishonor, without ever being idle or unmindful, without caring the sun or rain, without caring for peace or happiness, and without caring for food or sleep, they are gong on picketing in every country and village in every *hat* and bazar; are distributing rice and patrolling with lathis in hand. They have done many hazardous work without caring for their own safety or without caring for the frown of the police. When the fear of attack of the hooligans was very strong, then many towns and villages considered themselves safe by depending on them. We have received proof of their dutifulness at Jhalakati, Torkie, Narayanganj, and other places of their wonderful tact and courage at Madaripur. In this connection we cannot but praise the tactics of Srijut Satish Chandra

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Chatarji. We had been feeling the want of such a leader. But by God's grace we have got this hero of action. Every one is charmed with his affable manners, hence his orders are readily carried out. May God for ever keep this leading love for the country awakened in their mind. The country will again gain glory in the near future.

Athletic Exercise

Amongst all these happy things it was to be deeply deplored that we had no desire to train up these powerful devotees to their country. It is true that a gymnasium on a small scale was opened at one time, but for want of a permanent instructor and for want of funds this most important work is not being done. Nowadays work cannot be done by volunteers in name only. Not being properly strengthened, they are suffering defeats and reverses at every step. Are there no men in the country who can contribute some amount of money for this purpose ? Arrangements could have been then made to instruct them in horsemanship and in wielding *lathis* and swords. It is hoped special attention will be paid towards this.

Conclusion

We have been so long presenting to the reader the brief history of the last year. We have, in the commencement of the article said that the last year's history of the *swadeshi* movement will be the history of its success. I do not know whether the audience have realised the full significance of my assertion. Endeavour for action is a proof of the life of human beings. Those who long for idle happiness or indolence cannot enjoy a real life. Those who being leading creatures want to live in glory befitting a man shall have every day to pass through many battles, and many dangers and persecutions must happen in them. Those who are willing to survive in those battles for their firmness will ultimately remain in the glory. There is no power in the world which can thwart the endeavor for action of the diligent. God himself is ever ready to reward actives. Hence we say *swadeshi* has won the victory. During these three years of the commencement of the *swadeshi* movements we passed through many tempests and hurricanes but despair. On the other hand, we always kept the ever propitious *swadeshi* movement alive by defending ourselves by fresh means against novel persecutions, and absolutely depending on God, we believe that no enemy will be able to defeat us. We are seeing the blazing ray of that hope in every country. Every day we find new person coming down to the field of action with fresh feeling. In the place where a feeble cloud of despair had come in, we are seeing the

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strong ray of the sun free from the cloud. hence we hope that this misery, poverty, and persecution of ours will come to an end in the near future. Those courageous and bold will surely enjoy this result—there is no doubt about it.

Bande Mataram

No. 10

Second and Third Annual Proceedings of the Swadesh Bandhab Sammilani

He by Whose grace we had been able, by overcoming hundreds of dangers and obstacles, to assemble here on this pandal after two years, He by Whose blessing we have been able to proceed in our way in spite of hundreds of misfortunes, He who has laid the thread of our national rise by awakening us with a current of thought in these days of national degradation to Him we offer our sincere prayer before the commencement of the proceedings of this humble gathering.

Establishment and object

The object of the *Swadesh Bandhab* is remove the wretched financial condition of Barisal and to teach it self-help. With these objects in view this *Samiti* was formed on the 6th of August 1905.

Branch Samitis

After the establishment of this *Samiti* in the town of Barisal, its branch *samitis* were started at each subdivision, and at each big village or a group of small villages for carrying out the work according to its objects. At present these branch *samitis* are 159 in number. We hope their number will till more increase. For carrying on all work, the *Swadesh Bandhab* has an Executive Committee and a General Committee, and the mufassil *samitis* have also Executive Committees under them.

Work is carried on by the *samitis* in the following way :—

1. To decide village disputes and quarrel as far as possible by self-chosen arbitration courts without taking the shelter of the courts of justice.
2. To explain to the general public the necessity and utility of using *swadeshi* articles and of boycotting the foreign goods, and to encourage them to obey the vow. To improve and foster such industries in the circle, such as weaving cloth, preparing pots and mats. To start such industries in the circle if not already existing in it.

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3. To improve the health of the village, to try to increase the strength of the boys, to prevent the use of intoxicating drugs, and to spread female education.

For carrying out all these objects four preachers have been permanently appointed by the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti.* These preachers go through villages and request the people to give effect to the objects of the *Samiti.* Besides these, the members of the *Samiti* occasionally go over to the mufassil and encourage the people.

Last year, on account of Government orders, the second anniversary of *Swadesh Bandhab Sammilani* could not be celebrated. Hence we shall have this time to survey the work of the last two years.

Last two years many obstacles were thrown in way of the work of the *Samiti.*

1st and the 4th *Jaistha* 1314 B.S., the Magistrate proclaimed, by beat of drum, that no general political meeting should be held anywhere, either in town or in the mufassil, without his permission. The result was that nobody asked the Magistrate for permission and no general meetings were held.

A few days after this a final order issued with the sanction of His Excellency the Governor-General to the effect that nowhere in Bakarganj should general political meetings be held. When this period of six months was just elapsing, a novel law was passed in Legislative Council of the Governor-General, and in whole India the Act was enforced in Bakarganj alone. According to the provision of this Act general political meetings could not be held in Bakarganj for another period of six months. Such provisions deprived the people of Bakarganj of their natural rights. All the gentlemen assembled here are aware that nothing unlawful happened at Jhalakati, the principal seat of trade in Bakarganj. The Hindus and Muhammadans were carrying on their business on friendly terms. Not to speak of Jhalakati port, there was never any so-called *swadeshi* case even in the Jhalakati thana, but yet Government quartered punitive police there at the expense of the innocent subjects. Punitive police were also quartered at Wazirpur and Baufal. How these punitive police and the detectives are doing their duties is not worthy of being mentioned before gentlemen.

The object of stationing about 200 Pathan and Gurkha sepoys is known only to Government. In the beginning they used to oppress the people without cause, but have now been restrained. Everybody knows how the Police *Saheb* went to Kaukhali with the Gurkhas and prosecuted Srijut Satish Chandra Chatarji. We heard that the Gurkhas were slightly punished for that. A man who was sent to Patuakhali by the *Samiti* to

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collect money on its behalf was arrested by the police, brought to Barisal, and let off. Another man of the *Samiti* was cowardly beaten by the police. During the last two years the members had to carry on the work amidst several such disadvantages. But we are glad to say that we are proceeding onward in spite of all these dangers. A description of the work which the *Samiti* has been able to do notwithstanding all these is given herein below :

1. To decrease the sale of *bilati* salt, *Karkach* was sold at a lower price on behalf of the *Samiti*. In consequence of this attempt, the sale of salt decreased in many ports and the sale of *Karkach* largely increased.
2. With the united efforts of the general public and for the magnanimity of the merchants of Jhalakati, the import of *bilati* goods has considerably decreased. Many merchants, in spite of being oppressed by the punitive taxes, had not imported *bilati* cloth and other articles. To-day we offer them our sincere thanks.
3. On account of the efforts of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* consumption of liquor has so much decreased that the number of *bilati* liquor-shops dwindled down to 7 in 1905-06 in the place of 13 in 1904-05, but in the town of Barisal, there was not a single liquor-shop. In the following year there remained only two liquor-shops in the whole district. It is much to be regretted that a Muhammadan of Chittagong has taken lease of a shop in the town of Barisal. We trust that with the united effort of all the people *bilati* liquor-shops will vanish in the district.
4. Since many years ordinary *bilati* ornaments made of tin-foils were being used for the decoration of the *Durga Pujaidols*. Every material used in the preparation of these tin-foiled ornaments is of foreign manufacture. Now through the effort of this *Samiti* no one defiles the pure idols of gods and goddesses by dressing and decorating them with foreign cloths and ornaments. In consequence of this the skill of the potters and *malakars* (makers of artificial garlands and flowers) in decorating the idols is gradually improving. During the last two years the potters prepared such excellent dresses and ornaments with art and colour and decorated the idols that the ordinary tin-foiled ornaments have acknowledged, a defeat before them. We hope those ordinary tin-foiled ornaments will not be taken notice of in any of our houses.
5. The attempt which was made on behalf of the *Samiti* in matter of the use of country-made sugar was so much crowned with success that the use of *bilati* sugar has almost stopped in the town of Barisal.

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Then although, on the whole, import of *bilati* sugar has much decreased, yet on account of the dishonesty of the dealers, purchasers were on many occasions deceived. Shopkeepers prepare *batashas* (a kind of sweetmeat) with *bilati* sugar mixed up with molasses and try to sell them as prepared from country sugar. When all attempts to put stop to dishonesty failed, then *batasha* was altogether boycotted, the result being that, though in some places its consumption decreased, it was not altogether stopped. *Batasha* is yet being used in some places. We hope our countrymen should, in order to keep their vows intact, boycott such doubtful sugar and *batashas*.

6. According to the resolution of the last District Conference funds are being collected in Bakarganj for national education. Within this time Rs. 867 has been collected, and besides this about a thousand rupees has been promised. The National Council of Education of Calcutta has for this year sanctioned Rs. 500 for the spread of National education in Bakarganj. With this money aid has been given to two Middle vernacular, two Upper Primary, and two Lower Primary schools. Besides these, seven or eight Lower Primary schools are being conducted according to the National scheme of education.
   Most sincerely we thanks the National Council of Education for the help. We have been glad to hear that lately a National school has been established at Bhola, and we hope that similar national schools will also be established in other places in the near future.

7. In 1906, when Bakarganj fell under the sway of a dire famine, our respected Aswini Kumar Dutt sent out an appeal to the people for help, in response to which open-handed aid was sent from all quarters amounting to Rs. 65,000. In this the members of the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti untiringly laboured and helped the famine-stricken people. The volunteers worked day and night without caring for rain or water. On seeing their work, Sister Nivedita praised them much. This year by the attempt of the Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti, volunteers were sent with money from the balance of the Famine Fund to help the famine-stricken people of Orissa and the United Kingdom (Provinces); those four who went to Orissa made their centre at the village called Balugram and distributed rice and mondia (a kind of good-grain) to the hungry people of the surrounding places. For this purpose Rs. 1,132 in the total was spent there.
   Lala Lajpat Rai had invited the volunteers to help the famine-stricken people of United Provinces, where, in spite of having

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sufficient money at disposal, it was not being properly distributed for want of men. Hence four volunteers went to the United Provinces, and according to the instructions of Lalaji, reported themselves to Srijut Madan Mohan Malayabya. They made a place called Pupi their centre and helped the local famine-stricken people for a month and then returned. We are much grateful to the volunteers for discharging their duties with untiring labour in spite of their falling into unfavourable circumstances in Orissa and the United Provinces.

8. Last year cholera and small-pox prevailed in some places of Bakaragnaj, and the people suffered much for want of medicine and proper nursing. The *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* rendered help in this arduous work to the best of its humble ability. Medicine was distributed amongst the poor and helpless patients, and four doctors were sent for the treatment of the patients in villages. Many lives were saved by their treatment. Of 257 persons treated, 207 were cured. A specialist was sent for the treatment and nursing of persons attacked with the fell small-pox disease. By his careful treatment 34 out of 37 persons were cured. This, of course, was very satisfactory.
   (a) Srish Chandra Rai was sent to make convenient arrangement for the people who had gathered at Bangabandh on the occasion of the last Brahmaputra *Snan* (Bathing). He himself.... (illegible). Srish Babu afforded much convenience to the pilgrims by labouring untiringly with other volunteers.

9. A resolution was passed at the last Provincial Conference held at Pabna to help the people of the places where punitive police have been quartered without any cause. In response to the call of the Executive Committee of that Conference, the Barisal *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* sent one of their preachers, Dr. Nishi Kanta Bose, to Calcutta to make a tour over Bengal for preaching *swadeshi* and collecting money to pay the taxes for punitive police in Bakaraganj and Mymensingh. Nishi Babu being appointed by the Provincial Conference wandered over many places and collected money, and in many places delivered speeches for furthering the cause of *swadeshi.*

Our noble countrymen showed their real sympathy by thus helping the afflicted people with money. If such fellow feeling pervades all over the country, then many noble work will be easily accomplished. We remain ever indebted to the donors for their help.

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Working of the Village samitis

The law prohibiting the holding of meetings being enforced, the work of the village *samitis* did not come up to expectations. A few of the *samitis* only have sent up their reports of proceedings. A short description of them is given herein below :

(1) Decision by arbitration

Five hundred cases were amicably settled through the attempt of the *samitis.* The Rahamatpur suit in respect of property of the value of about Rs. 90,000 was settled in that way. Another case of Bhandaria in respect of property of the value of about Rs. 65,000 was also decided in that way.

(2) Sitting of the samitis

During the last two years not more than 360 could be held. The law prohibiting the holding of meetings will account for such small number of sittings.

Social boycott

The number of persons using foreign articles being very small among the Hindu inhabitants, there was not so much necessity for social boycott. Information has been received of social boycott being applied against 70 or 80 persons. In many places good results have been obtained by this. Persons punished having acknowledged their faults have been taken back in society.

Sellers of foreign Articles

In almost all hats, with the exception of two or three, small quantities of foreign cloth and salt are in store for sale.

Current Industry

Weaving cloths, preparing thread, linen frocks, socks, handles, nibs, buttons, finger-rings, knives, scissors, etc., old and new industries have been started in several places.

Preventing the use of intoxicating drugs

Through the attempt of the samitis many drunkards have left off their habit of drinking wine.

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Lower Eduction.

Six schools having received aid from the National Council of Education are imparting education according to the National system. Besides these, seven or eight more primary schools have been started. A National school has been started at Bhola.

Female Education

The number of girls' schools is very small. Bakarganj is more backward in this respect than other districts, which is much to be regretted.

Infectious diseases

Prevalence of cholera and small-pox is distressing the people very much in many places. There are no reserved tanks anywhere except in villages Baukati, Banaripara, Bhola, Adhuna, etc., hence a great want of drinking water is being felt. Habibpur, Badalpara, Samdikali, and other places have become the seat of cholera and small-pox. Malaria is prevalent in almost all the villages.

Want of good drinking-water was the principal cause of the prevalence of these diseases. The people are much inconvenienced on account of the flow of salt water in many khals and rivers. The inhabitants of many villages have to obtain water from a distance of one *Prahar* (three hours'). The noble example of the respected Aswini Kumar Dutt deserves mention. On the occasion of his mother's *sradh* (funeral) ceremony he made a gift of Rs. 300 per annum for removing this want of drinking water. With this sum tanks will be excavated every year. We request the general public to follow this example of public utility.

Late Saiyid Motahar Hossein

To-day on the occasion of the anniversary of this *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* the name of one noble man is constantly rising in the mind. He is the late patriot Saiyid Motahar Hossein. By birth, education, and wealth he occupied a leading position among the Muhammadans. He who last year adorned the presidential seat of the District Conference is no more among us to-day. Untimely death has taken him away. There is no doubt that by his death Bakarganj has lost one of he ·· oted sons. May God give peace to the departed soul.

Durga Mohan Sen

To-day on the occasion of this festival we are missing another untiring worker in the *swadeshi* cause. He is the imprisoned Durga

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Mohan Sen, the editor of the *Barisal Hitaishi*. The courage with which he embraced prison for an article written by another person is indeed praiseworthy, and the manner is which his father and wife encouraged him to go to jail for a just cause without submitting to humiliation is not a matter of inconsiderable glory in this down-fallen country. May God do good to this family. Sriman Ashutosh Bagchi, the printer of the *Barisal Hitaishi*, considering it better to go to jail than to apologise, cheerfully underwent four months' imprisonment. Such noble courage of his is doubtless praiseworthy.

We are also sorry to announce that Indra Chandra Guha of Habipur, who, being first entangled in a salt case, cheerfully went to jail, has also died. Those who can readily undergo any amount of trouble in this life for country must go in heaven. It has already been said that on the 6th August 1905 the Swadesh *Bandhab Samiti* was first established. The first anniversary was celebrated on the 6th of August 1906. Late Saiyid Motahar Hossein presided on the occasion. The world-wide reputed Surendra Nath Banarji, the enthusiastic Dedar Bux, an old man of 70 years, and the late devoted Kali Prasanna Kabyabishard and the famous singer Sriman Narayan Chandra Mukherji and Kanai Lal Gossain of the Bhabanipur *Swadesh Sabak Sampradaya* (Association) had come from Calcutta. Besides, every young man of the Anti-Circular Society of Calcutta skilled in *lathi* and sword-play also came and showed their skill in play. In that meeting the venerable Surendra Nath made the vow of using *swadeshi* and boycotting foreign goods more strong.

By the effort of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* another ceremony was held. This was the ceremony in commemoration of the 1st and 2nd *Baisakh*. The occurrence which took place on the 1st and 2nd *Baisakh* 1313 in connection with the Provincial Conference will never be forgotten. In order to commemorate this 1st of *Baikash* a monster meeting was called in Raja Bhabadur's Haveli. The patriotic zamindar Srijut Upendra Nath Sen took the chair, Srijut Nibaran Chandra Das, M.A., B.L., and Srijut Dhirendra Nath Chaudhuri, M.A., delivered touching speeches. The following day was the 2nd of *Baisak*, when the Provincial Conference was dispersed.

On the 2nd of *Baisakh* 1314 B.S. an open-air meeting was again called on the ruins of the pandal. The minds of the people were much depressed to recollect the sad occurrence of the dispersal of the Provincial Conference a year ago. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt presided. After reciting the said occurrence of the last year, Srijit Aswini Kumar Dutt had given out that he would make that jewel among women, that goddess of fortune—Srijukta Sorojini Basu, who had promised not to

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wear a gold bangle until the circular prohibiting the shouts of *Bande Mataram* was withdrawn, and who in taking the vow had taken off the bangle from her right wrist and given it for creating the monument of the Provincial Conference, to wear a bangle at the sitting of the next District Conference. To-day it is a gratification to us that we are able to put a gold bangle on their wrist. To-day we cannot but mention the noble work of two ladies. The wife of Jamini Kumar Ganguli of Manpasha had given over her gold bracelet as a contribution towards paving off the fine of Srijut Durga Mohan Sen and the eight year's daughter of Kusum Kumari Dasi of Sarmahal had given her *nolok* (a small appendage to the nose-ring worn by Bengali women) for the above purpose. Srijukta Kusum Kumari has herself opened a school in her village for the education of girls and women wherein she is working as teacher. By the effort of *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* a sporting exhibition was opened on the 30th *Chaitra* for the boys and youths of the district. The boys showed their skill in *lathi*-play and other sports. The visitors were amazed to see the skill which was displayed by Srimati Parul Bala of eight years, the daughter of Srijut Surja Kumar Guha, gymnastic teacher of the B. M. Institution. Prizes of books and medals were awarded in order of merit to 32 boys and youths. A prize was also awarded to Parul Bala.

During these two year the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* got the opportunity of inviting a few renowned persons, among whom the names of Messrs. Keir Hardie, Nevinson, and sister Nivedita deserve special mention. Mr. Keir Hardies was at Barisal for only two days, but within this short time he mixed with all classes of persons from the humblest cultivators to the Government officials and gathered his information from them. We have never seen such a hard-working old man. Mr. Nevinson was sent as a representative of a few newspapers for knowing the state of the country. He tried much to ascertain its real condition.

Sister Nivedita having heard of the sufferings of the people of Bakarganj on account of the famine came here to see the condition of the people with her own eyes. In order to see the distress of famine, she went to the villages inundated by dirty water, and wherever she went, the people, considering her to be the goddess of fortune in flesh and blood Saught protection of her. We shall never forget what she had done for helping them. A description of her journey and of her work here was published in the *Modern Reviews*. We remain for ever grateful to her.

In conclusion, we call our patriotic brethren to launch into the field of action with greater courage and firmness. We have been hearing many words of despair from mufassil that the local inhabitants are becoming

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dispirited on account of the oppression of the punitive police. Hence work had not been properly carried on. Some say that the enthusiasm which prevailed in the people at the commencement of the movement is not so strong now as it was before. Some are losing sight of the noble interest for their own small selfish interest. But we cannot find out any cause of despair. Ephemeral obstacles and dangers are inevitable in the field of action. But should we for this reason remain inactive ? Was there any noble object accomplished in this world for which the leader had not to suffer harassment and persecution at every step ? But had they remained inactive for those persecution and harassment, then would they have been ever able to climb up to the highest step of accomplishment ? Success in a noble work is sure if exertion is made with "heart within and God overhead". "God helps those whose object is noble" is true forever. Contradiction of the saying has never been found in the history of the world. Even if the result of the *swadeshi* for the last three years is discussed, will any cause for despair be found ?

Three years before the Indians did not know themselves, did not know the motherland, which is superior to heaven. But to-day everybody had learnt to call that mother mother. To-day that holy shout of *Bande Mataram* has created a new life throughout the length and breadth of the country; as a result of that we have got a new taste for unity, and as a result of that foreign articles of merchandise have to a great extent been driven out of India, new industries are springing up in the country, and old and almost extinct industries are gradually reviving. *Swadeshi* trade is by degrees expanding. Brethren, you are the helmsmen of the boat of *swadeshi.* Being inspired by a noble desire, you have launched the boat into the ocean; now it would not do to look back. Look, the kingdom of happiness is shining like a luminous body.

We must get up on the shore. Let obstacles come, let dangers come, we can in no way turn our backs. Turning our backs will mean sure death of national life. Whatever you have done by the attempt of so many days will be fruitless and the world will laugh at you. Even from the commencement of the movement the fame of Bakarganj was proclaimed in all quarters. Take care that we may not have to lose that name for low selfish interest. May God help us in all work.

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No. 11

Translation of the proceedings of the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti meetings

I

From 7-30 to 9 P.M.
Brojo Mohan Institution
5th January 1907

Present

1. Sarat Chandra Guha
2. Bepin Behari Das
3. Sashi Kanta Gupta
4. Dina Bandhu Shaha
5. Khirode Behari Mukhopadhyaya
6. Nishi Kanta Das
7. Bepin Behari Ghosh
8. Sarat Chandra Ray
9. Lalit Mohan sen
10. Bhabaranjan Majumdar
11. Aswini Kumar Dutt
12. Chitta Ranjan sen
13. Rai Charan Biswas
14. Kedar Nath Kar
15. Tarini Kanta Sen
16. Sri Charan Sen
17. Satish Chandra Chatarji
18. Durga Mohan Sen

President : Aswini Kumar Dutt

1. After discussing the various means of bringing round those dealers in cloth of Barisal who having broken their vows have indented *bilati* cloth, it is resolved (i) that the town should again be divided as before and arrangement for patrolling should be made; (ii) that attempts should be made so that the general public may not purchase cloths from those shops; (iii) that, if possible, arrangements should be made to sell cloth again in villages; and (iv) that mesures should be taken so that the refractory shopkeepers may not sell cloths.
2. President then spoke about the subject committee of the Congress and about the conversation he had with other men.

The meeting then dissolved.

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II

Brojo Mohan Institution
11th January 1907

Present

1. Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. Bhabaranjan Majumdar
3. Chitta Ranjan Sen
4. Sarat Chandra Guha
5. Satish Chandra Chatarji
6. Shashi Bhushan Gupta
7. Purna Chandra De
8. Dina Bandhu Shaha
9. Bepin Behari Das
10. Srish Chandra Ray
11. Durga Mohan Sen

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III

Office House
15th January 1907

President :— Aswini Kumar Dutt

Kali Kumar Chatarji was unanimously elected to be a member. Lakshmi Kanta Mukherji's letter was read out in the meeting. He had written requesting the supply of *swadeshi* cloth to villages. After discussion it is settled that the *swadeshi* companies will be requested to send cloths. As there was difference of opinion as to whether we should, as before, sell cloths in the town without profit, the discussion on the subject was postponed. The meeting then dispersed.

IV

Brojo Mohan Institution
5th February 1907

Present

1. Rajani Kanta Guha
2. Sri Charan Sen
3. Purna Chandra Dey
4. Dhirendra Nath Chaudhuri
5. Kali Kumar Chatarji

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6. Shashi Kanta Gupta
7. Durga Prasanna Das Gupta
8. Tarini Kanta Sen
9. Sarat Chandra Guha
10. Srish Chandra Ray
11. Durga Mohan Sen
12. Secretary
13. Aswini Kumar Dutt

President :— Durga Prasanna Das Gupta

On the arrival of Aswini Babu, Durga Prasanna Babu left the chair and Aswini Babu was elected President. The President proposed that Hara Nath Ghosh, Upendra Nath Sen, Tarini Kumar Gupta, and Bisseswar Ganguli be admitted as members of the Society. Sarat Chandra Guha supported the proposal. They were admitted as members with the approval of all present.

1. The following arrangements were made for going round the villages on the occasion of the *Shivaratri* holiday :—
   Patuakhali :— Dhiren and Durga Mohan Babu
   Neighbourhood of Jhalakati :— Sarat Babu, Shashi, and Tarini Babu
   Sarupkati :— Upendra Babu and Nibaran Babu will try to go to Sarupkati with Motaher Hossain —
   Rahamatpur :— Bireswar Ganguli
   Ponabalia and its neighbourhood :— Shirish Ray, Satish Babu, and others
2. Rupees 10 to 15 is sanctioned for sport.
3. Rajani Kanta Guha proposed that, as it has been wrong to give a rejection to Srijut Jogendra Chandra Ghosh on the occasion of his election to the Legislative Council, there should be a protest on behalf of the *Swadesh Bandhab*. After discussion it was considered unreasonable to protest after such a long time.
4. The Secretary proposed that the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* should have a periodical for the promulgation of its principles, and that the local *Barisal Hitaishi* be considered to be a paper of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti*. The present editor agrees to this. As regards income, the rule may be that three-fourths of the income and expenditure will be Durga Mohan Babu's and the committee will have one-fourth, and the paper should be placed in the hands of a committee. The proposal was rejected, as, in the opinion of many, it was considered not to be feasible.

Night being far advanced, inspection of accounts was postponed. The meeting dissolved with a vote of thanks to the chair.

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V

Brojo Mohan Institution

15th February 1907, Friday
From 7.10 P.M. to 9.30 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Upendra Nath Sen
3. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
4. " Khetra Nath Ghosh
5. " Tarini Kanta Sen
6. " Dhirendra Nath Chaudhuri
7. " Kshirode Behari Mukharji
8. " Kali Kumar Chatarji
9. " Chitta Ranjan Sen
10. " Rai Charan Biswas
11. " Dina Bandhu Shaha
12. " Akshay Kumar Sen
13. " Durga Mohan Sen
14. " Sarat Chandra Guha
15. " Kedar Nath Kar
16. " Srish Chandra Ray
17. " Sri Charan Sen
18. " Kali Prasanna Ghosh
19. " Lalit Mohan Mukharji
20. " Bireswar Ganguli
21. " Purna Chandra De
22. " Nishi Kanta Bose
23. " Brahmananda Das
24. " Bhabaranjan Majumdar
25. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
26. Secretary

First of all, the President made the following proposal :—

This meeting expresses its deep sorrow at the untimely death of Saiyid Motaher Hossain. He was a man of sharp intelligence, undaunted spirits, and of straight-forward nature. He used to take part in *swadeshi* and other movements conducive of good to the country. He was strongly of opinion that without the united efforts of the Hindus and Musalmans complete welfare of the country would not be gained. This Samiti will ever remain grateful to him for his having honoured it by presiding at the last Conference of the *Swadesh Bandhab.* "May God do good to his soul".

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2. Srijut Kali Prasanna Ghosh was elected member with unanimous approval.
3. The President proposed that, in order to increase the funds of the *Samiti*, men be sent from it to every village to collect subscriptions from every house for the work of the country. After discussing the subject for a few minutes, it was decided that for the present not more than four men should be sent to Bhandaria, Matbaria, and other places as an experimental measure.
4. As regards the letter which Surendra Babu had written to Srijut Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta about the Provincial Conference, the *Samiti* decided that, unless an aid of Rs. 3,000 is received, the sitting should not be invited to Barisal., the aid is received and the information is received early, it may then be arranged.
5. It is resolved to hold the District Conference every year on the 1st Baisakh. It is decided that at this year's sitting the President will send a letter of invitation to the respected Bal Gangadhar Tilak; other matters will be settled on receipt of the reply.
6. A sub-committee was formed with the following persons to prepare a scheme for the establishment of a National School :—
   1. President
   2. Srijut Sarat Chandra Guha
   3. " Kali Prasanna Ghosh
   4. " Bisseswar Majumdar
   5. " Kshetra Mohan Ghosh
   6. " Durga Mohan Sen
   7. Secretary

   Kshetra Babu is put in charge of the work of the committee.

   The meeting then dissolved

VI

Akshay Babu's Lodging
7th March 1907, Friday

Present

1. Srijut Tarini Kumar Gupta
2. " Sarat Chandra Guha
3. " Shashi Kumar Gupta
4. " Purna Chandra De
5. " Satish Chandra Chatarji
6. " Durga Mohan Sen
7. " Sri Charan Sen

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8. " Kedar Nath Kar
9. " Dina Bandhu Shaha
10. " Nishi Kanta Bose
11. " Shrish Chandra Ray
12. " Nibaran Chandra Das

1. Srijut Tarini Kumar Gupta was unanimously elected President.
2. On the proposal of Sri Charan Babu, supported by Shashi Babu, Srijut Nibaran Chandra Das, M.A., B.L., was elected member of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti*.
3. Letters should be written to Srijut Surendra Nath Bandopadhyay, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Krishna Kr. Mitra requesting them to attend the District Conference, which it is proposed, to be held on the 1st *Baisakh*.
4. After discussing what ought to be done to the dealers in foreign cloths, it is decided that, as these men have for gain engaged themselves in work prejudicial to the country's interests, they should be harassed or threatened with harassment. If this is not done, no compromise should be made with them by taking only fine as that will not last.
5. *Appointment of officers :*— Srijut Srish Chandra Ray is appointed for two months for the present. The *Samiti* considers it proper that his pay should be less than Rs. 20. The Secretary will afterwards settle about his pay in consultation with the President.
6. It is decided that Sriman Priya Nath will get an aid of Rs. 2 per mensem for his work.
   Nibaran Babu will write to Upendra Babu to set Betagi Bundar right.
7. It is decided that the Secretary will go to Betagi Bundar on Sunday next.
8. The Secretary will write to the Bhatarakanda *Samiti* to ascertain whether they are prepared to settle the case of Ambica Das according to the opinion of the *Swadesh Bandhab*. Then on receipt of the reply it will be again discussed whether the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* should keep any connection with the above *Samiti*.

Tarini Charan Gupta
President

VII

Brojo Mohan Institution

15th March, Friday
Time 7 to 9.30 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Haranath Ghosh

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2. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
3. " Kali Kumar Chatarji
4. " Kali Prasanna Ghosh
5. " Baikuntha Chandra Das Gupta
6. " Kshetra Nath Shaha
7. " Dhirendra Nath Chaudhuri
8. " Satish Chandra Chatarji
9. " Sri Charan Sen
10. " Kshetra Nath Ganguli
11. " Bireswar Ganguli
12. " Durga Mohan Sen
13. " Sarat Chandra Guha
14. " Shashi Bhusan Gupta
15. " Akshay Kumar Sen
16. " Purna Chandra De
17. " Kshirod Behari Mukharji
18. " Durga Prasanna Das Gupta
19. " Amulya Charan Ray
20. " Dina Bandhu Shaha
21. " Tarini Kanta Sen
22. " Nishi Kanta Basu
23. " Srish Chandra Das Gupta
24. " Nagendra Nath Dutt
25. " Bhabaranjan Majumdar

Srijut Haranath Ghosh was on the chair. Report of the last meeting was read and adopted.

Srijut Sarat Chandra Guha proposed that Srijut Baikuntha Nath Das, Amulya Charan Ray, Nagendra Nath Dutt, and Kshetra Nath Ganguli be taken in as members of the *Swadesh Bandhab.* The proposal was supported by Srijut Akshay Kumar Sen and carried unanimously.

2. As regard the duty of the *Samiti* towards Ganga Charan Das, who had been yet supporting the boycotted shops, it was settled after discussion that Srijut Haranath Baikuntha Babu, Kali Kumar Babu, and others would go to him and request him on behalf of the *Samiti* not to do such things. If he does not pay heed to the request of the *Samiti,* the *Samiti* will not fail to do its duty.
3. From Monday next patrolling should be arranged in Chawk Bazar, because many are purchasing articles from boycotted shops. All present agreed to do this work.
4. Two members of the *Surhid Samiti* of Mymensingh would be invited to teach *lathi*-play.

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Night being far advanced, discussion about division of work was postponed.

President

VIII

Aswini Babu's Lodging

23rd March 1907, Saturday
Time 7.30

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Upendra Nath Sen
3. " Kali Kumar Chatarji
4. " Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta
5. " Biraj Mohan Ray Chaudhuri
6. " Dhirendra Nath Chaudhuri
7. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
8. " Chitta Ranjan Sen Gupta
9. " Ramesh Chandra Bose
10. " Bipin Behari Das Gupta
11. " Amulya Charan Ray
12. " Kshetra Nath Ganguli
13. " Shyama Charan Dutt.
14. " Haranath Ghose
15. " Purna Charan Dey
16. " Sarat Chandra Guha
17. " Nishi Kanta Bose
18. " Akshay Kumar Sen
19. " Bhabaranjan Majumdar
20. " Srish Ray
21. " Sri Charan Sen
22. " Durga Mohan Sen
23. " Tarini Kanta Sen
24. " Dina Bandhu Shaha
25. " Secretary

The telegram which Srijut Bal Gangadhar Tilak had sent, informing of his inability to come at present, was read to the *Samiti*. Then after discussing whether the annual sitting of the District Conference should be held on the he 1st *Baisakh*, it was resolved that the sitting of the District Conference on 1st Baisakh be postponed this year.

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IX

3rd April 1907, Wednesday

Present

1. Srijut Baikuntha Nath Das
2. " Durga Mohan Sen
3. " Chitta Ranjan Sen
4. " Ramesh Chandra Bose
5. " Tarini Kanta Sen
6. " Bhabaranjan Majumdar
7. " Bireswar Ganguli
8. " Sarat Chandra Guha
9. " Kshetra Nath Ghosh
10. " Purna Chandra De
11. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
12. " Srish Chandra Ray
13. " Sri Charan Sen
14. " Kshirod Behari Mukharji
15. Secretary

President :— Srijut Baikuntha Nath Das

After discussion the following programme was settled :

1st Braisakh —

Morning—Religious morning song (it may be in procession).

Afternoon—Procession

Evening—Meeting

2nd Braisakh—

Religious morning song and meeting in the evening.

30th Chaitra—

It is decided to send out an appeal to the general public for raising funds for the commemoration of the occurrence of the 1st and 2nd Baisakh last. Kshetra Bubu was asked to draw up the appeal. The charge of the management of the procession and of the meeting was laid on Biraj Babu, Shashi Babu, Durga Mohan Babu and Tarini Babu. Bhabaranjan Babu took charge of collecting songs and printing them, while Sarat Babu took charge of obtaining pass for the procession.

X

Residence of Aswini Babu

28th Chaitra, (11th April 1907), Thursday

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt

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2. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
3. " Kshetra Nath Ghosh
4. " Dhirendra Nath Chaudhuri
5. " Durga Mohan Sen
6. " Nishi Kanta Bose
7. " Brahamanda Das
8. " Satish Chandra Chatarji
9. " Kshirode Behari Mukharji

The charge of framing rules about forming the District *Samiti* by election system was made over to a sub-committee. and Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt, Tarini Kumar Gupta, Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta, Upendra Nath Sen, Sarat Chandra Guha, Durga Mohan Sen, and the Secretary were selected to be its members.

2. The following rules were adopted for regulating the duties of the preachers and officers :—
   (a) Every preacher shall preach in the moffussil for at least eight months.
   (b) No officers shall get more than thirty days' leave on full pay.
   (c) Every officer shall keep a diary of his work and shall every month submit the diary of the last month to the office.

XI

Brojo Mohan Institution

12th Baisakh (25th April), Thursday
Time from 8 to 9.30

Present

1. Srijut Tarini Kanta Sen
2. " Brahmananda Das
3. " Bhabaranjan Majumdar
4. " Kshirode Behari Mukharji
5. " Aswini Kumar Dutt
6. " Kali Kumar Chatarji
7. " Ramesh Chandra Bose
8. " Purna Chandra De
9. " Rajani Kanta Guha
10. " Dhirendra Nath Chaudhuri
11. " Nagendra Nath Dutt
12. " Chittaranjan Sen
13. " Nishi Kanta Bose
14. " Tara Prasanna Sen

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15. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
16. " Bimala Charan Das
18. " Dina Bandhu Shaha
19. Secretary

President :— Srijut Dhirendra Nath Chaudhuri

1. Pending receipt of reply of the Kakardha *Samiti*, the decision about that *Samiti* is postponed but after reading the letter of the Bhatarakanda *Samiti*, connection with it was severed with unanimous approval.
2. It is decided to send Rs. 70 in aid of the Shahaspur salt case in response to their prayer.
3. It is decided to provide the volunteers with "*Bande Mataram*" badges to distinguish them from others.
4. Sriman Surendra Nath Bose is appointed to be an officer for some time.
5. The following division of work is settled for the time being :

Lectures and processions in the town and keeping the reports—Srijut Biraj Mohan Ray Chaudhuri and Chittaranjan Sen.

Arbitration and legal affairs—Srijut Purna Chandra De.

News, income and expenditure, and miscellaneous matters—Srijut Sarat Chandra Guha and Shashi Kumar Gupta.

It is much to be regretted that, although the members were requested, under rules previously laid down, to bring with them their arrear subscriptions, none has complied with the request.

XII

Broja Mohan Institution

24th Baisakh 1314 B.S., Tuesday
Time 8 o'clock (Local)

Present

1. Srijut Tarini Kumar Gupta
2. " Baikuntha Nath Das
3. " Sarat Chandra Guha
4. " Nagendra Nath Dutt
5. " Kedar Nath Kar
6. " Rai Charan Biswas
7. " Aswini Kumar Dutt
8. " Rajani Kanta Guha
9. " Kshetra Nath Ganguli
10. " Shashi Kanta Gupta

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11. " Chitta Ranjan Sen
12. " Purna Chandra Dey
13. " Khetra Nath Ghosh
14. " Durga Prasanna Das Gupta
15. " Amulya Charan Ray
16. " Srish Ray
17. " Sri Charan Sen
18. Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta
19. The Secretary

On the proposal of Sarat Babu, Srijut Satish Chandra Mukharji was taken in as a member of the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* with the approval of all present.

1. Sanction was given to erect a house in Raja Bahadur's haveli.

XIII

Brojo Mohan Institution

16th May 1907
8 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
3. " Haranath Ghosh
4. " Khetra nath Ghosh
5. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
6. " Bireswar Ganguli
7. " Durga Prasanna Das
8. " Sarat Chandra Guha
9. " Sri Charan Sen
10. " Kedar Nath Kar
11. " Kali Kumar Chatarji
12. " Biraj Mohan Ray Chaudhuri
13. " Kali Prasanna Ghosh
14. " Durga Mohan Sen
15. " Baikuntha Nath Das
16. " Rai Charan Biswas
17. " Amulya Charan Ray
18. " Srish Chandra Das
19. " Satish Chandra Mukharji
20. The Secretary

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"I do not understand discussing terms of settlement; outrages being committed in Salimulla's name; no use holding conference until he takes steps to clear himself".

In reply to the letter of Srijut Ananda Mohan Ray of Dacca, the above telegram was sent.

The application received from Srijut Lalit Mohan Das of Gaila requesting recognition of the Gaila *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* at Calcutta as a branch *Samiti* of the *Swadesh Bandhab* was read and the *Samiti* was enlisted as a branch.

XIV

Broja Mohan Institution

Friday, 24th Jaistha 1314 B.S.,
8 P.M.

President

1. Srijut Tarini Kumar Gupta
2. " Upendra Nath Sen
3. " Sarat Chandra Guha
4. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
5. " Ramesh Chandra Ghosh
6. " Durga Prasanna Das Gupta
7. " Nagendra Nath Dutt
8. " Sri Charan Sen
9. " Srish Chandra Das
10. " Khetra Nath Ghosh
11. " Satish Chandra Ray
12. " Bhabaranjan Majumdar
13. " Dina Bandhu Shaha
14. The Secretary

With the approval of all present, Upendra Babu was elected President.

1. It is decided to proclaim boycott against Srijut Ganga Charan Das, the supporter of the dealers in foreign goods, if he does not promise to sever his connection with those shopkeepers.
2. The account for the last quarter was heard and passed.
3. Three Maulvis were appointed for two or three months for the present. Their duty will be to create *Swadeshi* spirit amongst the Musalmans, and remove their malice towards the Hindus.
4. After perusal of Priya Nath's application, a pay of Rs. 3 was fixed for him from the month of May.

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XV

Executive Committee

Residence of Sjt. Aswini Kr. Dutt, President
17th Sraban (1st August) 1908
Time 8 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
3. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
4. " Amulya Charan Ray
5. " Bhabaranjan Majumdar
6. " Srish Chandra Roy
7. " Upendra Nath Sen
8. " Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta
9. " Sri Charan Sen
10. " Purna Chandra De
11. " Satish Chandra Chatarji

1. In the previous meetings Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt raised the question whether the sitting of the Conference should be held in the present times. In this meeting it was decided to hold the Conference on the 1st and 2nd Bhadra. The house will be erected in Raja Bahadur's *Haveli*. Rupees 200 will be taken from the balance at the credit of the Provincial Conference Fund and spent for the building. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt will preside. Aswini Babu will invite Srijut Surendra Nath Banarji and Bipin Chandra Pal when he goes to Calcutta.
2. The opening ceremony of the house will be celebrated on the 6th of August.

XVI

The Annual General Meeting

22nd Sraban 1315 B.S., 6th August 1908
Club House, 7.30 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Upendra Nath Sen
3. " Biraj Mohan Ray Chaudhuri
4. " Sri Charan Sen
5. " Satish Chandra Chatarji

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6. " Bhabaranjan Majumdar
7. " Purna Chandra De
8. " Khirode Behari Mukharji
9. " Behari Lal Biswas
10. " Chitta Ranjan Sen
11. " Abani Mohan Banarji
12. " Akhoy Kumar Gupta
13. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
14. " Lalit Mohan Mukharji
15. " Nishi Kanta Bose
16. " Tarini Kanta Sen
17. " Annada Charan Das Gupta
18. " Srish Chandra Ray
19. " Srish Chandra Das
20. " Dina Bandhu Shaha
21. " Ramesh Chandra Bose
22. " Rai Charan Biswas
23. " Khetra Nath Ghosh
24. " Brahmananda Das
25. " Bipin Behari Das
26. " Durga Prasanna Das Gupta
27. " Khetra Nath Ganguli
28. " Ram Charan Chatarji
29. " Haranath Ghosh
30. " Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta
31. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
32. " Nagendra Nath Dutt
33. " Brajendra Nath Das
34. " Amulya Charan Ray
35. " Satish Chandra Mukharji
36. " Kali Kamar Chatarji
37. " Kali Prasanna Ghosh
38. " Barada Kanta Banarji
39. " Mati Lal Das
40. " Nakuleswar Chakrabatti

Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt, President
" Upendra Nath Sen, Vice President
" Sarat Chandra Ghosh, Secretary
" Shashi Kanta Gupta, Assistant Secretary
" Purna Chandra De, Assistant Secretary

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Members of the Executive Committee

The above five office-bearers and

Srijut Haranath Ghosh
" Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta
" Kamini Kumar Gupta
" Biraj Mohan Ray Chaudhuri
" Binodini Shaha
" Sri Charan Sen
" Ram Charan Chatarji
" Satish Chandra Chatarji

Then the National song was heard and the meeting dissolved after light refreshments.

XVII

District Conference Bakarganj

Second Sitting

1st and 2nd Bhadra 1315 B.S.

By the grace of God we could again meet after the lapse of two years. The law prohibiting the holding of meetings was in force in Barisal alone, hence the sitting of the Conference could not be held last year. Srijut Aswini Babu remaining absent for a long time owing to ill-health, the date of the sitting of the Conference could not be fixed at the proper time. The date was fixed only 12 days before. Arrangement for this grand affair had to be made within the space of such a short time. By the grace of God the work of the Conference has, this year, been somehow successfully finished. The proceedings of the Conference were held in a pandal erected in the spacious compound of Raja Bahadur's Haveli. Srijut Akhoy Kumar Sen, Biraj Mohan Ray Chaudhuri, Srish Chandra Rai, and Brahamananda Rai (?Das) had taken charge of building the pandal for the meeting. It was through their care and the labour and skillfulness of the volunteers that the pandal looked so uncommonly grand.

Through the attempt of the patriotic merchants Srijut Banamali Ray and others, corrugated tin of other men was obtained gratis for the pandal house.

School and college students were not available this year to work as volunteers. The mohurrirs of the local pleaders willingly took charge of the work. There is no doubt that such work of theirs deserves special commendation.

Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt took the chair. The renowned singer Srijut Narain Chandra Mukharji of the Bhawanipur *Swadeshi Sebak*

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Samiti and the well-known zamindar Srijut Kali Ranjan Ray of Kalashkati were present and entertained the audience with their sweet music. One hundred and twenty delegates from the town and moffussil were present and took part in the proceedings. Among the zamindar class Srijut Kamini Kumar Ray Chaudhuri of Kirtipasha, Srijut Pramatha Nath Biswas of Jalabari, Srijut Behari Lal Ray of Lakutia, Srijut Kali Prasanna Guha of Ram Chandrapur, Srijut Kali Ranjan Ray Chaudhuri and Durga Ratan Ray Chaudhuri and Bhubaneswar Ray Chaudhuri of Kalashkati, Srijut Upendra Nath Sen, Hiran Kumar Sen, Kiran Kumar Sen, and Ashutosh Sen of Basanda, Srijut Sarada Charan Chakrabatti of Rahamatpur and other well-known and respectable persons brought the proceedings of the Conference to a successful end with their presence.

Srijut Banamali Roy and Rasik Chandra Pal, the well-known merchants of Jhalakati, Srijut Mohini Mohan Shaha of Barisal, several pleaders, mukhtears, doctor, kavirajs and several other well-known men of various profession and callings took part in the proceedings of the conference.

Srijut Dinabandhu Sen was, in spite of his ill-health, present as a delegate. The proceedings of the first day commenced at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, after *"Bande Mataram"* song sung by Narain Babu. Srijut Upendra Nath Sen presented an address of welcome to the delegates to the Conference. Then, on the motion of Srijut Digendra Sankar Das Gupta of Patuakhali, supported by Srijut Sarada Charan Chakravarty, Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt took the chair with the approval of all present. Then, after song, the President, in spite of his broken health, delivered in spirited lanupage a speech for more than an hour about the present state of the country and means to remedy it. Then after a song the subject committee was formed, which held its sitting. The proceedings of the first day came to a close at about 11 o'clock in the night.

On the said day more than 1,000 delegates and visitors were present. Separate seats were allotted for the ladies. More than 100 ladies were present in the meeting.

The second days' proceedings commenced at 11 o'clock. The speech of Srijut Surendranath Sen was instructive and charming to the audience. On that day another ceremony was performed. In commemoration of the day on which the procession, meeting and the delegates of the Barisal Provincial Conference were severely wounded by the police with the blows of their *lathis,* Srimati Sarajini Basu, the patriotic wife of Srijut Tara Prasanna Basu of Narottampur, gave away her gold bangles by taking it off from her right wrist, showing her intense love for the country, and took a vow that until the *Bande Mataram*

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circular was withdrawn she would not wear a bangle on her right wrist. A few days after this the circular was withdrawn and the hope of the celestial lady was fulfilled. On the said occasion the *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* resolved to present her with a pair of *Bande Mataram* bangles for her generous self-sacrifice and noble example. On account of various mishaps this resolution could not be given effect to. We dare announce that this year we have been able to carry the resolution into effect. A pair of gold bangles, with "*Bande Mataram*" inscribed on them, was presented to this *Bunga Lakshmi* (the goddess of fortune of Bengal). Besides these two other medals came for her from different places; these have also been presented to her. Sarajini Basu being unable to be present at the meeting for an unavoidable cause, the presents were handed over to her husband.

On the third day a grand procession was out in the town, Three thousand people joined the procession. On the return of the procession to Raja Bahadur's Haveli in the evening Srijut Surendra Nath Sen delivered an impressive speech.

P.S. :— Many of the educated Namasudras attended the Conference. The famous speaker, Srijut Surendra Nath Sen of Sholok, came from Kishorganj, Srijut Lalit Mohan Das and Srijut Ganga Charan Sen came from Calcutta and joined the Conference.

XVIII

Executive Committee
Club House

9th Bhadra 1315 B. S., 25th August
7 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Upendra Nath Sen
2. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
3. " Sri Charan Sen
4. " Purna Chandra De
5. " Satish Chandra Chatterji
6. " Dinabandhu Shaha
7. " Shashi Kanta Gupta

1. With unanimous approval it is settled to adopt the draft rules prepared for the District Conference as the rules of that Conference.
2. It is necessary to present Srimati Sarajini Basu with bangles within the 30th *Bhadra* next. A letter be therefore written to her inquiring when it will suit her convenience to come to Barisal within that date.

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XIX

Executive Committee
Residence of Srijut Upendra Nath Sen

13th Bhadra, Saturday, 29th August 1908
7-30 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Upendra Nath Sen
2. " Tarini Chandra en
4. " Purna Chandra De
5. " Satish Chandra De
6. " Dinabandhu Shaha
7. " Shashi Kanta Gupta

1. With unanimous approval it is settled to adopt the draft rules prepared for the District Conference as the rules of that Conference.
2. It is necessary to present Srimati Sarajini Basu with bangles within the 30th *Bhalra* next. A letter be therefor written to her inquiring when it will suit her convenience to come to Barisal within that date.

XIX

Executive Committee
Residence of Srijut Upendra Nath Sen

13th Bhadra, Saturday, 29th August 1908
7.30 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Upendra Nath Sen
2. " Haranath Ghosh
3. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
4. " Nibaran Chandra Das
5. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
6. " Dinabandhu Shaha
7. " Purna Chandra De
8. " Ram Charan Chatterji
9. " Satish Chandra Chatterji
10. " Nishi Kanta Basu
11. " Hiran Kumar Sen
12. " Kiran Kumar Sen Chaudhuri

The following Committee was selected for carrying into effect the second resolution passed at the second sitting of the District Conference

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of Bakarganj, The Committee is to adopt all means which they may think proper to increase the physical strength of the boys :

Members

1. Srijut Tarini Kumar Gupta
2. " Sri Charan Sen
3. " Baikuntha Nath Das
4. " Purna Chandra De
5. " Satish Chandra Chatterji

XX

Executive Committee
Club House

18th Bhadra, Thursday, 3rd September 1908
7.30 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Tarini Kumar Gupta
2. " Baikuntha Nath Das
3. " Sir Charan Sen
4. " Dinabandhu Shaha
5. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
6. " Purna Chandra De
7. " Satish Chandra Chatterji

President :—Srijut Tarini Kumar Gupta

1. Those merchants who sell *swadeshi* cloth should be encouraged by giving publicity to their names.
2. Sale of *bilati* sugar and salt is increasing int he town. Letters be therefore written to the merchant *samiti.*

XXI

Executive Committee
Aswini Babu's Lodging

24th Bhadra 1315 B.S., Wednesday, 9th September

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Sri Charan Sen
3. " Satish Chandra Chatterji
4. " Shashi Kumar Gupta
5. " Tarini Kumar Gupta

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1. It is settled to publish notices for encouraging the *swadeshi* cloth merchants of the local Chawk Bazar.
2. it is decided to call a general meeting on Friday next.
3. 4th *Aswin* is fixed as the date for the bangle ceremony.

XXII

Club House

11th September 1908
4 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Tarini Kumar Gupta
2. " Ray Charan Biswas
3. " Satish Ch. Chatterji
4. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
5. " Bepin Chandra Das
6. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
7. " Lalit Mohan Mukherji
8. " Haranath Ghosh
9. " Behari Lal Biswas
10. " Tarani Kanta Sen
11. " Mohini Mohan Shaha Chaudhuri
12. " Barada Kanta Banerji
13. " Aswini Kumar Ghatak
14. " Purna Chandra De
15. " Satish Chandra Mukerji
16. " Sri Charan Sen
17. " Lalit Kumar Sen
18. " Akhoy Kumar Sen
19. " Nagendra Nath Dutt

President :— Srijut Tarini Kumar Gupta

1. The resolution of the last four meetings of the Executive Committee were read and the following proposals were accepted, with the approval of all present.
2. Many of the members of the *Samiti* coming to know from Srijut Mohini Mohan Shaha and others that among the sweet-sellers Shyam Ghosh prepares sweetmeats with *bilati* sugar and sells them, and also sells *bilati* sugar to smaller sweetselers, it is decided that attempts should be made to boycott him.
3. The accounts of the last District Conference be read and discussed.

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4. The accounts of the last two years of the *Samiti* be read and discussed.
5. The rules which have been framed in consultation with *Swadesh Bandhab* and the subdivisional and the Jhalakati *Samitis* are now accepted as rules of the *Samiti*. They may afterwards, as occasion will arise, be changed or extended.
6. It is necessary to go out to villages during the ensuing *Puja* holidays to form village *samitis* according to the election system. Within seven days of receipt of the rules and the list of villages members will inform the office about the village they would like to go to.
7. It is settled to go out to villages to collect money for the National School. To find out the way in which this should be done, a general meeting will be called on Monday next.
8. Work is divided amongst the members for publishing notices about dealers in cloths. They will also induce people about salt and sugar.

Executive Committee

30th Bhadra 1315 B. S., 15th September 1908

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Upendra Nath Sen
3. " Sri Charan Sen
4. " Dinabandhu Shaha
5. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
6. " Ram Charan Chatterji
7. " Purna Chandra De

Ambica Mayi's cloth shopkeepers of Chawk Bazar will be recognized as dealers is *swadeshi* cloth if they will sign a written statement promising not to deal in foreign cloth in future and also expressing regret.

General Meeting
Club House

7th Aswin 1315 B.S., 23rd September 1908
7 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Kali Kumar Chatterji
3. " Satish Chandra Chatterji
4. " Sri Charan Sen
5. " Nishi Kanta Basu

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6. " Nagendra Nath Dutt
7. " Barada Kanta Banerji
8. " Behary Lal Biswas
9. " Rajani Kanta Guha
10. " Satish Chandra Mukherji
11. " Khirod Behari Mukerji
12. " Baikunta Nath Das
13. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
14. " Dinabandhu Shaha
15. " Upendra Nath Sen

Srijut Sri Charan Sen :— Goila, Babha, Hosainpur, Kanchabalia, Kakradhari, Ram Chandrapur Kafurkati, Betia, Narayanpur, and other places.

Sri Khirod Behari Mukherji :—Bharpasha, Kalashkati, Garuria and Dudhal.

Srijut Baikunta Nath Das :— Kauria, Lata Lakhirda, Patartha and Shahspur.

Srijut Tarini Kumar Gupta :— Abhoy Nil, Bahadurpur, Fayara, Khayarabad, Manpasha, Nachan Mahal Nalchiti, Shidhyakati, Sitalpara, Sarmahal, Bakai, Barthi.

1. The work of collecting funds for the National School is postponed for the present.
2. It is settled that during the *Durga Puja* holidays the members will inspect village *samitis* and collect subscriptions for the *samiti.*

General Meeting

Club House

29th Kartik 1315 B.S., Saturday, 14th November 1908

6.30 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Upendra Nath Sen
3. " Khirod Behari Mukerji
4. " Durga Mohan Sen
5. " Purna Chandra De
6. " Nishi Kanta Bose
7. " Satish Chandra Mukerji
8. " Dinabandhu Shaha
9. " Satish Chandra Ray
10. " Tarini Kanta Sen

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1. Attempt should be made to form the District *samiti* within the month of January, and it is also necessary to try forthwith to form the Sadr Subdivisional *Samiti*.
2. A harmonium is to be purchased.

Executive Committee

6th Agrahayan, 21st November, Saturday
6 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt, President
2. " Upendra Nath Sen, Vice-President
3. " Satish Chandra Chatarji
4. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
5. " Purna Chandra De
6. " Nibaran Chandra Das
7. " Baikuntha Nath Das

Remarks

1. Before arriving at any conclusion about the Congress, the President will collect the opinions of the leaders by writing to them.
2. Further enquiries should be made about the sale of foreign winter clothes in the bazar.
3. The Secretary will lay on the table of the next meeting a draft about the division of the *Samiti's* work.

General Meeting

13th Agrahayan, 28th November, Saturday
6 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Kedar Nath Ghosh
3. " Satish Chandra Chatarji
4. " Akshay Kumar Sen
5. " Kshirod Behari Mukharji
6. " Purna Chandra De
7. " Shashi Kumar Gupta
8. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
9. " Tarini Kanta Sen

1. On the proposal of Srijut Haranath Ghosh, supported by Srijut Ram Chandra Chatarji, Srijut Pramatha Nath Biswas was taken in as a member with unanimous approval.

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2. The proposal about starting a new company for cloth business and about starting hide business was postponed for the present.
3. It is decided to attempt to form the sadr subsidivisional *Samiti* very shortly.
4. It is decided to open a gymnastic exhibition for the whole district in the months of *Magh*.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

Club House
26th Agrahayan
7 P.M.

Present

1. Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt
2. " Tarini Kumar Gupta
3. " Dinabandhu Shaha
4. " Shashi Kanta Gupta
5. " Satish Chandra Chatarji
6. " Purna Chandra De
7. " Nishi Kanta Basu
8. " Durga Mohan Sen
9. " Srish Chandra Ray

1. On the perusal of the opinions of the several districts, it is known that almost all the districts have decided not to join any Congress. Opinion of the different districts should be ascertained as to whether any meetings should be held.
2. After reading the letter of the *Surhid Sammilani*, it is decided that, as Srijut Sarat Chandra Guha is well informed about the Bakarganj *Hitaishini Samiti*, the matter will be again taken up when he comes to Barisal.
3. It is settled to appoint another preacher in the place of Srijut Basanta Kumar Ghatak.
4. The charge of conducting the gymnastics exhibition is laid upon the Physical Improvement Sub-Committee.

* * * * *

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The Association regrets that it cannot send delegates to any sectional Congress, and trusts that the leaders of Bengal will not join either of the two proposed, but take steps to bring about a united Congress as soon as possible.

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Loose page found in the Proceedings Book

Programme of business in the General Meeting

1. Reading the resolutions arrived at in the Executive Committee.
2. Discussion on the abstract of the last two years' income and expenditure.
3. The same on the last District Conference Account.
4. Work by the members on the eve of the *Puja* holidays —
   (a) Distribution of printed notices, inducing every householder within a specified area allotted to each of the members.
5. Works of the members during the *Puja* vacation —
   (a) Inspection of village *samitis*
   (b) Formation of new *Samiti* is on the new lines
   (c) Collection of donations —
   for Durga Mohan;
   for *Swadesh Bandhab;*
   for National School Scheme
6. Letters from Pirojpur and Patuakhali about the rules.
7. Miscellaneous.

Loose page found in the Samiti Proceedings Book

		Annual subscription		Amount paid		Balance	
		Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
1.	Biraj Mohan Ray Chaudhuri	12	0	-	-	12	0
2.	Rajani Kanta Guha *†	12	0	1	0	11	0
		(Consented to 6)					
3.	Bhabaranjan Mazumdar*†	6	0	-	-	6	0
4.	Kshirod Behari Mukherji	24	0	(8&4?)		12	0
5.	Behari Lal Biswas*	3	0	0	8	2	8
6.	Chitta Ranjan Sen*	12	-	5	0	7	0
7.	Satya Bhusan Das*	12	0	8	0	4	0
8.	Bepin Behary Ghosh*	12	0	4	0	8	0
8a.	Tarani Kanta Sen*†	6	0	-	-	6	0
9.	Kedar Nath Kar*	6	0	2	0	4	0

(I shall be away the station—K.N. Kar—11.1.1909)

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	Annual subscription Rs.	a.	Amount paid Rs.	a.	Balance Rs.	a.
10. Sarat Chandra Ray	3	0	1	0	2	0
11. Durga Mohan Sen	3	0	1	8	1	8
12. Srijut Rai Charan Biswas*	6	0	-	-	6	0
13. Kshetra Nath Ghosh*	8	0?	-	-	8	0
14. Satya Charan Guha		?	-	-	?	
15. Srijut Dhirendra N. Rai Chaudhuri	2	0	-	-	2	0
			34	8	92	0

The 5th January 1909

* Scratched out. † Written "Seen".

PART III

Samitis in the Mymensingh District (Supplementary)

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CONTENTS

PART III

12. Rules and Regulations of the *Sadhana Samaj* at Mymensingh

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Rules and Regulations of the Sadhana Samaj at Mymensingh

No. 12

1st Chapter :— It is stated that the Association was started with a view to bring home to the Bengali youths their wretched condition, to induce them to devise remedies for it, to give them ample scope to form their own lives, and to enable them to do public good.

2nd Chapter : — Regulations — "A" Branch—Members and disciples —

1. Students above 18 years and all other educated gentlemen will be able to become members of the *Samaj* (Association) in compliance with the following regulations :
   (a) Every member will have to pay a minimum monthly subscription of one ana to help the Association.
   (b) Every member must promise to abide, as far as lies in his power, by the standard set up by the Association and the regulations adopted by it.
   (c) Those that are willing to enlist themselves as members in conformity with the rules (a) and (b) shall send their names to the Secretary or to one of his auhtorised assistants. The Secretary or his aforesaid assistant will announce his name before the members who assemble at the next weekly meeting. After the announcement if at least five of the members approve of it (the election), he will after that meeting be considered a member gifted with all the privilege of the Association.
2. Students below 8 years who have been permitted by their guardians will be accepted as disciples of the Association if they promise to form their lives in conformity with the regulations laid down be it. Every disciple will have to pay two anas as admission fee and a minimum monthly fee of two pice.
3. The secretary or any of his assistants will accept the students who are candidates as disciples according to his discretion.
4. The opinions of the disciples will not be accepted in conducting the business of the Association.
5. Those disciples who have passed their 18th year and who are ready to pay a monthly subscription of at least one ana will be considered members. Their names will be announced only at the general meeting when they are raised to the status of members.

3rd Chapter — "B" Branch—The general standard with regard to the forming and leading of individual lives of the members and disciples :—

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1. Those members and disciples who have not adopted any affair as yet should nto be anxious for services other than the professions of education, medicine and those pertaining to indigenous arts and commerce, but should resolve to earn their livelihood chiefly by agriculture, arts, and commerce, or by some other independents professions according to their individual natural abilities and inclinations.

   No one should hesitate to take to small profession capable of being managed by his own labour according to his own circumstances without thinking whether it is fit or unfit for genteel society in accordance with the established custom. There is dependence in big posts, whereas there is independence in these professions however small they may be. The members will consider independence to be an object of more honour than dependence in whatever condition it may be. There can be no real meanness in the independent profession whatever that may be which is adopted by the educated, big-minded and highly-cultured man. If we look to worldly interest (we will find) that it is probable for a very few persons now-a-days to earn their livelihood from the services and other affairs that are adopted by Bengali gentlemen to support themselves. Everyone is seeing its proof and specification before his eyes, and a detailed discussion of it is unnecessary.
2. To effectuate the two purposes of frugality and increase in the strength of bodily patience members should, in their ordinary daily life, abandon all sorts of luxuary (but they should always look to cleanliness for the sake of health).
3. The members will adopt the following means to form a healthy, strong, and active body capable of enduring intense labour and hardship :—
   (a) Daily walk in the morning and evening.
   (b) Not to be ashamed of, or to desist from dong any laborious work, provided it is not beyond one's power to do.
   (c) To try to endure the sun's heat, rain and cold in such a way that it does not effect the health seriously.
   (d) Manly exercises, such as travel to a distant place, swimming, climbing trees, riding, rowing, carrying a load under circumstances, shooting fierce animals as far as possible, etc.
   (e) Constant attention to the preservation of the body, taking of food suited to increase strength, and cleanliness with regard to the body, dress and dwelling house.

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(f) Discussion of the Science of Hygiene and attention to obey the rules.

4. The members should instead of wasting the leisure time in idle gossips and other useless amusements utilise it in the discussion of any selected *Sastra* (book of learning) or art according to their individual abilities nd inclinations.

5. Unmaried members whose circumstance are not such as to enable them to maintain their families or with difficulty should not marry until they are fitted to maintain them.

6. The members will particularly mandful to form manly and dutiful lives by constant high-thinking, lofty discussion, devotion to high standard, acceptance and fulfillment of high morals, attention to one's own and the public good, and several other means.

7. Each of the members will keep a diary. They will briefly record the events of their daily life before they go to bed after finishing their daily prescribed work. The they will read for some time either and book which describes the conditions of the mother country or one which contains any other highly thoughtful matter and ponder over them. The feelings or thoughts that then arise in the mind should be recorded in the diary.

8. The members will go to bed and rise from it daily adoring the mother country as the principal deity of worship in life.

9. A general standard as to how members other than students should spend their daily lives is given below :
   (a) To exercise and finish walk early in the morning after they have left the bed and simultaneously with the sun's rise.
   (b) To do the prescribed work up to 5 P.M.
   (c) To play, exercise and walk from 5 P.M. to evening, taking short rest after work.
   (d) Song, singing of hymns and discussion of other delightful subjects for an hour or two in company of friends. For this purpose there will be arrangements for the members to gather at the house of the Association every day in the evening. Then the members will read at home before every day in the evening. Then the members will read at home before they go to bed, discuss various subjects with the members of the family, and write out their diaries.

10. A general standard as to how students who are members and disciples should spend their daily lives is given below :
   (a) Exactly like (a) of the 9th rule mentioned above.
   (b) Study up to 10 A.M.

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(c) School time from 10 to 4 P.M. Study at home on holidays other than Sundays.
(d) Play, exercise and walk from 5 to evening.
(e) They mey, with the permission of guardians, attend the gathering of friends for one hour after evening at the house of the Association.
(f) They will go to bed between the hours of 10 and 11 at night after they have red and recorded the diary at home.

11. Members and disciples will spare no pains to conduct themselves in accordance with the above regulations framed to show the standard of daily lives they are to lead. They may spend their Sundays in rest, innocent amusements, etc., according to their advice and will if they are not to attend any meeting for discussion or any temporary necessary business of the Association. They will try to conduct themselves in conformity with the prescribed rules on holidays other than Sundays if there be no there detriment.

4th Chapter :— C—It sets up the standard of life to which the members should try to attain. It is stated that the first duty of man is to love his parents, relations and neighbours, and that he should alkways help the poor and follow the long-standing customs of the country he belongs to and that he who acts otherwise cannot love his own country. We find that the funds of the Association consist in the handfuls of rice and *Pranami* (moneys obtained from the offerings to the gods and goddesses).

5th Chapter —D—It shows how the funds are to be utilised. We find that they are to be spent for purposes of charity and public good, for the advancement of national learning and for advocating the cause of the country, as shown by the political leaders.

6th Chapter :—E—It lays down the general rules with regard to the management of the Association.

7th Chapter:—*Conclusion*—It shows how famine which prevails in Bengal can be averted and how the poor can be protected.

Mukunda Lal Dhar
Translator

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Report on the Dacca Sri Sangha up to 1929

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Foreword

This note has been compiled from the secret records of the Intelligence Branch and is to be treated, therefore, as a secret document, and is to be kept in the personal custody of the Superintendents of Police to whom it is sent.

District Intelligence Branch officers, however, should study it, and should be allowed access to it whenever necessary.

This report ends at 1929, a few months before the all-Bengal Jugantar party launched the 1930 terrorist campaign. It is hoped that a second part will be compiled, giving an account of the part played by the Sri Sangha and the Bengal Volunteer group in this campaign.

The present report, however, should be of interest to District Intelligence Branch officers in all districts, for it is an instructive sketch of the development, in a few years, of a powerful terrorist party from an ostensibly philanthropic organisation.

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The Dacca Sri Sangha

1. **Foundation in 1920 :—**

Anil Chandra Ray, the founder of the Dacca Sri Sangha, is the son of Arun Chandra Ray, of Bakshibazar, Dacca town, and Gobindapur, police-station Nawabganj, Dacca. He was born in 1901. During the investigation into the Abdullapur dacoity in 1917, it was found that he was an associate of Pramatha Nath Deb Chaudhuri, a member of the party of Hem Chandra Ghosh *alias* Bhuna (G. L. No. 950), who was at that time a member of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. Hem Chandra Ghosh left the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, and joined up with Bipin Bihari Ganguli (G. L. No. 893), a well-known leader of the Jugantar party. In 1920 he started a philanthropic society at Tantibazar, Dacca town, of which Pramatha Chakrabartti was the leader and Anil Ray a member. It is from this society that the formidable terrorist party known as the Dacca Sri Sangha developed.

In 1922 according to confessing revolutionary No. 587, Anil Ray enlisted a number of youths as volunteers for duty at performances by the jatra party of Mukunda Das of Barisal. Among them were—

1. Prabhat Nag.
2. Sudhir Nag.
3. Rabindra Sen.
4. Anil Das Gupta, then a teacher of the Bengal Technical Institute, Jadabpur, and in 1931 an engineer in Cuttack.
5. Mohini De, then a student at the Dacca Engineering School, and in 1931 believed to be in Burma.
6. Kamakhya Ray.
7. Satya Bhusan Gupta.
8. Bhupendra Rakshit.
9. Rasamay Sur.
10. Sailendra Bose, then a student at the Dacca Engineering School, and in 1931 believed to be in Rangoon.
11. Sailen Sen, then a student of the Dacca Engineering School, and in 1931 believed to be in the Garo Hills.
12. Pratap Guha Mustafi.
13. Bhupen Sarkar, nephew of Professor Padmini Rudra of the Dacca Intermediate College.
14. Anil Ghosh.
15. Surendra Lal Datta, of the Cotton Library.
16. Sudhendu Datta *alias* Jiban Datta.
17. Jatin Chakrabartti *alias* Phani.

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18. Supati Ray Chaudhuri.
19. Bhabesh Nandi.
20. Anil Das.

Anil Ray then started gymnasiums at Baxibazar, where numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 16 above used to take exercise, and at Tantibazar, to which numbers 12 and 18 above and Supati Ghosh Majumdar, Nikunja Sen (son of the postmaster, Chauk P. O., and in 1931 a school teacher in Rajshahi district) and Barindra Ray were frequent visitors.

In 1923 Hem Ghosh deposed Pramatha Chakrabartti from the leadership, and appointed Anil Ray in his place. Anil Ray opened a Boys' Reading Institute at Urdu. Tejamay Ghosh and Ramapati Mitra joined the party this year. This deponent stated that at this time the objects of the party were purely philanthropic, but confessing revolutionary No. 599 said that it was about this time that he used to visit the Baxibazar gymnasium, and was recruited as a terrorist by Anil Ray, Sudhir Nag, and Amal Ray.

2. **Arms in 1923 :—**

In 1923 a Dacca agent reported that Haridas Datta (G. L. No. 738), a member of the Jugantar party, who took part in the theft of arms from Messrs. Rodda & Co. in 1914, and was made a State prisoner in 1917, had helped in the formation of the terrorist party in Dacca, of which Anil Ray and Satya Bhusan Gupta were members, and that he had three revolvers. It was reported that, three weeks before the Sankaritola Post Office dacoity with murder, he made over four revolvers to Bipin Ganguli, which, the latter said, were required for some crime.

3. **Activities in 1924 :—**

During 1924 Anil Ray, assisted by Satya Bhusan Gupta, was busy recruiting members, amongst whom was Sarat Deb Chaudhuri. Manindra Ray had already started an organisation of his own, called the Santi Sangha, which he amalgamated with Anil Ray's party. At the end of the year it was estimated by an agent that Anil Ray's party was 50 strong. Although it was referred to by agents as a branch of Bipin Ganguli's party, which had already embarked on a fresh campaign of terrorism in 1923, Anil Ray's party remained quiet. The only overt act of violence that was reported was the stabbing of Khitish Ray of Nawabganj, as the result of a private quarrel with Satya Bhusan Gupta. The case was compromised in court.

4. **Relations with the Bani Sevak Sangha in 1925 :—**

Sudhir Bose (G. L. No. 220), the leader of the Anushilan group in Dacca, known as the Bani Sevak Sangha, had been working with Anil

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Ray, but broke away after a dispute about the leadership. In spite of this disagreement Anil Ray appears to have maintained relations with the Bani Sevak Sangha group through Nalini Sur and Sudhir Bose in 1925. The Bani Sevak Sangha was one of the groups which constituted the all-Bengal revolutionary party or New Violence party, which was formed after the main Dacca Anushilan Samiti and the main Jugantar party were attacked by the 1924 Ordinance. Charu Bikash Datta of Chittagong (G. L. No. 729) and Sudhir Bose were members of the central board of this party. When the Bani Sevak Sangha was planning some assassinations in Dacca in August, Khagesh Bardhan, a member of that party, pointed out the houses of the local D. I. B. officers to Charu Bikash Datta, and shortly after this, was noticed by a watcher in the company of Anil Ray. Charu Bikash was arrested in suspicious circumstances outside the house of the Dacca D.I.O. on the 16th August. Subsequently, however, Anil Ray, suspecting that Nalini Datta, an important member of the Bani Sevak Sangha, was a police spy, decided not to collaborate with that party.

5. Anil Ray's policy in 1925 :—

Anil Ray was a young man of independent spirit and ambition, who would brook no encroachment on his authority. Charu Bikash Datta had wanted him to amalgamate his party with the Chittagong party, but the negotiations broke down when Anil Ray refused to accept a subordinate position but offered to act as an adviser. Anil Ray's aim was to organise a strong secret party, without giving the Government any opportunity to crush it. He confined its open activities, therefore, to social welfare work, but naturally took advantage of the contact thus afforded with the youth of Dacca to recruit members for his secret party. He took recruits principally from well-to-do Hindu families, thereby reducing the chances of treachery by members and interference by the police. In their eagerness to build up the party Anil Ray and his men approached members of other secret parties, and threatened and actually assaulted those who refused to join. When the leaders of the other parties ventured to remonstrate with him Anil Ray denied all knowledge of such incidents.

6. Recruitment in 1925 :—

In 1925 under Anil Ray's instructions, Bhabesh Nandi opened a gymnasium at Kayettuli, of which Sailesh Ray and Jyotish Joardar became members. A branch of the Kayettuli Bangla (these gymnasiums were called Banglas) was opened at Armenitala by Barindra Ray and Nani and Nirmal, of Armenitala. It was known as the Dhruba Sangha, and had a membership of about 20, among whom were Jyotirmay Sen

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and his younger brother. Surendra Datta, of the Cotton Library, opened, a library in his house at Banglabazar, of which Anil Ghosh, Anukul Das, and Sarat Das, were members.

7. **Satya Bhusan Gupta impatient for violence in 1925 :—**

It must be remembered that at this time the two main terrorist parties in Bengal, the Jugantar party and the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, had been temporarily suppressed by the internments under Regulation III in 1923 and 1924, and under the Ordinance of 1924, and that an amalgamation of various dangerous groups had been formed with the object of continuing the terrorist campaign. As has already been stated, Anil Ray's party had been in touch with the Bani Sevak Sangha, one of these groups. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in 1925 there was a section of Anil Ray's party which expressed its dissatisfaction with his policy and wanted to commit crimes of violence. The principal members of this section were Satya Bhusan Gupta and Bhupendra Kishore Rakshit, who became the leaders of the violent section of this party in 1929, and were responsible for the murders of British officials in the campaign which started in 1930. In May it was reported that Bhabesh Nandi and Satya Bhusan Gupta had told Hem Chandra Ghosh that they could not remain idle any longer, and that they wanted to commit dacoity in order to obtain funds to buy the arms and ammunition which they lacked. Satya Bhusan Gupta was disappointed that Hem Chandra Ghosh and Haridas Datta were making no efforts to obtain firearms, for, as an agent reported at the time, the party had only two broken and rusty revolvers, and there was no trace of two other revolvers which were with Bipin Ganguli's party. In August Bhabesh Nandi was observed pointing out the Dacca D.I.O. to Satya Bhusan Gupta at the Dacca railway station.

In October Satya Bhusan Gupta and Bhupen Kishore Rakshit thought that they might obtain money by abducting the son of some rich man and holding him to ransom. Hem Chandra Ghosh replied that the policy of the party was to avoid doing anything which would give the police a chance of crushing it. Anil Ray was confident that the internments would arouse the patriotism of the youth of Bengal, and that his organisation would benefit by increased opportunities of recruitment. His intention was that there should be no terrorist activity till the organisation of the party was complete. Holding to ransom has not yet been tried by Bengal terrorists, but it was suggested in 1931 by the Chittagong Jugantar party, whose plan was to seize some European official or his wife. It is not improbable that the prevalence of such outrages in the United States of America has been noted by the Bengal

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terrorists, and that at some time or other they will be a feature of terrorism in Bengal.

8. **Representatives at the Faridpur Congress, 1925 :—**

Anil Ray, Bhabesh Nandi, Anil Ghosh, Sachindra Majumdar *alias* Makhan, Satya Bhusan Gupta, Bhupen Rakshit, and Jitendra Das Gupta attended the Faridpur Congress in May, the Congress at which C. R. Das moved his infamous Gopi Mohan Shaha resolution.

9. **Dissatisfaction with Hem Ghosh in 1925 :—**

In 1925 a split between Anil Ray and Hem Ghosh was imminent. It arose from an adverse report received about Hem Ghosh's conduct in Calcutta. Anil Ray, Satya Bhusan Gupta, Rasamay Sur, Bhupen Rakshit, Bhabesh Nandi, Anath Karmakar, Pramatha Chakrabartti, Haridas Datta, and Manindra Guha, held a secret meeting in August, after which Anil Ray, Manindra Guha, and Bhupen Rakshit went to Calcutta, investigated the charges, and decided that Hem Ghosh should not be deposed from the leadership, but that a committee of three members should manage the party. What the allegations against Hem Ghosh were, are not known, but Manindra Guha and Haridas Datta Subsequently met Hem Ghosh and decided that they were malicious.

10. **Collection of bomb materials in 1925 :—**

In November it was reported that Anil Ray was collecting materials for bombs from the Dacca University laboratory through science students who were members of his party.

11. **Connection with Jiban Lal Chatarji's group in 1925 :—**

In 1925 Anil Ray's party, then referred to sometimes as the Dacca Social service League and sometimes as the Santi Sangha, was connected with the Munshiganj Jugantar party under Jiban Lal Chatarji. Benu Gopal Ray was mentioned as a member, and Jnananjan Neogi, the well-known political agitator of Bengal, was mentioned as a supporter of Anil Ray's party.

12. **Policy in 1926 :—**

In 1926 Anil Ray's party became known as the Sri Sangha, a Bengali translation, more or less, of the original title. Anil Ray's policy remained, as in 1925, one of quiet preparation. He was spared the necessity of committing dacoity for funds, because of the special care which was taken to recruit boys of well-to-do families. He intended, when his party was sufficiently organised, to join it up with other political parties in India and bring about a revolution. His policy was similar to

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that of the leaders of other Jugantar groups and the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, when the success of the police attack brought home to them how premature they had been in launching a campaign of violence in 1923. The most noticeable feature of his policy and this is where he differed from the others–is that he was determined to build up his party by himself, and allow co-operation with but no interference by other parties. He adhered to this right up to the time of his arrest in 1930. The history of terrorism in Bengal proves that it is not easy task for a leader to curb the violent propensities of the members, who, recruited as they are for terrorism, naturally fail to appreciate a policy which seems to them to be the very negation of terrorism. It says much for Anil Ray's qualities as a leader, therefore, that, in spite of Satya Bhusan Gupta's renewed demands for the adoption of a programme of violence, he was able so long to refuse to be jockeyed into agreeing with action which, although inspiring, he knew must end in disaster. He was not averse to assassination as such, for, as agent 'A 48' reported, he admitted in secret conference with Satish Thakur of Mymensingh, Jitendra Kushiari of Baherak, and Srish Chatarji, the well-known pleader and instigator of terrorism of Dacca, that it would indeed be necessary to finish Gopi Mohan Shaha's unfinished task of murdering Sir Charles Tegart.

In 1926 Anil Ray conceived the idea of joining the Congress, and with Anil Ghosh and other members of the party, attended the All-India Congress Committee at Gauhati in December. there Srish Chatarji addressed some of the delegates at a private meeting, and urged them to start revolutionary activity all over India before the Statutory Commission arrived, for, he said, the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were due entirely to revolutionary activity during the war, and further concessions should and could be extorted by similar means.

13. Anil Ray extends his influence in 1926 :—

Anil Ray's principal interest in 1926 was to find new ways of spreading his influence. Members of the Sri Sangha were prominent among the volunteers at the Nangalband Mela, a famous place of pilgrimage in Dacca district, and in philanthropic activities. Public gymnastic displays were organised, the proceeds of which went to the party's funds. Anil Ray exploited the agitation which was going on in Congress circles for the abolition of the Hindu-Moslem pact and the overthrow of J. M. Sen gupta–an agitation which the Karmi Sangha, the terrorist wing of the Congress, and the Jugantar party were conducting with the greatest vigour. He and Pradosh Rai Chaudhuri made plans to start a Citizen's Protection League in Dacca, with the ostensible object

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of protecting Hindus from Muhammadan rowdies, while Satya Bhusan Gupta and Manindra Ray helped him to organise volunteers for the same purpose. Swami Nareshananda *alias* Narendra Nath Chakrabartti, of the Swamibagh Math, suggested to them that the Boy Scouts organisation would make a good recruiting ground, because the scouts were already trained in lathi play.

Anil Ray undertook to conduct village propaganda in Manikganj for the Karmi Sangha at the request of Amarendra Chatarji, with the object of forming defence parties in villages and infecting the members with terrorist doctrines.

Anil Ray canvassed or pretended to canvas for the Maharaja of Mymensingh in the Council elections, in return for a promise of a subscription to the Dacca Social Service League, while Birendra Shaha Poddar and Sukhamay Bose did the same for Nalini Ranjan Sarkar. It was also reported that Anil Ray received Rs. 700 from Rama Nath Das, a well-known Dacca merchant, as the price of his support of the later's candidature for Council election, but that he kept the money to buy arms with and gave nothing in return.

It must not be assumed that all persons who sought the support of the Sri Sangha in elections and contributed money to the Dacca Social Service League knew that, beneath the surface of this open welfare organisation, there was a strong terrorist party in process of formation. Few indeed of the ordinary public probably suspected this. The secret affairs of the party were known to hardly anybody except Anil Ray, Bhupen Rakshit, and Satya Bhusan Gupta, and, although many undesirables joined the Sri Sangha, the leaders felt sure that they were taking sufficient precautions to prevent the exposure of the party's real object.

14. **Recruitment in 1926 :—**

In 1926 recruitment proceeded apace in the various centres, namely, the Baxibazar, Tantibazar and Kayettuli Banglas, the Baxibazar Reading Club, the Dhruba Sangha at Armenitala, the Santi Sangha, and the Dacca Social Service League. Birendra Shaha Poddar and Sachis Sarkar started a new branch at Gandaria, of which Nepal Nag, Santi Ray, Bangeswar Ray, Subodh Mallik *alias* Khushi of Senhati, Lohajung, Ratul Ghosh of Sakta, Keraniganj, Suresh De *alias* Akaila, Sailesh Nag, Birendra Ghosh, Ranga Lal Shaha, and Sushil Ghosh were the principal members. Ex-convict Jyotirmay Ray *alias* Benga (G. L. No. 1506) and Satya Bhusan Gupta used to instruct the recruits in dagger and lathi play. Recruiters were also busy at all schools and colleges, including the

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Engineering School, in Dacca town. At Anil Ray's suggestion Miss Lila Nag started an organisation of women in Dacca town. It was known as the Dipali Sangha, and its objects were stated to be, firstly, to inspire husbands and brothers with enthusiasm to sacrifice even their lives for their country; and secondly, to provide safe and unsuspected custodians of arms and ammunition, harbourers of absconders, and accommodation addresses for correspondence. The following were mentioned as members :—Sakuntala Debi, Renu Sen, a relative of Dr. Abani Das Gupta, and Bibhabati Sen.

Agent 'A. S. 10' mentioned Satya Bhusan Gupta, Bhabesh Nandi, Bhupendra Rakshit, Manindra Ray, and Prafulla Mukharji, the son of the S.D.O., Munshiganj, as Anil Ray's principal lieutenants at this period, and said that it was Prafulla Mukharji who recruited Rasamay Sur and Anil Ghosh. Anil Ray's party continued to live up to its reputation for poaching members from other parties, and began to be greatly feared in Dacca town.

Information was received that, in Dacca district, branches of the party had been formed in Naraingan} (where the party ran a charitable organisation to help the poor at the Tanbazar Asram), Gobindapur (where Supati Ray was an active member), and Manikganj, and that there were branches also in Barisal, Bankura and Calcutta. In August it was reported that Anil Ray, who had been to Manikganj to organise the Karmi Sangha, found the people very backward in revolutionary matters, had enlisted the help of Kanai Lal Goswami of Belita, and had started work in several villages.

According to agent 'A, 48' Anil Ray deputed Naren Maharaj, of the Dacca Ram Krishna Mission, to the Baliati Ram Krishna Mission to start a centre there.

Satya Bhusan Gupta used to visit Amrita Hazra, convict of the Raja Bazar bomb case, who was released in 1926, and take his advice about lathi play and organisation questions in general.

The following were mentioned as active members of the party in 1926 :—

1. Usha Ranjan Das Gupta, son of a postal official.
2. Suchit Kumar Sen, 3rd year, Dacca University.
3. Krishna Bose, brother of Kulada Bose and an associate of members of the Bani Sevak Sangha.
4. Sudhendu Ghosh, son of G. Ghosh, who helped Anil Ray with money.
5. Pratap Guha Mustafi, son of Nibaran Guha Mustafi, who was sometimes left in temporary charge of the party.

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6. Sura Chandra Ghosh, of Ticatuli, who was recruiting in Dacca College.
7. Supati Ghosh Majumdar, who had recently returned from a visit to his brother Sripati at Baghdad, who was employed there in the Navy, Army and Air Force Institute.
8. Surath Deb Chaudhuri.
9. Sailesh Ghosh, son of Dr. Satish Ghosh, then in England.
10. Jagneswar Ray, who was in charge of the Ticatuli group.
11. Prafulla Mukharji, Assistant Lecturer in History, Dacca University, who helped Anil Ray to manage the secret party.
12. Hrishikesh Das Gupta, who acted as a custodian of arms.

15. Connection with other groups in 1926 :—

There was already in Dacca a branch of the well-known Jugantar group of Madaripur, Faridpur, which was known as Purna Das's group. In Dacca Birendra Shaha Poddar and Suresh De Ray *alias* Akaila were important members, and were in touch with the Munshiganj Jugantar party. In 1925 Birendra Shaha Poddar wanted to commit dacoity, and went to Chandernagore and Calcutta to consult the leaders of the Jugantar party, but it is not known what instructions he received. After his return, however, he discussed with Surendra Das a plan to murder His Excellency the Governor while holding the Durbar in Dacca. Bhabani Ray, brother of Anil Ray, had been selected to take part in this crime, and it was proposed that five members of the Chandernagore Prabartak Sangha should come to Dacca for it, if Mati Lal Ray, the leader of the Prabartak Sangha, approved. In April 1926 it was reported that Hem Maharaj, of the Hathkhola Ram Krishna Mission, Dacca, visited Khulna, Barisal, and Dacca, from Belur Math, at the request of Brajendra Chakrabartti of the Chandernagore Prabartak Sangha in order to sound the Jugantar parties of those places on the subject of resorting to violent activities. Anil Ray disagreed with his proposals. In 1926 Surendra Majumdar, a member of Purna Das' party deputed Birendra Shaha Poddar to bring about the amalgamation of that party and Anil Ray's party. Instead of doing that, however, he joined Anil Ray's party, and took Suresh De *alias* Akaila with him. As already noted in the previous paragraph, Birendra Shaha Poddar formed a group at Gandharia. He seems to have soon become dissatisfied with the inactivity of Anil Ray's party, for shortly after joining it he was thinking of re-transferring his allegiance to Purna Das. He seems to have remained with Anil Ray, however. Anil Ray was also in touch with Satish Thakur of the Mymensingh Jugantar party, who consulted him on party affairs when

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he visited Dacca with a football team.

Saumendra Nath Tagore, a communist who was conspiring with the active terrorist groups in Calcutta in 1926, went, according to agent 'A. S. 10,' to Dacca with Sanat Mukharji of Nadia, and met Anil Ray with whom he discussed various aspects of the revolutionary movement in Bengal, such as the amalgamation of all terrorist parties and a concerted programme of arms-importation. Anil Ray admitted that concerted action was necessary, and agreed to work in co-operation with Saumendra Nath Tagore and Sanat Mukharji, but refused to unite his party with any other. Saumendra Tagore came away impressed by Anil Ray's organising ability.

16. Arms in 1926 :—

Information about firearms was meagre in 1926. An agent stated that two years previously he had seen a Mauser pistol with Satya Bhusan Gupta and one Hem Chandra Pal. A report was also received that Satya Bhusan Gupta claimed that the party had a few revolvers and was trying to get some more. In December a member of the party was sent to Calcutta with 200 sovereigns and some currency notes, with instructions to make them over to one Gopal Da; this was probably for buying arms.

17. Bombs in 1926 :—

The following information about bomb making was received in 1926. In July Anil Ray asked Sukhamay Bose to collect nitric acid and galvanized wire. In August Anil Ray, Birendra Shah Poddar, Pravash Mallik of Munshiganj, Haladhar Shaha, Nihar Datta of Panchasar, and Indu Bhusan Sen met in Srish Chatarji's house. Anil Ray and Pravash Mallik said that a place for making bombs had been selected, but that the persons deputed to collect materials were finding it a difficult task. In August, also it was reported that Anil Ray had sent Haran Datta, Barindra Ray, and Surath Deb Chaudhuri to Chittagong to learn how to make bombs at the Prabartak Sangha, with which Haran Datta was reported to be the connecting link. In November a further report was received that Hem Maharaj, who was at the Rangoon Ram Krishna Mission, was collecting materials for making explosives to send to the Cox's Bazar Prabartak Sangha in Chittagong district, and that Anil Ray, in view of a recent discovery of bombs in Chittagong, was doubtful whether it would be safe to send them. In September a report was received that Anil Ray's party had obtained bomb formulae, but had no member capable of making bombs.

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18. **Policy in 1927 :—**

During 1927 Anil Ray continued with his task of quietly building up his party for the future revolution. Stories of the ill-treatment of détenus by Government caused him to remark on one occasion that this would be avenged by the murder of Magistrates and Superintendents of Police. In May, however, an agent learnt from Satya Bhusan Gupta that the Sri Sangha would remain outwardly inactive until the release of the détenus, which was expected to occur in 1929 on the arrival of the Royal Commission. They could have committed dacoities if they had wished, he said, but such actions at that time would prolong the detention of the terrorist leaders. He regarded Bipin Bihari Ganguli, who was in internment at that time, as a leader of the party.

In November 1927, Anil Ray, speaking of the future plans of the party, told an agent that there would be simultaneous risings throughout Bengal, in the course of which I. B. officers and informers would be killed and revolutionaries rescued from jails. The same agent also reported that Prabhu Guha Thakurta, son of pleader Bibhu Guha Thakurta, who had returned to India after meeting M. N. Roy in Germany and going with him to Russia where he met some Bolshevik leaders, had promised Anil Ray that he would be able to get from the Bolsheviks the arms required for the rising. It was also reported towards the end of the year that Satya Bhusan Gupta was thinking of organising on Bolshevik lines, with the special object of destroying zamindars and capitalists whom he regarded as the backbone of Government.

19. **Recruitment in 1927 :—**

Early in 1927 an agent stated that the Sri Sangha was in three main divisions :—

(a) Anil Ray, Bhabesh Nandi, Satya Bhusan Gupta, Bhupendra Rakshit, and Barindra Ray, who alone were aware of the secrets of the organisation.

(b) A group of about 100 senior members.

(c) A group of minor members.

The Sri Sangha had now the reputation of being the most powerful party in Dacca, and its arrogance knew no bounds. Members of other parties were impressed by the number of graduates there were in the party, and mystified by the shroud of secrecy that enveloped its policy. The extreme care which was taken to ensure the preservation of secrecy was what particularly struck an agent of the Dacca Police, who was recruited by Anukul Das in about 1927. He stated that the progress of the organisation and the plans of the inner circle were known to very few

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senior members, and that the members of one centre did not know the names of the members of another centre.

Anil Ray and Bhabesh Nandi used to visit the centres at Tantibazar, Kayettuli, Ganderia and Wari, where they lectured the members on the injustice of the British, and how it was to be avenged by violent revolution. In December 1931 confessing revolutionary No. 603 stated that Satya Bhusan Gupta, Tejamay Ghosh, and Jyotish Joardar used to hold parades at Baxibazar and teach drill and physical culture and used to recruit members in this way for the secret party. In 1927 Binoy Kumar Bose, who was convicted in 1931 for an armed robbery, was an active recruiter in the East Bengal Institution. His method was to select a boy and lecture him first on morality and physical culture, then on religion, for which books by Vivekananda were used, and finally on politics. Sudhir Nag of Baxibazar was also actively engaged in recruitment in 1927.

Ashu Das Gupta, a senior member of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, and Jyotirmay Ray taught the members lathi play. Anil Ray and Satya Bhusan Gupta were frequent visitors to an akhra at South Maisundi, started by Shyam Pande, a notorious hooligan of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, where members of the Sri Sangha and the Dacca Anushilan Samiti used to take exercise. Watchers reported that Bhabesh Nandi was supervising lathi play at akhras at 66/A and 15, Barada Ganguli Road.

According to information received in 1927 there were centres at Wari in Dacca town, Narainganj, and Gobindapur, police-station Nawabganj, and Haladhar Shaha has started recruiting centres at Jinardi and Baidyarbazar, for which Anil Ray had promised him books. Sachis Sarkar ordered dumb-bells and other appliances for the Gandaria akhra from Sailesh Sarkar, of 114/1, Amherst Street, Calcutta, and Anil Ray gave an almirah to the Gobindapur Palli Sangha (Village League) library, in which he, Khitish Ray, Barindra Ray, and Anil Ghosh took an active interest. It was in 1927, as stated by confessing revolutionary No. 587, that Birendra Ghosh and Barendra Ray opened a gymnasium at Thataribazar, Dacca town.

It was reported that Sushil Mukharji, of the Ticatuli Sakti Sangha, had joined Anil Ray's party.

At Narainganj Anil Ray's group was under Ambuja Chatarji, son of pleader Hemanta Chatarji, and Manindra Mitra, son of Kalachand Mitra peshkar. Ambuja Chatarji was originally a member of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. He had started Students' Association in Narainganj in 1923, and in 1926, when the Dacca District Political Conference was to be held there under the presidentship of Sarojini Naidu, worked hard to

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organise a District Students' Conference at the same time. Nalini Ghosh and other leaders of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti opposed him, with the result that he decided to leave the Samiti. He was caught on the rebound by the Sri Sangha which had already started organising there. The principal members were Sukumar Sen. Hemendra Das, Umesh Das, and Debendra Das. Thereafter Ambuja Chatarji started athletic clubs and branches of the Sri Sangha at Fatulla, Mashdail, and Narsingdi. The party became so powerful that in 1927 the Dacca Anushilan leaders, resenting this encroachment on their preserves, threatened him with personal violence if he did not leave the Sri Sangha. There was even bloodshed when the rival groups came to blows over the election of office bearers of the Students' Association.

20. **Anti-Muhammadan activities in 1927 :—**

In 1927 relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans were strained over the question of music before mosques. The Hindu Sabha at Dacca, of which Anil Ray became an Assistant Secretary, naturally took part in this agitation, and Bhupen Rakshit, Bhabesh Nandi, Pratap Guha Mustafi, and other members of his party acted as volunteers at the Dacca Hindu Conference in January. After the conference there was a private meeting, at which Anil Ray, Amrita Hazra, Srish Chatarji, and Satindra Nath Sen Gupta of Barisal, and others were present. Srish Chatarji addressed them, and said that the Hindus would be able to win Swaraj without the help of Muhammadans and should start bombing Muhammadans and Government officials in order to put a stop to the molestation of the peace-loving Hindus. On his return to Barisal Satindra Nath Sen gupta sent 25 daggers for Anil Ray's party. In June it was reported that the Dacca Hindu Sabha had decided to violate Government's orders about processions, and would carry out this decision in consultation with Satya Bhusan Gupta.

There is no doubt that Anil Ray and Satya Bhusan Gupta's intervention in this dispute on behalf of the Hindus was a calculated move to encourage recruitment to the terrorist party and to consolidate the influence of the Sri Sangha in Dacca. Narendra Chakrabartti of Pabna, who later figured prominently in the salt campaign and civil disobedience movement of 1930, was in Dacca in 1927, and expressed the opinion that all revolutionary and political organisations in Dacca should combine under one leader, even if each revolutionary group continued to organise separately. The agitation over music before mosques certainly drew Hindus together in Dacca, but it did not lead to the amalgamation of all terrorist parties. The leaders of the various groups were far too jealous and petty-minded for that to be possible.

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21. Quarrel with Dacca Anushilan Samiti :—

The rivalry between the Sri Sangha group and the Dacca Anushilan Samiti group at Naraingan j has already been mentioned. In Dacca Bhabesh Nandi was twice assaulted by members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. Hitherto the Sri Sangha had been on amicable terms with the Bani Sevak Sangha, which had, in February held an anniversary meeting to which members of all other parties were invited to witness an exhibition of lathi play, dagger play, and boxing, and to listen to Pulin Das speak on the benefits derived from such exercises. In August the three principal revolutionary parties in Dacca, viz., the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, the Bani Sevak Sangha, and the Sri Sangha, co-operated in organising a Dacca Young Men's Conference, but while it was going on the members of the first two parties came to blows on several occasions with the Sri Sangha. It appears that the Sri Sangha, backed by Rajani Basak, the well-known agitator of Manikganj, resented the appointed of Amrita Hazra as captain of the volunteers, and vented its feelings by assaulting Dhanesh Bhattacharji of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti during a display of lathi drill on the first day of the Conference. Members of the Bani Sevak Sangha and the Chhattra Sangha thereupon charged into the group of Sri Sangha members, and the resultant free fight broke up the proceedings. Both sides began collecting lathis, and Satya Bhusan Gupta swaggered about declaring that if any one dared to lay hands on him Dacca would run red with blood. Guru Govinda Majumdar fo the Bani Sevak Sangha admitted to an agent that there was a prearranged scheme to crush the Sri Sangha before it became too powerful, and murder Anil Ray himself as other rivals had been murdered in the past. The next day the rival groups were ready to give battle, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Pulin Das and Rajani Basak persuaded them to disperse. Pulin Das summoned Satya Bhusan Gupta, who declared that he was never the aggressor but would always retaliate if attacked. Anil Ray escaped on the last day of the conference by keeping close under the wing of Sarala Debi, while Satya Bhusan Gupta took refuge in the Sutrapur police-station, but there was a further clash between the rival volunteers at the Conference ground. The Conference, therefore, instead of fulfilling its real object of improving the relations between the three main revolutionary groups, merely served to accentuate the bitterness of the long-standing rivalry of the Jugantar party and the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, and to spoil the harmony of the relations between the Sri Sangha and the Bani Sevak Sangha.

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22. **Karmi Sangha :—**

After this Anil Ray, Surendra Majumdar of the Minshiganj Jugantar party, and Gopal Basak of the Communist group of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, combined to give effect to the Karmi Sangha's plan to capture the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the Calcutta Corporation, and to obtain a majority in the All-India Congress Committee. The nomination of members of the Dacca Congress Committee to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee took place in September with Suresh Das, a well-known leader of the Karmi Sangha and the Jugantar party, as returning officer. The Dacca Anushilan Samiti had already protested against this appointment through Manoranjan Banarji, President of the Dacca District Congress Committee, and threatened to withdraw their nomination papers. Kiran Sankar Roy and Akhil Datta of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee replied that they should not withdraw, because the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee would not tolerate any whimsical behaviour on the part of Suresh Das. On the 4th September Suresh Das and various members of the Dacca revolutionary groups met for the scrutiny of the nomination papers. Suresh Das announced that, unless the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, the Bani Seval Sangha, and the Chattra Sangha compromised with the Sri Sangha, he would ignore their nominees. He adjourned the proceedings till the next day for their decision, but before the time fixed for the scrutiny and in the absence of the opposition nominated members of the Sri Sangha, the Karmi Sangha, and the Bon Co., an offshoot of the Bani Sevak Sangha, and rejected the papers of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti and its allies. Anil Ray, Satya Bhusan Gupta, and Bhupen Rakshit, of the Sri Sangha, were among those who were nominated. The Congress election dispute committee set aside these nominations however, and Subhas Bose and Bidhan Ray nominated the following : — Anil Ray, Satya Gupta, Bhupen Rakshit of the Sri Sangha, Gopal Basak of the Bon Co., Suresh Das, ex-détenu Narain Banarji, and Haran Banarji of the Jugantar Party, and Manoranjan Banarji, Nalini Ghosh, Madan Bhaumik, Kedareswar Sen, Jamini Pal, and Nirmal Bhattacharji, of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti.

Anil Ray's connection with the Karmi Sangha put him in touch with the Bengal Jugantar leaders, particularly, with Amarendra Chatarji, who promised him full support and whom Anil Ray and Satya Bhushan Gupta proposed to consult in order to draw up a programme of work for the party. In April Anil Ray and Birendra Shaha Poddar had a discussion with Swami Nareshananda of the Swamibag Math about the Young Men's Conference recently held at Hardwar. The Swami told them that

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the Conference had given Bengal and opportunity to spread the terrorist cult to other provinces, and that Bengal revolutionaries were getting much inspiration from Bholananda Giri of Hardwar.

23. **Dipali Sangha :—**

Like the Sri Sangha the Dipali Sangha (mentioned in paragraph 14) was ostensibly devoted to charity and public welfare. It founded a widows' home under Bina Datta, daughter of Apurba Datta, retired Principal, Sylhet Government College. this young woman helped Lila Nag to build up the Dipali Sangha as did also Arubala Sen, Head Mistress of the Dipali Girls' School, whose views were that women too should prepare for the revolution for they could render invaluable assistance as messengers and shelterers. Lila Nag managed to get herself appointed as a non-official visitor to the Dacca Central Jail, her object being of course to get into touch with political prisoners. The appointment was soon cancelled, however, by the Divisional Commissioner when the police brought it to his notice.

24. **Arms in 1927 :—**

In 1927 the following information was received about the Sri Sangha having or trying to get firearms. In January Anil Ray had a small German revolver, and was hoping to buy a nickel-plated revolver from one Rajendra Chandra Neogi of Dacca. In March it was reported that the Sri Sangha had only two or three revolvers, but that a member of the party was in touch with some Kabuli smugglers and hoped to buy some more. In November another agent stated that the party had obtained daggers and revolvers from Mina Peshwari, a notorious smuggler of Calcutta. In May it was reported that a member of the party had bought a revolver from a Muhammadan for Rs.50, and had handed it over to Anil Ray, that Anil Ray had instructed Bhabesh Nandi to buy arms in Calcutta, and that an agent had seen a nine-shot automatic pistol with Anil Ray. In August an agent learnt from a member of the Bani Sevak Sangha that the Sri Sangha had brought two revolvers from a man of the United Provinces who had visited Dacca.

25. **Position of Sri Sangha at end of 1927 :—**

Although there was no manifestation of terrorist activity during the year, Anil Ray had done a good year's work. Recruitment was proceeding apace, and he occupied a position in the public, religious and political life of Dacca which was of great advantage to his party.

26. **Progress in 1928 :—**

In 1931 confessing revolutionary No. 597, who joined the Kayettuli Branch of the Sri Sangha in 1928, under the influence of Debendra

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Bhaumik *alias* Bukka, and Rabindra Bose, mentioned the following centres in Dacca town :—

Baxibazar, under Anil Ray.

Kayettuli, under Bhabesh Nandi. (The names of 31 members of this centre including Binoy Bose, the assassin of Mr. Lowman in 1930, were mentioned.)

Gandaria, Nawabganj, Nawabpur, Tanti Bazar and Armenitola, under Barindra Ghosh. (This centre was also known as the Dhruba Sangha. Supati Ray was an important member.)

Thatari Bazar, under Birendra Ghosh.

Wari, where Dinesh Gupta, one of the assassins of Colonel Simpson in 1930, was in charge.

Subadya.

At each centre there was a gymnasium, a library and reading rooms, where new members were recruited. The rules of the party forbade the participation of members of one centre in the secret activities of another. There was an inner circle and an outer circle, the former consisting of a few senior trusted members who were placed in charge of centres and were required to recruit members for the secret party. The members of the Kayettuli Bangla used to drill near Bhabesh Nandi's house under Jyotish Joardar and Tejamay Ghosh, and their progress used to be inspected by Satya Bhusan Gupta. Manindra Ray was mentioned as a group leader under Anil Ray.

Confessing revolutionary No. 556 referred to the Sri Sangha as Bipin Ganguli's Dacca party. The extent of Bipin Ganguli's interest in it, however, is not clear, but it is most likely that he left all the details of the organisation to Anil Ray, and acted in a purely advisory capacity himself.

Sachis Sarkar, a group leader under Anil Ray, was reported to have joined the Hindusthan Seva Dal formed in Calcutta by Ramesh Acharji and Niranjan Sen Gupta.

27. Feud between Bani Sevak Sangha and Sri Sangha continues in 1928 :—

In 1928 the quarrel between Sri Sangha and the Bani Sevak Sangha continued. In June Sarat Das of the Sri Sangha assaulted Sambhu Sutradhar and the son of pleader Khagendra Mitra of Kotwali Road, and Birendra Ghosh stabbed Jagadish Chandra Chaudhuri, son of Jagat

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Bandhu Chaudhuri of Thataribazar, a member of the Bani Sevak Sangha, because he was trying to recruit a boy whom the Sri Sangha wanted. In connection with this stabbing case Birendra Ghosh and Rabindra Chandra Guha *alias* Latka, son of Dinesh Chandra Guha, of Bajrajogini, Nahapara, were suspected. Jagadish Chaudhuri was again stabbed, this time fatally, on October 1930 by Birendra Ghosh and Binay Bose of Digbazar.

In November 1928, Suren Das, Rakhal Ghosh, Birendra Ghosh and others of the Sri Sangha, who were giving a display of lathi and dagger play, assaulted a goala with iron rods on the public road, and injured him so severaly that he was in hospital for 25 days.

The readiness to assault in a most brutal fashion anyone who offended them is a special feature of the conduct of the members of the Sri Sangha. These assaults serve two purposes: to enhance the prestige of the party in the eyes of the youth of the district, and to accustom the members to deeds, which, however cowardly they may be, entail risk of physical pain to themselves. When the leader of a terrorist party orders for reasons of expediency that outrages directed against Government should not be committed, such assaults are the only way of training young members to be hooligans.

28. Anil Ray's attitude towards the amalgamation of the Jugantar and Anushilan Samiti in 1928 :—

It was in 1928 that an important event occurred in the history of terrorism in Bengal, namely, the amalgamation of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti and the Jugantar party.

In paragraph 64 of the report on the activities of terrorists in Bengal in 1930 a brief account is given of how détenus in jail in 1927 planned to form an amalgamation of all terrorists groups, and of the events which led to the formation of the Workers' League by Bhupendra Kumar Datta and the Independence League for India by Subhas Bose, Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Srinivas Iyengar. In January Subhas Chandra Bose was trying to rally all terrorists groups under the Congress flag, with a view to carry out the Congress programme of the boycott of British goods and the Simon Commission. He tried to get all parties in Dacca to sink their differences and succeeded to some extent in improving the relations between the Sri Sangha and the Dacca Anushilan Samiti in Dacca, and although some members of this party were against him Anil Ray agreed to work with Nalini Ghosh, the leader in Dacca of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, according to Subhas Bose's plan. Yet in June it was reported that, when Ashu Lahiri of the Hindu Relief Committee wanted to organise a

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strong Hindu body in the Congress, who would support Hindu interests in opposition to the Swarajists, he found all parties except the Sri Sangha ready to adopt the scheme. Anil Ray would co-operate with no other party, nor would he explain to anybody what his own policy and ultimate aim were. Satya Bhusan Gupta was willing, but Anil Ray held out and forbade the members of his party to implicate themselves in any way with other parties.

By August the leaders of the Anushilan Samiti and the Jugantar party had agreed upon amalgamation and formed a council of 10, consisting of Arun Guha, Purna Das, Manoranjan Gupta, Satish Chakrabartti, Suren Ghosh and Bupen Datta, of the Jugantar party, and Satish Pakrashi, Nalini Ghosh, Madan Bhaumik, and Kedareswar Sen, of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. Rabindra Sen Gupta was sent up to Dacca with Hem Ghosh to obtain control of Anil Ray's party. A conference was held in Bhabesh Nandi's house, at which Rabindra Sen, Hem Ghosh, Nalini Ghosh, Madan Bhaumik, Anil Ray, Bhabesh Nandi, Satya Bhusan Gupta, Bhupendra Rakshit, and Manindra Roy were present. All except Anil Ray were in favour of the amalgamation. Anil Ray said that he could not agree until he knew how the parties were going to work together and what scheme of work they would adopt. He thought there would be chaos if the amalgamation were too sudden. The Anushilan leaders decided privately that, if it did not join, the Sri Sangha should be broken up. Negotiations continued, however, Manindra Ray suggested that first the Narainganj group of the Sri Sangha should join the combine,but when the leaders went to Narainganj Ambika Chatarji refused to meet them. Anil Ray's refusal to join the amalgamation was characteristic of his policy from the very beginning. In addition it was not to be expected that, after the events of 1927, he would agree to place his party under the leaders of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti who were in charge of the amalgamated party in Dacca. Eventually Anil Ray went to Calcutta and interviewed Hem Ghosh, who persuaded him to withdraw his opposition. After this Bhupen Rakshit and Satya Bhusan Gupta introduced some members of the Sri Sangha to the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. In September the amalgamated group including Anil Ray's group founded a Youth Association in Dacca, with branches at Narainganj and Narsingdi. They proposed to extend it all over the district and to have athletic clubs and reading rooms in each centre. Suren Ghosh of Mymensingh and Manoranjan Gupta visited Dacca in September, and discussed the programme of the amalgamated party with Pratul Ganguli and Nalini Ghosh of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, Gopal Basak of the Bon. Co., and Anil Ray. It was reported that Hem Ghosh helped Bhupen Datta and

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Surendra Ghosh to draft the manifesto of the amalgamated party. In October an agent stated that Bipin Ganguli had asked Anil Ray to leave the amalgamated party and after this it appears that Anil Ray took very little interest in it. Satya Bhusan Gupta and Hem Ghosh, however, were reported by an agent in the Mymensingh Jugantar party to have agreed to accept Suren Ghosh as their leader.

When, owing to the mutual distrust and jealousy of the two main parties, the amalgamation eventually broke down in 1929, Anil Ray promptly resumed his independence.

29. **Calcutta Congress, 1928 :—**

The following members of the Sri Sangha attended the Calcutta Congress as volunteers in December 1928:—

Birendra Shaha Poddar.
Rasamay Sur.
Supati Ray.
Jitendra Nath en.
Sachis Sarkar.
Binay Krishan Bose.
Gopal Chandra Sen.
Haran Chandra Datta.
Sailesh Ch. Ray.
Anil Ghosh.
Bangeswar Ray.
Santi Ranjan Bose.
Barindra Chandra Ray.
Sachindra Chandra Bhaumik.
Manindra Chandra Ray.
Debendra Das of Narainganj.
Ambuja Chatarji of Narainganj.
Manindra Mitra of Narainganj.

An account is given in paragraph 40 of the difficulty Subhas Bose experienced in dealing with the volunteers of the Sri Sangha at this Congress.

30. **Arms in 1928 :—**

The only information received about arms in 1928 was that Anil Ray's party had two revolvers, one in Dacca and one in Calcutta, and that Anil Ray had asked Tripura Sen, an old member of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, to supply some youths who would be sent abroad for importing arms.

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31. Satya Bhusan Gupta breaks away from Anil Ray and forms the Bengal Volunteer group in 1929 :—

For five years Satya Bhusan Gupta and Bhupendra Rakshit had been clamouring in vain for a change in Anil Ray's policy. The result was that in July 1929 Satya Bhusan Gupta and several other members of the Sri Sangha formed a separate group called the Bengal Volunteer group with a programme of terrorism. They resented Anil Ray's autocratic leadership and his insistence on adhering to his original plan not to have indiscriminate outrages, but to organise an insurrection when he thought the time was ripe and his party properly organised. Charges of immorality with Lila Nag were also made against him, but this was probably only in order to discredit him, for the information on record clearly shows that, in spite of the great stress they lay on moral purity, terrorist leaders and recruiters do not themselves maintain the high standard of morals which they set for their subordinates.

Among the members who joined the Bengal volunteer group were Jyotish Joardar, Bhabesh Nandi, Tejamay Ghosh, who was Secretary of the Dacca Students' Association, Dinesh Gupta, Binay Krishna Bose, Hem Ghosh, Rasamay Sur, Supati Ray, Kamakshya Ray, Prabhat Nag, brother of Lila Nag, Debendra Bhaumik *alias* Bhukka, Ramapada Mitra *alias* Nauntha of Buxibazar, Bhupen Sarkar, Tarani Rudra, and Phani Bhusan Chakrabartti, all of Chaudrighat, Haridas Sen of Thataribazar, the Wari group, and the Dhruba Sangha (which included Sasanka Das Gupta *alias* Comet and Supati Ghosh), Manindra Ray, Surendra Datta of the Banglabazar Cotton Library, Haran Datta, Jitendra Sen of Kayettuli, Rabindra Sen *alias* Mani of Bakshibazar, Fani Chakrabartti *alias* Jatu, Anukul Das of G. Ghosh's Lane.

Apart from the disagreement about policy there were two other matters over which Hem Ghosh and Anil Ray quarrelled. Anil Ray had introduced Miss Lila Nag to Hem Ghosh. After the introduction was effected Hem Ghosh wanted her to visit him frequently, but she refused. Hem Ghosh blamed Anil Ray for this, and finally directed him to cut off all connection with her. This Anil Ray refused to do. Hem Ghosh was also said to be offended with Anil Ray for associating with Rebati Barman in Calcutta, although Hem Ghosh had directed that the latter should be boycotted for joining the Howrah party without permission. It was not clear at the time what Howrah party was referred to, but it may be Ganesh Mitra's party. (See paragraphs 205 and 41 of the Report on the activities of terrorists in Bengal–April to December 1930.)

After the split the leaders of the Bengal Volunteer group held several meetings to discuss their policy. At one of these which was held

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in the house of Bhupen Rakshit the subjects discussed were—(1) Means to improve the Bengal Volunteer group at the expense of Anil Ray's group, (2) Direct action, in other words terrorism, to promote recruitment, (3) the adoption of the "Benu" newspaper as the Bengal Volunteer party's organ. At others the capture of the District Congress Committee from the clutches of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti was discussed.

At about the time when Satya Bhusan Gupta and Hem Ghosh broke away from the Sri Sangha and formed the Bengal Volunteer group, Debendra Das and Kalipada Banarji began to be jealous of Ambuja Chatarji, and tried to usurp the leadership of the Naraingani group. Ambuja Chatarji hoped to be able to remain neutral in the Sri Sangha quarrel, but some of the members favoured Satya Bhusan Gupta. Amongst them was Debendra Das who had a hand in the telegraph wire-cutting in Naraingani in 1930, in which conspiracy Jiban Lal Chatarji's group and the Bengal Volunteer group were involved.

It is to be noted that Satya Bhusan Gupta, Bhupen Rakshit, and Hem Ghosh, the three principal organiser of the Bengal Volunteer group, had been in Calcutta for some time and had got into very close touch with the leaders of other terrorist groups, especially Jugantar. The next paragraph contains an account of the formation of the all-Bengal Jugantar party, which in 1930 launched the biggest terrorist campaign ever experienced in Bengal. In this campaign the Bengal volunteer group was destined to play a very prominent part.

32. The Bengal Volunteer group joins the all-Bengal Jugantar Party in 1929 :—

In May 1929, the anniversary of the foundation of the Sankar Math, the headquarters of the Barisal Jugantar party was celebrated at Barisal. This function was attended by Hem Ghosh, Ananda Majumdar, and Nagendra Chakrabartti *alias* Galpora of Mymensingh, Manoranjan Gupta of Barisal, Bhupendra Kumar Datta of Jessore, Rasik Das of Khulna, and other important leaders of the Jugantar party. Incidentally, invitations had been sent to the leaders of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti but they stayed away. Suren Ghosh had especially deputed Ananda Majumdar to induce Hem Ghosh to merge his party into the main Jugantar. A secret meeting was held at the Sankar Math, at which Manoranjan Gupta explained that Hem Ghosh would have to give up his idea of independent groups. The latter agreed, but his views on policy were immediately disapproved by Manoranjan Gupta. Hem Ghosh was for a campaign of immediate and unremitting violence, but Manoranjan

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Gupta said that it was the leaders who would decide when violence was to be adopted. In July, on the occasion of the Barisal District and Youth Conference, a large number of leaders of the Jugantar party assembled in Barisal. A secret meeting was held by the Jugantar leaders, at which, Bhupen Datta had announced the fate of the Jugantar party would be decided. Among those who attended were Surendra Mohan Ghosh and Ananda Kishore Majumdar of Mymensingh, Bhupendra Kumar Datta of Jessore, Arun Kumar Guha, Purna Chandra Das and Santosh Kumar Datta of Faridpur, Surjya Kumar Sen of Chittagong, Himangsu Bose Ray and Santosh De of Barisal, Jiban Lal Chatarji of Munshiganj, and Hem Ghosh. The latter had been a strong supporter of the amalgamation, and expressed the hope that a further attempt would be made to bring the Jugantar party and the Dacca Anushilan Samiti together again. Surendra Ghosh recounted several instances of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti's breach of faith, and declared that any compromise was out of the question. It would mean, he said, the swamping of the Jugantar party. His views prevailed, and the meeting decided to reorganise the Jugantar party under the name of the all-Bengal Jugantar party, and appointed a central council to manage it consisting of Surendra Mohan Ghosh, Purna Das, Manoranjan Gupta, Bhupendra Datta, Kiran Mukharji, Arun Guha, Satish Chakrabartti of Khulna, Surjya Sen of Chittagong, and Hem Ghosh. It was decided that preparations would be made for a campaign of terrorism in 1930.

This was indeed a momentous meeting. From the failure of the amalgamation emerged the all-Bengal Jugantar party governed by a set of the most dangerous terrorists Bengal has produced. In view of this party's campaign of assassination, which began in 1930 as decided, it is to be especially noted that Hem Ghosh of the Bengal Volunteer group, which was responsible for most of the assassinations that followed, was a member of the Central Council.

There was now a powerful Jugantar combination in Dacca consisting of the Bengal Volunteer group of the Sri Sangha, Jiban Lal Chatarji's Munshiganj group, Suren Ghosh's Dacca group, and Purna Das' group which had already identified itself with the Sri Sangha, and after the split identified itself with the Bengal Volunteer group. Purna Das visited Dacca in November and stressed the necessity of a strong Dacca party. Without bloodshed, he said, the British would grant no concessions; the Americans, the Boers, and the Irish, he said, had extorted concessions only by bloodshed. He cited Satya Bhusan Gupta, Bhupendra Rakshit, Tejamay Ghosh and Jyotish Joardar, as holding similar views. Secret information was also received that Satya Bhusan

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Gupta and Bhupendra Rakshit intended to loot Government money and murder police officers.

The connection of the Bengal Volunteer group with Jiban Lal Chatarji's group at Munshiganj was very close. Jiban Lal Chatarji had left the Dacca Congress Committee in disgust at the power of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti over its counsels and formed a Congress League of which Monohar Mukharji of Suren Ghosh's group and Manindra Ray of the Bengal Volunteer group were office-bearers. This Congress League became the organising body of the group. volunteers were enlisted in the subdivision, and Jyotish Joardar, Dinesh Gupta, and Binay Bose used to visit Munshiganj and other centres to inspect their parades.

33. Satya Bhusan Gupta's connection with Niranjan Sen Gupta's advance group in Calcutta in 1929 :—

In Calcutta Satya Bhusan Gupta got into touch with Niranjan Sen Gupta, who with Pratul Bhattacharji and Satish Pakrashi had formed a party called the Advance group, which was composed mainly of members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti and the Jugantar party of several districts who desired to start a campaign of terrorism without delay. Santosh Mitra, who with Bipin Ganguli and Jyotish Ghosh had drawn up a scheme in 1928 to organise the masses for revolution through the Congress, Communist and Youth Movements, was also negotiating with Pratul Bhattacharji and Niranjan Sen Gupta for the union of their parties.

It seems that although the Bengal Volunteer group was represented by Hem Ghosh in the Central Council of the all-Bengal Jugantar party, and that party's plans were to open the campaign in 1930, Satya Bhusan Gupta and Hem Ghosh were so impatient that they joined Satish Pakrashi in the hopes that they would be able to take part in the district risings which that party was planning. The group in Calcutta with which they were closely in touch was the Bhowanipur group under Binayendra Rai Chaudhuri, of which Jatindra Das, who died in Lahore after a hunger-strike was an important member. His death excited the revolutionaries of Bengal, especially those of Bhowanipur and the allied groups. Hem Ghosh began to talk of taking revenge. On the occasion of the cremation of the body in Calcutta an extremely violent leaflet beginning with the words "To-day I have a feeling in my blood, a frenzy for destruction" was printed at the Benu Press and sent to Manindra Ray in Dacca where Bhabesh Nandi and Jyotish Joardar distributed it in November.

34. Formation of Volunteer Corps :—

An important feature of the programme of the Independence League of Bengal (see paragraph 64 of the Report on the Activities of Terrorists

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in Bengal during the period April to December 1930) was the formation towards the end of 1928 of a Volunteer Corps which was to serve as the fighting force in the contemplated rising. These volunteers were known as the All-Bengal Volunteer Corps and were enrolled towards the end of 1928. In Dacca they were under the command of Satya Bhusan Gupta. the leaders of the Sri Sangha who had taken the most active interest in drilling the members hitherto were those who broke away from Anil Ray. It was they, too, who took the greatest interest in the Bengal Volunteer Corps, and this is why when the split took place, they called the new party the Bengal Volunteer group.

Satya Bhusan Gupta's connection with Pratul Bhattacharji of the "Advance group" was well shown in September 1929, when these two leaders visited Dacca together as staff officers of the All-Bengal Volunteer Corps at the request of Tejamay Ghosh. They attended a parade of the volunteers recruited by the amalgamated Jugantar groups in opposition to the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, affiliated them to the All-Bengal Volunteer Corps, and appointed Jyotish Joardar as Captain. Pratul Ganguli of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, who was one of the organisers of the Corps with Subhas Bose, was deeply offended with them on this account. Satya Bhusan Gupta's conduct was clear proof of his determination to take advantage of his influence over the volunteers and appropriate them for his party. Early in the year, when the amalgamation was still in force, the Dacca Anushilan Samiti under Madan Bhaumik and the Sri Sangha under Anil Ray co-operated in opening recruiting centres and by their joint efforts recruited many volunteers. Bhupendra Rakshit introduced Sachis Sarkar to Madan Bhaumik with instructions to work under him, and thereafter Sachis Sarkar took great interest in the Volunteer Organisation. There is no doubt from Anil Ray's attitude towards the amalgamation that he seized every opportunity to recruit for the Sri Sangha at the expense of the amalgamated party, but when the amalgamation broke down and the rupture occurred in the Sri Sangha it was Satya Bhusan Gupta who profited, not Anil Ray.

35. Anil Ray's group at end of 1929 :—

The principal members who remained loyal to Anil Ray after the split were—

1. Barindra Ray
2. Birendra Shaha Poddar.
3. Birendra Ghosh.
4. Sanat Das.

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5. Anil Das.
6. Anil Ghosh.
7. Sudhir Nag.
8. Sudhendu Bhusan Datta *alias* Jiban.
9. Khitish Ray.

Numbers 1 to 4, however, soon showed signs of vacillating.

During the Lahore Congress discussions took place between Anil Ray and Satya Bhusan Gupta with a view to patching up the quarrel. Satya Bhusan Gupta's proposal was that arms and ammunition should be collected and that a determined attempt should be made to murder European and Indian police officers. Anil Ray persisted in the view that the commission of acts of terrorism before the party was thoroughly organised would result in its destruction. Neither would give way to the other, so this effort at reconciliation failed.

Anil Ray recruited v-lunteers for his own party. Birendra Ghosh started a library at 24, Captain Bazar, which Anil Ray frequently visited. An agent reported that in April Khitindra Mitra *alias* Laloo, Nepal Nag, and other members of the Gandaria branch, had beaten one Khitish Ray of Gandaria because he refused to join the Sri Sangha and ventured to say disparaging things about it.

36. Anil Ray refuses to join with Anushilan Samiti in 1929 :—

At the Lahore Congress Satya Bhusan Gupta, Anil Ray, and Bhabesh Nandi were present at a secret meeting convened by Pratul Ganguli and held in his camp. The latter tried to persuade Anil Ray to join him, but Anil Ray replied that his object was to terronse the Government, not to build castles in the air as he, Pratul Ganguli, was doing. Pratul Ganguli cited the wreck of Niranjan Sen Gupta's Advance party by the Mechuabazar Street and other raids which had just taken place as proof of the unsoundness of Anil Ray's views. Anil Ray then said that he might work in co-operation with Pratul Ganguli if the latter guaranteed to make an equal division of firearms. The discussion soon broke down after this.

37. Sivaji Sangha founded in 1929 :—

Agent 'P.B.X.' stated in 1931 that about two years previously Surendra Chaudhuri *alias* Beji of Sutrapur, and Surendra Chaudhuri of 107, Walter Road, had started a branch of the Sri Sangha called the Sivaji Sangha at Kagazitala. Dinesh Gupta and Binay Krishna Bose used to take an interest in it, as did Makhan Bose and his brother Swadesh Bose of Bikrampur. At Ekrampur Surendra Chaudhuri *alias* Beji, Surendra Chaudhuri of 107, Walter Road, Adari Thakur of Baniagram, Akhil Das

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of Ekrampur, Khagendra Sen of Banianagar, Jnan Chakrabartti, and Pramode Chakrabartti son of Jnan Chakrabartti of Baniagram, had started a Balak Samiti which was connected with the Sri Sangha and the Sivaji Sangha.

38. **Arms in 1929 :—**

The only information received about arms in 1929 was that Anil Ray's party had three revolvers.

39. **Calcutta group :—**

The earliest information on record about the Calcutta group of the Sri Sangha is that in 1922 Rebati Mohan Barman of Simulkandi, Mymensingh, a student at the Presidency College, got into touch with members of Hem Ghosh's group in Calcutta, and eventually became a member of the inner circle of that group. By 1926 he was reported to have formed a well-organised party under Hem Ghosh's directions. In 1926 it was reported that Hem Ghosh was living at 94, Kansaripara Road, Calcutta, and was directing the general policy of the Sri Sangha. The party conducted the "Jhankar," a monthly magazine on Indian art and culture, which was edited by Nirmal Guha, of Devenham & Co., Bowbazar, a relative of Bhupen Rakshit, and by Charu Chandra Ghosh *alias* Tena, a relative of Hem Ghosh. The following were mentioned as members of the group in Calcutta—

Sachindra Bhaumik.
Narendra Datta.
Rajeswar Dhar.

The following were mentioned as important members under Rebati Barman :—

Kamala Prasad Ghosh.
Ashoke Sen, a M.A. student of the Bani Sevak Sangha.
Satya Ranjan Banarji.
Jyotish Ch. Guha.
Susil Kumar Chaudhuri.

In 1927 Ananta Sen, a M.A. student, and Haran Chakrabartti, a B.A. student, both old members of the Bani Sevak Sangha, were reported to have joined the group, of which Rebati Barman had become the leader. Anil Ray, Manindra Ray, Bhabes Nandi, and Satya Bhusan Gupta visited Calcutta in May and formed a centre at the shop of G. Ghosh near Sealdah railway station. A branch of the Dipali Sangha was also formed in 1927 under Miss Jyotirmay Ganguli of 6, Guru Prasad Chaudhuri Lane. In 1928 it was reported that Miss Aruna Sen, who had been made Secretary of the Deshbandhu Sevak Samiti, was an admirer of Miss Lila

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Nag and intended to start a branch of the Dipali Sangha at Bhowanipur, where Satya Bhusan Gupta had already organised a group of about 40 young men.

Rebati Mohan Barman's policy was the same as that of Anil Ray. In 1928 a secret meeting of the party was held in Calcutta, at which he opposed the suggestion made by many members that violence should be resumed forthwith. His view was that a real rising should be organised to achieve the party's object of liberating India. The headquarters of the party in 1928 were at the "Benu" office under Rebati Barman and Bhupen Rakshit.

Rebati Mohan Barman was a member of the organising committee and the propaganda board of the All-Bengal Students' Association, and was doing his best to convert the association into a secret party. In March 1929 he read as essay on the French Revolution at a meeting of the study circle of the association, the burden of which was that once the Indian masses realised how badly they were being treated revolution would be inevitable.

The "Benu" Press was a valuable asset which Nirmal Guha and Bhupen Rakshit exploited to the full for anti-Government and pro-terrorist propaganda. In November 1929 Bhupen Rakshit was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment under section 124/A, Indian Penal Code, for the publication of a seditious article in the "Benu" newspaper. In March 1929. it was reported that Pratul Ganguli, the leader fo the Anushilan Samiti and one of the leaders of the amalgamated party, had placed Satya Bhusan Gupta in charge of the amalgamated party's recruits in South Calcutta. At this time Bipin Ganguli was associating with Bhupen Rakshit. When asked by someone why he was associating with a follower of Pratul Ganguli, Bepin Ganguli is reported to have laughed at Bhupen Rakshit being described in that manner. He evidently knew that Satya Bhusan Datta and Bhupen Rakshit had their own reasons for joining the amalgamated party.

In July Satya Bhusan Gupta and Bhupen Rakshit had broken away from Anil Ray's group and formed the Bengal Volunteer group, and eventually got into touch with the Bhowanipur section of the Advance group, as already stated in paragraph 33. Through association with this group Bhupen Rakshit obtained a revolver. Sudhansu Kumar Guha of Bakarganj (who was arrested at Howrah Station in January 1930 with two revolvers) sent one Haripada De from Patna to get arms from Binayendra Ray Chaudhuri. According to a statement made in November by an agent of the Bihar and Orissa Special Branch Haripada De received three revolvers, an automatic pistol, and some cartridges

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from Binayendra Ray Chaudhuri, but sold the best of these weapons, a .455 bore revolver, to Bhupen Rakshit and Nirmal Guha. In November, too, an I. B. agent reported that Bhupen Rakshit had received a revolver from Jyoti Ray, a cousin of Satya Bhusan Gupta.

Sitangsu Sarkar, a member of Rebati Barman's group, was connected in 1929 with Kiran Mukharji and Arun Guha, two leaders of the all-Bengal Jugantar party, who asked him to start a shop in Kidderpore as a centre of arms smuggling through sailors. It is reported that the idea was abandoned, however.

40. Satya Bhusan Gupta's defiance of Subhas Bose in 1928 :—

The 1928 Congress which was held in Calcutta in December was the occasion of a large muster of volunteers. These had been recruited under the direction of Subhas Bose and Pratul Ganguli, as the army which was to effect the purpose of the Independence League for India. For an account of the formation of this League paragraph 64 of the Report on the activities of terrorists in Bengal during the period April-December 1930 should be consulted.

It is necessary to remember that at this time all the terrorist groups in Bengal, with the exception of Bipin Ganguli's group, were under the control of an executive body composed of leaders of the Anushilan Samiti and the Jugantar party. Of the volunteers who were present at the Congress, Satya Bhusan Gupta's group was by far the best disciplined and Subhas Chandra Bose wanted them to form his bodyguard. They refused to take order, however, from anyone except Satya Bhusan Gupta. While the volunteers were in camp reports were received of quarrels between those of the Anushilan Samiti and those of the Jugantar party and of numerous breaches of discipline. The volunteers of the Anushilan Samiti refused to obey the orders of leaders who were members of the Jugantar party and *vice versa*. There was much dissatisfaction over the camp arrangements which Satya Bhusan Gupta, the Commander of a battalion, brought to the notice of Subhas Bose, the General Officer Commanding, in his usual truculent manner. He was so rude that Subhas Bose ordered his arrest for acting contrary to military discipline. He was soon released, however, and then threatened to leave the camp with his 500 followers and break up the volunteer organisation. A few days after this he and a batch of his volunteers set out to settle a quarrel with a batch of volunteers of the Medical college. There was a free fight, and a dozen of the latter were wounded. As Satya Bhusan Gupta and his men were marching away from the battlefield "General" Subhas Bose ordered them to halt, but Satya Bhusan Gupta ordered them to march on and disregard

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Subhas Bose's command. Subhas Bose went to Satya Bhusan Gupta's camp and called for volunteers who would obey him, but met with a very poor response. Satya Bhusan Gupta and two others were then placed under arrest for three days. They were feasted with sweetmeats on the first day, probably in order to gain their obedience by kindness, and almost starved for the remaining two days. A few days later Satya Bhusan Gupta expressed his regret for his unsoldierlike conduct and was suspended for one year from the volunteer organisation.

41. **Connections with other districts :—**

(a) *Tippera :* This has been fully dealt with in the printed note on the Kalyan Sangha of Tippera district, the most powerful branch of the Sri Sangha outside Dacca.

(b) *Bakarganj :* It was reported in 1926 that Manoranjan Chaudhuri or Chakravarti, then a 4th year B.A. class student of the Braja Mohan College, was the leading member of the Barisal group of Anil Ray's party, and that Bhupendra Nath Bose who passed the I.A. from the B.M. College was his principal organiser. Bhupendra Nath Bose, a relative of Hem Ghosh, used to live with Dr. Ajit Chandra Ray in Barisal. In 1926 he went to Calcutta to finish his education. Prafulla Chandra Das Gupta, son of sub-deputy collector Kamini Kumar Das Gupta, of Narainganj, who was a B.A. student of the B.M. College, Barisal, in 1926, was a member of this group. This is the only information received about the existence of such a group in Barisal. It is probable that, in view of the strong Jugantar group already in power there. Anil Ray's group did not make much headway. It would be interesting to trace Manoranjan Chaudhuri or Chakravarti and Bhupendra Nath Bose and ascertain what their subsequent activities have been. It is worthy of note that Hem Ghosh is a resident of Gabha in this district.

(c) *Howrah :* In 1927 a report was received from agent 'A. 90' that Amarendra Das, formerly of the Collegiate School, Dacca, had started a branch of Anil Ray's party in the Sibpur Engineering College, and that there were then 17 members. Amarendra Das used to receive instructions from the Calcutta organisation, presumably Rebati Barman's group. No student named Amarendra Das was traced at Sibpur, and no enquiries were made at the time to trace him from the registers of the Dacca Collegiate School. This should be done. No further information has been received about this group.

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(d) *Rangpur :* In 1925 it was reported that Anil Ray had promised Haridas Datta (G.L.No. 738) that he would send a graduate named Anath Karmakar, or failing him someone else, to help Haridas Datta to organise in Rangpur. This is the only information received about a connection with Rangpur.

(e) *Bankura :* Kamala Kanta Ghosh, a resident of Tippera, whose father Chandra Kanta Ghosh was the head-master of the Bankura Zilla School, was an associate of Hem Ghosh in 1922, and in 1926 organised a branch of the Sri Sangha in Bankura. His principal assistants were Narendra Nath Sakar and Harendra Nath Sarkar, sons of a retired Inspector of Schools, named Kalipada Sarkar of Burdwan. They started a dramatic club called the Parijat Club with a gymnasium and library. The following were members of this club:—

Baidya Nath Ghosh, of Apurba Kutir, Bankura town.
Bhuban Mitra, of Schooldanga, Bankura town.
Prafulla Ghosh, nephew of Baidya Nath Ghosh.
Amar Chaudhuri *alias* Godai, of Purulia.
Saroj Sen Gupta, of Natunchati, Bankura town.

No information about the terrorist activities of these members was received. The club was dissolved in 1936. Kamala Kanta Ghosh and Narendra Nath Sarkar went to Calcutta in 1920 to continue their studies, and there came under the control of Rebati Barman. They used to visit Bankura occasionally. No further information was received about the activities of the Bankura group up to the end of 1929.

42. **Connections with other provinces :—**

(a) *United Provinces :* In 1926 a secret report was received that Prafulla Kumar Datta *alias* Mina (son of Birendra Kumar Datta, retired sub-inspector of police, Subadhya, Dacca), who was a senior student of the Benares Hindu University Engineering College, had started a branch of the Sri Sangha in the Benares University hostel. In 1927 a report was received from a different source that the group in Benares had been started in 1925 and was one hundred strong, and that many of the members were sons of well-to-do men. Jyotish Chandra Sen, of Mulchar, Dacca, an employee of the Benares Art Studio, Dasaswamedh, was mentioned as a member. the group had two gymnasiums and also ran a boat club. No further information has been received about this group.

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(b) *Assam :* In 1927 it was reported that Sudhir Nag, a relative of Miss Lila Nag, who lived in a village in Sylhet district, had started a branch of the Sri Sangha there.

Sailen Sen, who was a student at the Dacca Engineering School in 1922, and was one of Anil Ray's original volunteers, was reported in 1931 to be in the Garo Hills.

(c) *Bihar and Orissa :* In 1926 information was received from agent 'A.S.10' that a cousin of Satya Bhusan Gupta, named Bibhuti Bhusan Das Gupta, son of Dakshina Das Gupta, of Telirbag, Dacca, and brother of Prabha Ranjan Das Gupta, a naib ahilkar in Hill Tippera, was studying mining at the Mulkera colliery at Katrashgarh, Jharia, and with Surendra Hazra, son of Digendra Kumar Hazra, of Dogacha, Dacca, a cousin of Amrita Hazra (G.L.No.1099), was trying to start a branch of the Sri Sangha there. The agent stated that Bibhuti Bhusan Das Gupta had once started working his way on a ship to Germany, where he intended to study the manufacture of explosives and investigate the possibilities of despatching arms into India, but had left the ship at Aden and returned to India. There was no corroboration of this.

Amar Chaudhuri *alias* Gadai of Purulia was mentioned as a member of the Parijat Club at Bankura in 1926 – see paragraph 41 (e).

Anil Das Gupta who was a teacher in the Bengal Technical Institute, Jadabpur, 24-Parganas, was mentioned as one of Anil Ray's original volunteers in 1922. In 1931 it was reported that he was working as an engineer in Cuttack.

(d) *Burma :* Mohini De and Sailendra Bose, who were students at the Dacca Engineering School in 1922, and were among Anil Ray's original volunteers, were reported in 1931 to be in Burma.

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Property of the Government of Bengal

Report on the Jugantar Party of Dinajpur District

By

R. E. A. RAY

Special Superintendent, I.B., C.I.D., Bengal

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Foreword

This note has been compiled from the secret records of the Intelligence Branch and is to be treated, therefore, as a secret document and is to be kept in the personal custody of the Superintendents of Police to whom it is sent.

District Intelligence Branch officers, however, should study it and should be allowed access to it whenever necessary.

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JUGANTAR PARTY OF DINJAJPUR

1. **Khitish Ray's branch of Santosh Mitra's party in Thakurgaon, 1922-27:—**

(a) Satish Chakrabartti of Khulna (G. L. No. 458) an important Jugantar absconder, was living in hiding and working as a schoolmaster in Dinajpur district for some time before he surrendered in 1922. It is not unlikely that while in Dinajpur he took an interest in the local Jugantar party.

(b) In 1923 Bipin Bihari Ganguli (G. L. No. 893) and Santosh Kumar Mitra (G. L. No. 1280), Jugantar party leaders in Calcutta, decided to resume terrorism and were responsible for several outrages in Calcutta in that year. Sir Charles Tegart was marked down for assassination and three young men including Khitish Ray of Burdwan and Thakurgaon (G. L. No. 1512) and his brother Sudhir Chandra Ray *alias* Badal went to Calcutta from Dinajpur in order to help other members of Santosh Mitra's party to watch his movements. Agent "D.I.N. 5" reported that in 1923 he saw Sudhir Chandra Ray *alias* Badal, younger brother of Khitish Chandra Ray, Bibhuti Bhusan Ray, nephew of Hem Chandra Ray, merchant, Thakurgaon, and Hemanta Kumar Sen, nephew of Hiralal Sen, merchant, Thakurgaon, in Calcutta with Khitish Ray. It is possible that they were all there in connection with the assassinate plot. There is reliable evidence that Gopi Mohan Shaha, the assassin of Mr. Day in 1924, was an association of Khitish Ray and had actually practised shooting in Thakurgaon in 1923.

(c) Khitish Ray was mentioned in 1921 as a member of Santosh Mitra's party and in charge of the organisation in Dinajpur. According to agent No. 2 of Dinajpur Khitish Ray recruited the following persons at Thakurgaon in 1922:—

(1) Manoranjan Ganguli, son of Dr. Nilkantha Ganguli;
(2) Syama Pada Ganguli, son of Mohendra Chandra Ganguli;
(3) Paresh Chandra De Sarkar, son of Ganga Charan De Sarkar, accountant, Munsif's Court;
(4) Nalini Kanta Palit, son of Dharma Das Palit, merchant ;
(5) Niranjan Ganguli, son of Dr. Nilkantha Ganguli;
(6) Indu Bhusan Das Gupta, son of a naib of Goreya Estate;
(7) Santosh Chandra Ganguli, son of Barada Kanta Ganguli, muktear; and

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(8) Mukunda Pada Ganguli, son of Mohendra Chandra Ganguli, muktear.

In 1922 the agent saw two revolvers, some revolver cartridges, a pistol and some daggers in the possession of Khitish Ray who had obtained them from Santosh Kumar Mitra.

In 1922 Santosh Mitra sent one Ananta Chakrabartti to take Khitish Ray's place at Thakurgaon because Khitish Ray's father was too strict for him to be able to manage the affairs properly. Ananta Chakrabartti is evidently G. L. No. 367 who was connected with the Daulatpur Sevasram and hence with Satish Chakrabartti, above mentioned, and was convicted in the Sova Bazar Street bomb case in 1926. Khitish Ray was then deputed on various duties for the party by Bipin Ganguli. In 1924 information was received that he had started a printing press in Nilphamari, Rangpur, and was learning printing in Calcutta. He used to visit Thakurgaon and in 1924 founded a Young Men's Association there under the instructions of Subodh Kumar Lahiri of Pabna (G. L. No. 1158), an important member of Santosh Mitra's party.

He was interned in 1924 and released in 1928.

(d) Nishit Nath Kundu, who was the Secretary of the Dinajpur District Congress Committee in 1926, used to take advantage of his public work to forward recruitment for Khitish Ray's party. Jogendra Nath Chakrabartti, pleader, another Congress worker of Dinajpur who was engaged in Jnananjan Neogi's Village Re-organisation Scheme, Abinash Bose who was the Headmaster of the Gandhi Vidyalaya at Patnitala, Nalini Ranjan Adhikari, pleader of Balurghat, and Haripada Sen, son of Gobinda Chandra Sen of Serajganj and Kalitala, Dinajpur town, were associates of Khitish Ray in 1926 and active member of his party.

(c) In 1927 agent "D.I.N. 5" stated that Kiran Chandra Chakrabartti (he was a student in the Campbell Medical School in 1927), nephew of Mukunda Chandra Chakrabartti, some time Headmaster, Thakurgaon High English School, Nalini Kanta Palit, Khagendra Chandra Dhara, Girija Kanta Bose, and Prafulla Chandra Chakrabartti, were associates of Sudhir Chandra Ray *alias* Badal and members of Khitish Ray's party.

2. **Formation of youth association in Dinajpur by Purna Das' party and Anushilan Samiti in 1926 and 1927:—**

(a) After the collapse of the first terrorist campaign as a result of the action taken by the Government under the Defence of India

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Act during the Great War, the terrorist parties in Bengal proceeded to reorganise quietly through the medium of open organisations, especially Congress and youth associations.

In 1926 Surendra Nath Ghose, son of Khirode Ghose of Bagduli, police station Pangsa, Faridpur, a member of Purna Chandra Das' Jugantar group, was in charge of the Khadi Pratisthan at Dinajpur and took the opportunity to recruit members for his secret society.

(b) In the same year Prafulla Mukharji *alias* Manu of Barisal (now a detenu), a member of the Anushilan Samiti, was working as a private tutor in Dinajpur. He had been obliged to leave Barisal because he had stabbed Rakhal Das, a member of Barisal Jugantar party, who is now a detenu, and was sent by Narendra Nath Das (G. L. No. 634), the leader of the Anushilan Samiti in North Bengal, to recruit for the Anushilan Samiti in Dinajpur. He joined Surendra Ghosh and there were thus a member of the Jugantar party and member of the Anushilan Samiti working together. It is probable that they were forming in the first place an open youth association with the object of recruiting terrorists for their respective parties rather than a secret organisation.

(c) The only reports about recruitment in Dinajpur at this time were those of agent "D.I.N.5." He stated that Suren Ghose recruited —

(1) Bibhuti Bhusan Guha *alias* Bhulu, son of Kali Mohan (?Nath) Guha, Balubari, Dinajpur town, third year student of the Scottish Church College, Calcutta;

(2) Abinash Chandra Dhar, son of late Jadab Chandra Dhar Kalitola, Dinajpur town;

(3) Hari Pada Sen, son of Gobinda Chandra Sen, an ex-student of the Calcutta Science College;

(4) Jagat Chandra Bose, son of the late Lal Bihari Bose, Dinajpur;

and that Prafulla Mukharji recruited —

(1) Krishna Pada Maitra, a student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

(2) Keshab Chandra Bhattacharji, son of Anukul Chandra Bhattacharji, Kalitola, Dinajpur, a student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

(3) Shishir Kumar Banarji, son of Manindra Chandra Banarji Gurgola, Dinajpur, student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

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(4) Janardan Bhattacharji, son of Anukul Chandra Bhattacharji, student of class X of the Maharaja G. N High English School;

(5) Nani Gopal Chatarji, a student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School.

(d) Surendra Ghose left Dinajpur for Burdwan leaving Prafulla Mukharji in charge of the party when Jagat Bose and Bibhuti Guha (both mentioned above) became the latter's most intimate associations. Prafulla Mukharji left Dinajpur, probably in 1927, and left one Dhirendra Nath Munshi of Mymensingh, an amla of the Dinajpur Maharaja who lived in the Rajbati mess, in charge of the party. No reports were received about Dhirendra Munshi's activities, however.

(e) According to agent "D.I.N. 5" Jagat Bose recruited —

(1) Paresh Chandra Datta, son of Sarat Chandra Datta, Gurgola, Dinajpur town;

(2) Radha Ranjan Ray, son of Bibhuti Bhusan Ray, Kshetripara, Dinajpur town;

(3) Pramode Ranjan Chatarji, son of Tarakeswar Chatarji, a student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School ;.

(4) Nirode Ranjan Chatarji, son of Tarakeswar Chatarji, a student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

(5) Bimalendu Nath Sarma Sarkar, a student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

(6) Satadal Chandra Ray, son of Satish Chandra Ray, pleader, a student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

(7) Pran Bandhu Bhaumik, son of Braja Bandhu Bhaumik, Deputy Magistrate, student of class X of the Zilla School;

(8) Ram Sudhangshu Lahiri, a student of class IX of the Zilla School;

Radha Ranjan Ray recruited —

(1) Atulya Charan Sen, son of Abinash Charan Sen, pleader, Kalitola, Dinajpur, a student, class X, Maharaja G. N. High English School;

(2) Nirmal Chandra Ray, son of Satish Chandra Ray, pleader, Munshipara, Dinajpur, a student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

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(3) Probodh Chandra Ray, son of late Sasadhar Ray, Kshetripara, Dinajpur;

(4) Rakhal Das Ghosh, son of Upendra Narayan Ghosh, amla of zamindar Rai Sahib's Estate, an ex-student of Raiganj (Dinajpur) High English School;

(5) Indu Prokash Das Gupta, son of Dhirendra Nath Das Gupta, pleader, Kshetripara, Dinajpur, a student of class IX of the Shujapore (police-station Phulbari) High English School;

Paresh Chandra Datta recruit ed—

(1) Kshitish Chandra Nag, a student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

(2) Kumud Ranjan Banarji, a student of class IX of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

(3) Santosh Kumar Raha, a student of class X of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

(4) Birendra Nath Sinha, son of Nil Ratan Sinha, Ghashipara, Dinajpur, a student of class IX of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

Atulya Charan Sen recruited —

(1) Probodh Chandra Sikdar, son of Madhab Chandra Sikdar, pleader, Munshipara, Dinajpur, a student of class X of the Zilla School;

(2) Satyendra Nath Ray Chaudhuri, son of Harendra Narayan Ray Chaudhuri, zamindar, Bahiri, a student of class X of the Zilla School;

(3) Rabindra Charan Sen a student of class X of the Zilla School;

(4) Paramesh Charan Sen, a student of class VII of the Maharaja G. N. School;

Santosh Raha recruited —

(1) Jogendra Nath Das Gupta, son of Kasiswar Das Gupta, Ramnagar, Dinajpur, ex-student of class IX of the Maharaja G. N. High English School;

(2) Bhabesh Chandra Bhattacharji, a student of class IX of the Zilla School;

(3) Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, a student of class IX of the Zilla School;

(4) Karuna Kanta Sarkar, ex-student of class VIII of the Maharaja G. N. High English School.

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(f) In 1927 agent "D.I.N. 5" stated that the Dinajpur Students' Association had been started at Dinajpur in 1927 by Jagat Chandra Bose and that ex-detenu Bijoy Mitra, who had started a Jubak Sangha Youth Association, used to teach the members *lathi* and dagger play. Among members of the students' association were —

(1) Nirmal Chandra Ray, son of Satish Chandra Ray, student, class IX, Maharaja G. N. High English School.
(2) Satadal Chandra Ray (brother of No 1), student, class X, Maharaja G. N. High English School.
(3) Paresh Chandra Datta, student, class X, Maharaja G. N. High English School.
(4) Bimalendu Sarma Sarkar, student, class X, Maharaja G. N. High English School.
(5) Promode Ranjan Chatarji, student, class X, Maharaja G. N. High English School.
(6) Radha Ranjan Ray, student, class X, Maharaja G. N. High English School.
(7) Nani Gopal Chatarji, student, class X, Maharaja G. N. High English School.
(8) Kumud Ranjan Banarji, class VIII.
(9) Satyendra Nath Ray Chaudhuri, class X of the Zilla School.
(10) Pran Bandhu Bhaumik, son of Babu Brojendra Bandhu Bhaumik, Deputy Magistrate, student, class X of the Zilla School.
(11) Atul Chandra Sen, class X, Zilla School.
(12) Sailendra Nath Ghosh, class X, Zilla School.
(13) Ram Sudhangshu (? Lahiri), class IX, Zilla School.
(14) Bhabesh Chandra Chatarji (? Bhattacharji), class VIII of Zilla School.

(g) In December 1928 agent "D.I.N. 1" stated that the following persons had been selected from Dinajpur to attend the All-India Youth Congress at Calcutta: —

(1) Paresh Chandra Datta.
(2) Nirmal Chandra Ray.
(3) Pran Bandhu Bhaumik.
(4) Manoranjan Sen.
(5) Pratul Chandra Ray.
(6) Prabhat Chandra Ray.
(7) Kali Narayan Sanyal.
(8) Anil Kumar Biswas.

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(h) In the absence of corroboration at the time, the information of agent "D.I.N. 5" was not considered to be reliable, but of the persons mentioned by him some have been active members of the Anushilan Samiti in the present campaign, e.g., Jagat Chandra Bose and Bibhuti Bhusan Guha, while others have been active members of the Jugantar party, e.g., Surendra Ghosh and Paresh Datta.

It may be profitable therefore to make enquiries about the other persons mentioned by this agent.

3. **Purna Das of Madaripur's interest in Khitish Ray's party in 1928:—**

(a) Agent "D.I.N. 5" stated that Suren Ghosh and Khitish Ray were members of the same party. This is corroborated by the statement of agent "D.I.N. 1" who reported in 1928 that one Jyotish Chandra Kar, a member of Purna Das' Santi Sena and co-worker of Khitish Ray, had inspected the latter's Bichitra Press at Thakurgaon and had decided that it and another press called the Madhavi Press, which Khitish Ray had started at Nilphamari in Rangpur district, should be run by Kali Narain Sanyal of Balurghat, a member of the Santi Sena, for the benefit of that revolutionary organisation. The agent also stated that the following members of the Madaripur Santi Sena had been deputed to Dinajpur district as Congress workers:—

(1) Abinash Chandra Bose, Secretary, Patnitola Congress Committee [mentioned in paragraph 1 (d) as a member of Khitish Ray's party].

(2) Tarak Nath Guha, Balurghat Sub-Congress Committee.

(3) Monindra Nath Ray, Balurghat Sub-Congress Committee.

(4) Harabilash De, Haripore Thana Congress Committee.

(b) In 1929 when Trailakhya Chakrabartti (G. L. No. 466) visited Dinajpur he found that Purna Das had great influence there. In April 1930 Purna Das presided over the All-Bengal Young Men's Association conference at Dinajpur. It will be seen later on in this report that it was through this connection with the Madaripur group that the Dinajpur Jugantar group became so dangerous in 1931 and 1932.

4. **Connection with Chandernagore Prabartak Sangha in 1928:—**

In 1928 the agent "D.I.N.1" reported that the following persons had collected money for two workers of the Chandernagore Prabartak

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Sangha who had visited Dinajpur: —

(1) Nishit Nath Kundu, pleader, Secretary of the Congress Committee.
(2) Bhupendra Nath Basu, Secretary, Karmi Sangha.
(3) Haripada Ghosh (Pranabananda), an old revolutionary and an important worker of the Ram Krishna Asram.
(4) Bejoy Ranjan Mitra, pleader, late Secretary, Congress Committee, and Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha (ex-detenu).
(5) Jogendra Nath Chakrabartti, pleader, Vice-President of the Congress Committee.
(6) Pryanath Nath Samajdar, a Congress worker.
(7) Dr. Sarada Kanta Ray, an important worker of the Congress Committee.
(8) Paresh Chandra Datta, a member of Suren Ghosh's party.

5. **Plans of Santosh Mitra's party in 1928-1930: Formation of North Bengal League: —**

(a) After the release of detenus in 1927, Santosh Mitra decided to start a fresh terrorist party. In 1928 he drew up a scheme the object of which was to organise the masses for revolution through the Congress, Communist, and youth movements. Bipin Behari Ganguli and Jyotish Ghosh (G. L. No. 961) joined him. They were opposed to Subhas Chandra Bose being made President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and organised propaganda against him.

1928 was the year of the amalgamation of the Anushilan Samiti and the Jugantar party (with the exception of Bipin Ganguli, Santosh Mitra and Jyotish Ghosh's party) throughout Bengal. The North Bengal Jugantar groups joined in the amalgamation, but not with any enthusiasm, and soon broke away on account of the ill feeling and jealousy caused by the attitude of Kalipada Bagchi of the Rangpur Jugantar party who, as leader of the North Bengal amalgamated groups, ignored the Anushilan section altogether.

(b) In January 1929 the old North Bengal League was revived in order to give effect to Santosh Mitra's programme and to oppose the amalgamated party. Naresh Sen, Professor of the Bengal Technical Institute, Jadabpur, 24-Parganas, Nishit Kundu and Haripada Sen of Dinajpur, Jatin Ray of Bogra (G. L. No. 1498), Girija Sanyal and Satya Priya Banarji (now a

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detenu) of Rajshahi, Khagendra Das Gupta of Jalpaiguri (G. L. No. 692) and Mohini Singh of Rangpur (now interned) drew up a programme which was in brief to revive the Congress Committees and preach socialism through them. In February, Bipin Ganguli toured in North Bengal to organise youth associations and to set the North Bengal League on its legs. In addition to those already mentioned Prabash Lahiri of Pabna (now a detenu) joined the league. Jogendra Chakrabartti of Dinajpur (previously mentioned) was made President and Naresh Sen Assistant Secretary. Khitish Ray at Thakurgaon and Abinash Bose at Balurghat were enthusiastic workers for the league.

(c) In May 1929, Jyotish Ghosh presided over the Dinajpur District Youth Conference at Thakurgaon, of which Khitish Ray was Chairman of the Reception Committee, and spoke at the Dinajpur District Peasants' Conference which was presided over by Bankim Mukharji, a well known leader of a communist group in Calcutta, Jyotish Ghosh returned to Calcutta very pleased with the number, training and discipline of Khitish Ray's followers at Thakurgaon.

(d) In April before the amalgamation broke down a report was received from a reliable agent that the Jugantar leaders, such as Surendra Mohan Ghosh of Mymensingh (G. L. No. 1023), the Anushilan leaders, such as Pratul Chandra Ganguli of Dacca (G. L. NO. 907), had determined to capture the youth association which with Naresh Sen as Secretary had come under the influence of Bipin Behari Ganguli.

(e) Soon after this the amalgamated party, broke up and the Jugantar party and the Anushilan Samiti proceeded to organise separately throughout Bengal. The Jugantar party supported Subhas Chandra Bose whereas the Anushilan Samiti supported his rival, J. M. Sen Gupta. It thus came about that at least as far as Congress politics were concerned the Anushilan Samiti were at one with Bipin Ganguli and his associates, who also supported J. M. Sen Gupta. The same cannot be said about their relations as regards party organisation, however, for in September there was meeting of the league at Bogra at which measures to checkmate the activities of the Anushilan Samiti were discussed. At this meeting Arun Guha (G. L. No. 1045) and Kiran Mukharji (G. L. No. 1320), two leading members of the Jugantar party (not of Bipin Ganguli's group), were

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present. Dinajpur was represented by Kali Narain Sanyal and Abinash Bose, Rangpur by Mohini Singh (now a detenu) and Atul Gobinda Deb (now a detenu), Pabna by Prabhas Lahiri (now a detenu) and Calcutta by Naresh Sen and Dhiren Bagchi (G. L. No. 34) Dr. J. M. Das Gupta, the well known Congressman, was made President of the league and Jatindra Ray of Bogra, Secretary. They decided to run candidates at the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee elections and attempt to break the Subhas Bose clique in the Congress.

(f) Bipin Ganguli was the prime mover in the establishment of the North Bengal League. His view at this time was that terrorism combined with socialism was what was wanted to free India and that every man had the right to resort to violence for without it independence could never be obtained. There can be no doubt that Khitish Ray and other members of the North Bengal League took advantage of the opportunity furnished by their activities in enrolling Congress members and opening night schools and physical culture clubs to strengthen the local terrorist organisation, Khitish Ray was an associate of ex-detenu Bejoy Mitra of Dinajpur.

6. **Hindusthani Seva Dal:—**

Nishit Kundu and Bipin Ganguli became members of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Branch of the Hindusthani Seva Dal which was formed by the Anushilan Samiti in opposition to the Bengal Volunteer Corps which was patronised by the main Jugantar party.

7. **Socialist Peoples' League: —**

In April 1930, Santosh Mitra and some others (*see* paragraph 57 of the report on the activities of terrorists in Bengal, 1930) formed a new party called the Socialist People's League the object of which was to foment labour trouble in order to win complete independence for India through mass revolution, which would be worked for by the secret revolutionary groups under its control. Khitish Ray was selected as leaders of the Dinajpur branch of this party and reports were received that he was busy with its secret organisation and was visiting Calcutta in order to procure firearms.

Khitish Ray attended the Karachi Congress with Debendra De *alias* Khoka and expressed himself in favour of a violent mass rising in preference to isolated terrorism. While there he met some Punjab revolutionaries through Bukhari, a well known communist of Ahmedabad, Karachi, and Calcutta, who has since been externed from Bengal.

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8. Santosh Mitra's group not involved in 1930 Jugantar campaign: —

It does not appear from the secret information received about the main Jugantar party's 1930 terrorist campaign that Santosh Mitra's party was involved in it in any way. Santosh Mitra was suspected in fact of being a spy. As explained in paragraphs 55 to 59 of the report on the activities of terrorists in Bengal during the period April to December 1930, he was busy with his own schemes which, however, certainly embraced violence and terrorism. It will be noticed in that report that he was connected with Niranjan Sen Gupta and the Anushilan revolted group.

9. Khitish Ray's activities in 1930:—

(a) There is no information, however, that the Dinajpur group under Khitish Ray co-operated with the Anushilan Samiti or the Revolted Anushilan Samiti group. On the contrary the Anushilan group in Dinajpur was definitely hostile to Khitish Ray.

(b) Khitish Ray's activities for the rest of the year comprised recruiting and the collection of arms. In October a report was received that Santosh Mitra, believing that there was no possibility of immediate developments in terrorist work, had advised Khitish Ray to take to civil disobedience activities. He did and was sentenced to six months in 1930 released in March 1931

(c) Sachi Adhikari of Thakurgaon was sent to Calcutta in November to procure firearms, but it is not known whether he succeeded in getting any. A zemindar of Fulbaria, named Girija Babu, a native of Bakarganj, who was in touch with Kalinarain Sanyal of Balurghat and Kumud Sen of Faridpur and Calcutta (detenu) in Calcutta, was reported to have supplied Khitish Ray with firearms, while Nalini Adhikari, pleader of Balurghat, was reported to contribute money to the party.

10. Connection with Munshiganj Jugantar party :—

Jiban Lal Chatarji (G. L. No. 501), the leader of the Munshiganj (Dacca) group of the Jugantar party, sent Makhan Chatarji (now interned) in 1929 to organise in Dinajpur. In 1930 he sent Jitendra Kushiari (G. L. No. 1146) to Dinajpur and other North Bengal districts on a similar errand. One Binay Bhusan Sarkar of Chandpur, police-station Patnitola, was reported to be one of Jitendra Kushiari's assistants. Jitendra Kushiari used to tour with Jatindra Ray of the Bogra

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Jugantar party and both are reported to have visited Fulbari where Jatin Ray tried to persuade a school teacher, named Sachin, to join the Bogra Ganamangal, the party's recruiting organisation at Bogra.

11. Connection with Mymensingh Jugantar party :—

The Mymensingh Jugantar party were also active in Dinajpur. In 1929, Nagendra Sekhar Chakrabartti *alias* Galpora (G. L. No. 426) and Shyamananda Sen (G. L. No. 1715), important members of that party who are now interned, visited Dinajpur and discussed questions of organisation with Paresh Datta, Mrinal Ghosh Chaudhuri, and Jyotish Sen, who are now interned and Naren Ghosh who is absconding. In the same year Shyamananda Sen again visited Dinajpur accompanied on this occasion by Sudhindra Ray *alias* Khoka, another member of the Mymensingh Jugantar party who has since been convicted in the Jamalpur shooting case in order to see the local volunteers. He reported that they were very good. In 1930 a report was received that Amarendra Sen Gupta of Thakurgaon was a member of the Mymensingh Jugantar party.

12. Connection with Chittagong Jugantar party :—

Ambika Chakravartti (G. L. No. 362) if the Chittagong Jugantar party (at present awaiting trial in the Chittagong Armoury Raid case) went to Dinajpur in 1929 to meet a member of his party, named Bamapada Mukharji, of, of Panchgram, with whom he was in correspondence in 1928.

13. Connection with Rangpur Jugantar party :—

In March 1930 Jatindra Ray of Bogra was invited to open an exhibition at Dinajpur which was held in connection with the Dinajpur political conference. His object was to arrange for Congress work in North Bengal to be carried on under the control of the North Bengal Congress League. There is no doubt that his real object was to strengthen the North Bengal (Terrorist) League. Bani Bagchi of Rangpur (now a detenu) attended the Students' Conference in Dinajpur in the same month.

14. Main Jugantar party's plans of rising in June 1930 :—

Leaders of Jugantar groups of various districts had thus been active in Dinajpur in 1929 and early in 1930 with the result that the Dinajpur party came under the control of the Rangpur party, the leader of which was the head of all Jugantar groups in North Bengal. Rangpur with its college — there is none in Dinajpur — is a natural centre of terrorist recruitment.

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In May or June as noted in paragraph 5 of the report on the activities of terrorists in Bengal during the period April to December 1930 the Jugantar party in Calcutta in consultation with some Punjab terrorists decided to organise district risings on the 23rd June. Bhupendra Datta (G. L. No. 725) sent a messenger to Rangpur to explain the programme to the Rangpur leader, and Dinajpur was one of the districts in North Bengal selected for action,. This project failed, however, because it was found that the various district parties were not sufficiently armed.

15. **In Jugantar Party's Campaign of August 1930 :—**

In July and August 1930, the All-Bengal Jugantar party under Manoranjan Gupta (now a detenu) made plans for a series of rising and despatched bombs to various districts for the purpose. This matter is fully described in the report on the activity of terrorists in Bengal during the period April to December 1930. In August, Suresh Prasad Ray Chaudhuri *alias* Kalu of Rangpur (now interned), the leader of the North Bengal groups, received several loaded aluminium bombs from the Calcutta leaders for distribution among the various district under his control. In Dinajpur district bombs were to be thrown at Europeans at Parbatipur and Dinajpur. Paresh Nath Dutta, son of Sarat Chandra Dutta of Gurgola, Dinajpur town (interned in 1932), Mrinal Kanti Ghosh Chaudhuri, son of Durga Kanta Ghosh Chaudhuri of Chatipara, Kalihati, Mymensingh and of Dinajpur (interned in 1932). Narendra Nath Ghosh *alias* Nani *alias* Sushil of Dinajpur, who is now absconding, and Jyotish Chandra Sen, son of late, Jogesh Chandra Sen of Kalitala, Dinajpur (interned in 1931), were cognizant of this plan. Suresh Chandra Ray Chaudhuri sent some of the bombs to Dinajpur, but ex-detenu Bijoy Mitra (G. L. No. 1256) sent them back saying that the Dinajpur party would not take part in the scheme unless firearms were sent as well. A report was also received that he sent word that there ere no workers in Dinajpur capable of carrying out such outrages. Bijoy Mitra is a prominent pleader and Congressman of Dinajpur who was an associate of Khitish Ray and later defended Phani Bhusan Ray who was arrested with a revolver in 1932.

Before the August plan could be carried out in districts many Jugantar leaders were arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act including Suresh Prasad Ray Chaudhuri and thirteen others of the Rangpur party.

16. **Active members of Dinajpur Jugantar party in 1930 :—**

(a) In 1930, Manindra Ghosh, student, class X Maharaja G. N. High English School, and one Kshettra Mohan Ghosh were

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mentioned by secret agents as members of the Dinajpur Jugantar party.

(b) Information was also received that Basanta Chatarji of Dinajpur, while a prisoner in the Dum Dum Jail, was present at discussion with Satish Chakrabartti (G. L. No. 458), Jatin Ray of Bogra, Nirmal Das Gupta of Satindra Sen Gupta's Barisal group (now interned),, Sasadhar Kar (G. L. No. 1132 — now interned), and Jitendra Kushiari, at which a scheme of secret organisation under cover of open Congress activities and the amalgamation of Bepin Ganguli's party, Purna Das' party, and Hem Ghosh's party, the Dacca Sri Sangha, were discussed.

17. **Connection with Rangpur in 1931 :—**

(a) After the arrest of in 1930 Biswanath Lahiri (now a detenu) became the leader of the Rangpur party and Adhirendu Sen Sarma of Domar, Rangpur (since interned), who is a nephew of Satindra Sen Gupta of Barisal (G. L. No. 1729) became the leader of Dinajpur. He was in close touch with Mani Krista Sen, Bimal Maitra and other Rangpur members.

(b) In March 1931, Mrinal Kanti Ghosh (detenu) and Nirmalya Sen *alias* Renu of Dinajpur went to Rangpur and recruited four second year I.A. students of the Rangpur College, named :—

Prafulla Chatarji, son of an employee of the Kakina Wards Estate,
Manindra De, son of a Sub-Inspector of Police, Alipur Duars,
Jyotish Ghosh of Kakina
Pulin Mukharji of Dacca, and
Vishnu Charan Rava, a fourth year student, who had been expelled from Cooch Behar College,

as members of the Dinajpur party, In June Mrinal Ghose and Karali Biswas of Rangpur (detenu) were touring in Dinajpur, Bogra, and Rangpur, preaching against non-violence and rousing the youths whom they met by showing them a revolver.

(c) The following members of the Dinajpur Jugantar party were reported to be students of the Rangpur College in 1931 :—

Mrinal Kanti Ghosh Chaudhuri.
Ranajit Bagchi, son of Sanjib Bagchi of Dinajpur.
Dinesh Das *alias* Tagar.

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(d) Up to the end of 1930 the Dinajpur group had been busy recruiting, but there was no indication that it was soon to became one of the most important of all the North Bengal Jugantar groups. In 1931, however, through closer connection with the Madaripur Jugantar group the Dinajpur group rapidly increased in importance.

18. **Influence of Madaripur party increases in 1931 :—**

In 1931 the leader of the Madaripur group in Dinajpur was reported to be Abinash Bose, but Jyotish Sen and other members of the party were dissatisfied with his leadership. The result was that Purna Das' party in Dinajpur split into two groups, one under Jyotish Sen and Paresh Datta, and another under Anil Biswas and Karali Biswas. Abinash Bose was working with both groups,. In July, Jyotish Sen and Upendra Ray of Serajganj (now interned) went to Calcutta and met Kali Prasad Banarji (now interned) and other members of the Madaripur party and asked Kali Prasad Banarji to visit Dinajpur in order to settle the trouble, They stated that they were trying to amalgamate the North Bengal parties and that the Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Rajshahi parties wanted the Madaripur party to join with them. They proposed to commit dacoities and asked the Madaripur party to finance the organisation of a women's party by Jyotish Sen's sister Suniti. Anil Biswas, pleader, of Balurghat, who was introduced to the leaders of the Madaripur party in Calcutta as a leading member of the Dinajpur party, also asked Kali Prasad Banarji to compose the quarrel. The result of Jyotish Sen's visit to Calcutta was, as it appears from subsequent events, the consolidation of the Jugantar party in Dinajpur and North Bengal.

Among the active members of the party in Dinajpur were Main Krista Biswas, Kalipada Chakrabartti of Parbatipur, Shyama Kanta Chakrabartti, muktear, Dinajpur, Prafulla Kar, and Haripada Sen.

19. **Theft of revolver in Rangpur, March 1931 :—**

In March 1931, a five-chambered .32 bore Smith and Wesson revolver No. 223553 and four cartridges were stolen from Babu Rebati Mohan Chaudhuri, zemindar of Mahiganj, Rangpur. During the investigation it transpired that Nikhil Chandra Ray (son of Sarat Chandra Ray of Pabna, a pleader of Bhagalpur, Bihar and Orissa, who was living in Rangpur and was an associate of detenu Mani Krista Sen), Arun Chandra Chaudhuri, and other members of the Rangpur Jugantar party, visited the zemindar's house about the time the revolver was stolen. According to secret information this weapon was stolen by Nikhil Ray and was given to Biswanath Lahiri. The latter made it over to Jyotish Sen

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of the Dinajpur group together with some secret documents complied by Suresh Ray Chaudhuri before his arrest. Eventually this revolver was handed over to the police in 1932 by an agent who said that Khitish Ray had secured it in 1931 and had given it to Debendra De *alias* Khoka. The same agent had previously stated that Khitish Ray had obtained a revolver and 12 cartridges from Kali Narain Sanyal. The latter was then a teacher in a Calcutta Corporation School and is now a muktear at Balurghat. In Calcutta he was an associate of Subodh Ranjan Datta Ray of Dinajpur, who is employed in the Accounts Department of the Calcutta Corporation. Subodh Ranjan Datta Ray was a close associate of Kumud Sen of Faridpur and Calcutta, detenu, a known bomb-maker.

20. **Activities of Khitish Ray in 1931 :—**

(a) Khitish Ray was released from jail in March 1931. Panna Lal Mitra cousin of Santosh Mitra, who was interned in December 1930, had already expressed the hope that on his release he would work with Debendra De *alias* Khoka and Anukul Mukharji (G. L. No. 1296).

(b) In July 1931, Debendra De *alias* Khoka, was planning outrages in Calcutta in which some members of Khitish Ray's party and some absconders of the Bengal Volunteer group of the Dacca Sri Sangha would take part. Khitish Ray introduced one Batukeswar Bhattacharji an employee of the East Indian Railway, to Debendra De, evidently as a person who would help in this programme. At this time Jyotish Sen and Sudhir Chatarji, as members of Khitish Ray's party, were in Calcutta trying to obtain arms from smugglers, Sudhir Chatarji had according to one agent, previously planned a mail robbery in Dinajpur with Khitish Ray and Jyotish Sen which failed owing to bad staff work. Sudhir Chatarji was arrested with detenu Jiban Sarkar of the Faridpur Jugantar party in July 1931 in Calcutta under circumstances which showed that they were trying to obtain firearms from smugglers. Sudhir Chatarji is the son of the late Nibaran Chandra Chatarji of Sholaghar, Dacca. He was subsequently discharged.

(c) In August 1931, Debendra De *alias* Khoka was arrested, but in spite of this handicap the party was determined to organise and after Santosh Mitra was shot dead at Hijli International Camp in September, vowed to avenge his death.

(d) In October 1931, Khitish Ray hastened to Thakurgaon on hearing from Jyotish Sen from Dinajpur that there was a

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chance of getting some arms from the Rangpur Jugantar parry. It is reported that he obtained two weapons of which one was a .320 bore revolver, but it is not known whether he got them from the Rangpur party or from some other source. Khitish Ray was arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in December.

(e) It has already been stated that Abinash Bose of Patnitala, who was an active member of Khitish Ray's party in 1926, was an active member of the Madaripur group in Dinajpur in 1931.

(f) A reliable agent reported that early in 1932 Jyotish Sen had a revolver which Khitish Ray had given him and was refusing to hand it over to someone who came from Calcutta for it.

(g) It appears that Khitish Ray was working with the Madaripur group in Dinajpur, It is indeed possible that at this time Khitish Ray had no distinct party but was just, a senior leader connected with Santosh Mitra's party in Calcutta and with the local party in Dinajpur, to which all the Dinajpur Jugantar youths may have flocked when that party's programme was declared to be one of active terrorism.

21. Dinajpur mail robbery, March 1931 :—

In march 1931 two men, one of whom was armed with a dagger, robbed a mail bag between the Dinajpur post office and the Rajbari post office, The bag contained cash and registered letters to the value of Rs 200. The mail runner was slightly injured. Gopi Kanta Chatarji, son of Brojesh Chatarji of Murshidabad, who is naib of the Maharaja of Dinajpur, was identified by the runner and sent up; but was acquitted. The case was not thought at first to be the work of any terrorist party, but in September agent reported that six months previously the Dinajpur Jugantar party had committed such robbery. Gopi Kanta Chatarji therefore is evidently a member of the Jugantar party.

22. Theft of revolver at Domar, May 1931, by Adhirendu Sen Sarma's group :—

(a) In May 1931 a six-chambered .32 bore Webley Scott revolver No. 6472 was stolen from Babu J. N. Chakrabartti, Circle Officer of Domar, in Nilphamari subdivision, Rangpur. Secret information was received that this weapon was stolen at Adhirendu Sen Sarma's instigation by one Sukumar Mukharji *alias* Mohit of Barisal who was a private tutor in Domar. It was kept with Biswanath Lahiri who gave it to Jyotish Sen in Calcutta when searches were apprehended in Rangpur. Jyotish

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Sen did not return it. Sukumar Mukharji is the brother of Gopal Mukharji and Prafulla Mukharji (mentioned already in this report) who are members of the Barisal Anushilan Samiti and are now detenus. According to secret information Sukumar Mukharji is a member of the Anushilan Samiti in Barisal and of the Jugantar party in Rangpur. This is an interesting connection. He and Adhirendu Sen Sarma, a relative of Satindra Nath Sen Gupta of Barisal, started an athletic club and a Seva Samiti at Domar through which they recruited for the Jugantar party in 1931. The names of several members transpired in letters which were intercepted, and in one of these letters there is a reference to Naren Ghosh having visited Domar and having returned to Dinajpur with Adhirendu Sen Sarma.

(b) In the middle of 1931 Adhirendu Sen Sarma left Domar and went to Patnitala, Dinajpur where he organised for the party, but he still maintained connection with his Domar group and was arrested in connection with the Nilphamari Train Robbery case, which occurred on the 12th April 1932, and subsequently interned.

In June 1932 a Hughes and Sons' .380 bore six-chambered revolver No. 388 was stolen from the Subdivisional Officer of Nilphamari at Saidpur by members of the Domar group. Sukumar Mukharji was arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in June 1932.

23. **Attempted robbery in Pabna, May 1931 :—**

A reliable agent reported that in May Upendra Ray of Ranigram, Serajganj (interned in October 1931), wrote to Biswanath Lahiri of Rangpur to depute men to commit a robbery. The latter deputed Jyotish Chandra Sen and Karali Biswas who with some youths of Serajganj visited the house of a man in a village near Upendra Ray's house and threatened him with firearms. As he had no money, however, the attempt was unsuccessful. Jyotish Sen was armed with a revolver and Karali Biswas with a Mauser pistol which he had borrowed from Upendra Ray. Jyotish Sen subsequently reported that both these weapons had fallen out of their pockets when they were running away after their abortive attempt. The agent concluded from this that they seemed to be intending to break away from the North Bengal group and to form a party of their own. Judging from subsequent events, however, the correct conclusion seems to be that Jyotish Sen was aiming at the supremacy of himself and Dinajpur in the North Bengal group.

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24. Dacoity planned in September 1931 :—

In September, Jyotish Sen proposed the commission of dacoity in three places in Dinajpur district and Anukul Chatarji *alias* Indur, a very dangerous member of the Madaripur group, who was subsequently arrested and convicted in the Angaria dacoity case of Faridpur district in 1932, was sent with him by the leaders to inspect the places proposed. In October, Anukul Chatarji, Annada Majumdar of Sylhet and Calcutta (detenu), Jyotish Sen, and some boys of Dacca and Dinajpur were detailed off to commit a dacoity in Dinajpur. Mati Sarkar, brother of Paresh Sarkar of Bogra, and Sishir Bhattacharji of Bogra were also deputed for this purpose by Kumud Bhattacharji if Rajshahi. The arms were to be three automatic pistols to be supplied by Dhirendra Chakrabartti of Faridpur (now a detenu), one .380 bore revolver from Madaripur, and one rovolver from Dacca.

25. Arrest of Karali Biswas and Jyotish Sen :—

Karali Biswas was arrested in October and Jyotish Chandra Sen in November under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and the dacoity was not attempted. Some interesting papers were found in the latter's house including the programme of the Dinajpur party which showed that the object of the party was "to make India free from the hands of the English by creating an organised armed revolution." The programme mentioned secret signs, codes, signalling and revolver training and stated that the punishment for traitors would be death. These are probably the documents mentioned in paragraph 19.

26. Shibendra Samajdar :—

After Jyotish Chandra Sen's arrest Shibendra Samajdar became the leader of the Dinajpur group.

Shibendra *alias* Shibu of Faridpur district was living with his father who had settled at Paharpur, Dinajpur. Both were priests. He was an associate of detenu Nikhil Guha Ray (G. L. No. 1072) and Nagendra Sekhar Chakrabartti (G. L. No. 426). In December he is reported to have visited Nikhil Guha Ray and detenu Satindra Guha of the Rangpur party and asked them to arrange the commission of a dacoity. A relation of his, named Harabandhu Samajdar, a recruit of convict Nikhil Guha Ray and a member of the Delhi revolutionary party, was arrested in Delhi in August 1932 with a revolver, This connection with the Punjab is interesting because Jyotish Chandra Sen has a widowed sister, named Suniti, a School mistress at Cawnpore, in whose house Kashi Ram, an absconder of the Delhi Conspiracy case, was arrested at Cawnpore in August 1931. Her daughter Nani is also a teacher in the same girls'

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school. In 1930, Jyotish Sen took Suresh Ray Chaudhuri, the Rangpur leader, to Suniti who was then in Calcutta to see four members of the Punjab terrorist party.

27. **Theft of revolver at Thakurgaon, November 1931 :—**

In November a five-chambered .32 bore Harington Richardson revolver was stolen from Sub-Inspector Priya Kanta Chakrabartti at Thakurgaon police-station. According to a secret agent it was stolen by Karali Biswas and Jyotish Sen Karali Biswas give it to Mani Krista Sen of the Rangpur party on condition that it would be returned, but after Karali Biswas' arrest, when Shibendra Samajdar wanted it back, Mani Krista Sen refused to give it up saying that the Dinajpur party was but a branch of the Rangpur party. Early in 1932 another agent reported that the Rangpur party was demanding arms from Adhirendu Sen Sarma who refused to part with them and that as a result of this quarrel the Dinajpur party was working in direct touch with Calcutta, i.e., the Madaripur group leaders in Calcutta.

28. **Connection with the Dacca Sri Sangha :—**

On 4th November 1931 Sukumar Majumdar of Tippers and Bidhu Bhusan Guha *alias* Mukul were arrested in Calcutta with a revolver and were subsequently sentenced to four years. In March 1932 information was received from an agent that Paresh Datta of the Dinajpur Jugantar party was an associate of one Majumdar who had been arrested in Calcutta with a revolver, Sukumar Majumdar is evidently the person referred to. Sukumar Majumdar was a recruit of Bidhu Bhusan Guha Ray an important member of the Dacca Sri Sangha. This is the only information received about a direct connection between a member of the Dinajpur Jugantar party and the Dacca Sri Sangha, but other indications that there was some connection between these two groups and to be found in paragraphs 16 (b) and 20 (b) of this note.

29. **Find of loaded bombs at Sealdah in January 1932 :—**

On the 7th January 1932 five loaded bombs were found on a shelf in the lavatory of a first class compartment of the North Bengal Express when it arrived at Sealdah station. The occupant of the compartment, who was not traced, was according to the evidence of a coolie, a Bengali dressed in European costume. The shell of one of the bombs was of cast iron and the others were of aluminium. The cast iron shell was exactly like one of the shells mentioned in paragraph 26 of the report on the activities of terrorists in Bengal during the period April to December 1930. Of the four aluminium shells, two were smaller than the others.

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They were of the same size and make as some shells which were made by the Jugantar party in 1930. All five bombs were charged with a mixture of ammonium nitrate and nitro-toluol (amatol) and were fitted with "U" tube detonators containing fulminate of mercury and gun cotton exactly like the shells of 1930. There is no doubt that they were part of the consignment sent to North Bengal in 1930 for use in the Jugantar party's projected plan of assassinations.

An agent reports that Biswanath Lahiri before his arrest in July 1931 gave five aluminium bombs, which the Rangpur party had received in 1930, to Jyotish Sen who gave then to Naren Ghosh. Naren Ghosh reported to the Rangpur party that he had destroyed them as directed by the Rangpur party, but in fact did not destroy them. The agent reported two versions of how these shells came to be taken to Calcutta. Abanindra Bagchi of Rangpur believed that Naren Ghosh and Mrinal Ghosh Chaudhuri were carrying them, but Paresh Datta said that Anukul Chatarji *alias* Indur of Madaripur, who had been sheltered in Dinajpur while absconding after the Sealdah Robbery (April 1931) by Shibendra Mazumdar, had so gained the confidence of the Dinajpur members that he got hold of the bombs and took them to Calcutta. Why the shells were left behind in the train is a question which has not yet been satisfactorily answered. It is to be noted that the agent mentions five aluminium bombs, whereas in fact four aluminium bombs and one cast iron bomb were recovered in the train. This discrepancy is probably due to the fact that the agent did not see the bombs himself, but had been told that they were aluminium like the great majority of the shells distributed in 1930.

30. **Outrages proposed in 1932 :—**

Information was received in February that Subal Banarji, Naren Ghosh and Shibendra Samajdar intended to murder a police officer named Mohini in Dinajpur, and in April that they and Paresh Datta and Dinesh Das *alias* Tagar were eager to commit dacoity. Subal Banarji was recruited by Haripada Sen. In 1931 he was an active recruiter in Dinajpur and sent one of his recruits to Malda to form a group there. He was interned in 1932.

In April, Phani Bhusan Ray, son of Debendra of Bagduli, Faridpur and two other members of the Madaripur group went to Dinajpur with arms provide by Sachindra Nath Nandi of Faridpur and Rangpur (now a detenu) and Suren Ghosh (now a detenu) in order to commit dacoity. On the 8th April, Phani Bhusan Ray was arrested at Bhowanipur railway station in Dinajpur district with a revolver and six cartridges and a whistle, but two other youths who were with him and were believed to

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be also armed escaped. It is reported that they were Suren Ghosh and Sachin Nandi. Suren Ghosh was arrested on the 11th April and Sachin Nandi on 7th May. The revolver was a .450 bore Webly mark VI. It was according to secret information, supplied to the party by the Saraswati Library, the headquarters of Manoranjan Gupta's Jugantar group. This group was in close touch with the Chittagong absconders in 1930.

31. **Female group in Dinajpur 1932 :—**

There is a reference in paragraph 28 to a proposal to form a female group. In April information was received that Biswajit Ray of Kalitala was one of the leaders in Dinajpur town and that he had started recruiting some girls. Of his recruits the following were mentioned : —

(1) Sudha, daughter of the late Satish Chakrabartti, overseer, district board.

(2) Mahamaya Chakrabartti, late student of the Dinajpur Girls' School.

(3) Kalyani Ray, niece of Jyotish Sen, In September 1931 information was received that Mrs Bimal Prativa Debi detenu Bengal's first woman terrorist dacoit, had agreed to take charge of this girl's eduction.

One Birbala Debi of Dinajpur was mentioned by an agent as a person through whom the two persons who escaped when Phani Bhusan Ray was arrested could be traced. Her identity is unknown.

32. Acts of goondaism by the party, 1932 :—

The party's activity among girls was resented by some young men of Dinajpur town who threatened to expose Biswajit Ray. They were set upon and badly beaten in March by —

Naren Ghosh,
Satyendra Ghosh of Balubari,
Shyamapada Das *alias* Jobi, who has a cycle shop,
Bimal Chatarji, son of Khitindra Daman Chatarji of Paharpur,
Bhupendra Chatarji, son of Jitendra of Paharpur,
Satyesh Chakrabartti, son of Srish of Paharpur,
Jatindra Nath Ray, son of Jadunath of Paharpur,
Amiya of Paharpur,
Amar Guha, c/o Mrinal Kanti Ghosh,
Biswajit Ray of Kalitala,
Phani Ray of Rangpur,
Dinesh Ray, son of Lalan Babu, pleader, of Kalitala,
Dinesh Das *alias* Tagar of Kalitala, and Shibendra Samajdar *alias* Shibu.

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Naren Ghosh threatened to shoot then with his revolver if they complained of the assault to the police. In spite of this threat a case was instituted, but Jogendra Chakrabartti, the complainant, was persuaded by Anil Baran Biswas, pleader, the brother of Karali Biswas, and ex-detenu Bijay Mitra to compromise it. Subsequently it was decided to suspend the recruitment of girls in order to allay public displeasure.

This act of goondaism is of the same type as members of the Dacca Sri Sangha perpetrated in Dacca for many years in order to make themselves feared. In Dinajpur the Jugantar party stole some wigs and paint from the local theatrical party and a bicycle from a pleader, but the owners were too frightened to complain. Such exploits may appear petty to an uninstructed critic, but to a student of terrorism in Bengal they have a special significance. Apart from the immediate purpose of such acts there is an underlying purpose which is to accustom youthful members to risk and adventure so that in time they may cheerfully face the risks involved in the commission of dacoities and murders.

33. Naren Ghosh becomes leader of Dinajpur :—

In April 1932, after Shibendra Samajdar and Paresh Datta were arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, Naren Ghosh became leader of the Dinajpur party. A meeting was then held in Dinajpur at which —

Sachin Ghosh *alias* Chhinu,
Arun Chakrabartti,
Rajendra Chakrabartti,
Biswajit Ray,
Dinesh Ray, and Dinesh Das *alias* Tagar,

were present. Rajendra Chakrabartti urged the others not to be downhearted at these arrests but to train men to take their places. Adhirendu Sen Sarma was interned in May.

34. Naren Ghosh becomes leader of North Bengal :—

In May an important meeting was held in Bogra. It was attended by —

Naren Ghosh (Dinajpur),
Dwijendra Ray (Pabna),
Atul Mukharji (Rangpur),
Khagendra Ghosh (Gaibandha, Rangpur),
Nisith Ray (Nilphamari, Rangpur),
Kartik Goswami (Rajshahi),
Jamini Mazumdar (Rajshahi),

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Hrishikesh Tarafdar (Bogra),

and Jiban Maitra (Mymensingh),

Naren Ghosh was elected President of the North Bengal party *vice* Upendra Ray of Serajganj, who had been arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in October 1931. It was decided at the meeting that the party's arms and money after being collected at Dinajpur would be distributed among the various districts. The district representatives were to organise their respective districts but although the party was determined to embark on a campaign on violence, no crime was to be committed without previous consultation with the committee.

35. **Recruiting activity in May 1932 :—**

In May an agent reported that Murari Kundu, a member of the Madaripur group, who has been since arrested in connection with the Rajbari bomb outrage in Faridpur, intended to leave Calcutta on the 12th for Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Gaibandha. On the 15th another agent reported that three youths had arrived at Dinajpur and had gone to Shibendra Samajdar's house. It seems that one of them may have been Murari Kundu. The next day Rajendra Chatarji, son of Ashu Chatarji of Kalitala, Dinesh Das *alias* Tagar, Biswajit Ray and Radha Gobinda Sen of Kalitala, left Dinajpur for Lalmanirhat, and on the 17th Kalyani Das left for Shampur, Assam, after a secret interview with Radha Gobinda sen and Rajendra Chatarji.

36. **Proposed assassination of a Police Officer in May 1932 :—**

In May it was reported that the Dinajpur party believed that the Armed Police Inspector at Dinajpur had been in charge of the Armed Police at Midnapur during the civil disobedience movement and that if they found that this was true they would assassinate him.

37. **Theft of revolver in Serampore, Hooghly, in May 1932 :—**

On the 28th May a six-chambered .38 bore revolver and 15 cartridges were stolen from Inspector Jogesh Chandra Sen Gupta of the Serampore police by his brother-in-law, Kalidas Neogi, son of Kalada Prasad Neogi, retired Inspector of Excise, now resident of Dinajpur town. Kalidas Neogi was arrested in Dinajpur, but no evidence was obtained to prove the case against him. According to a secret agent's report Kalidas Neogi is a member of the Dinajpur Jugantar party.

38. **Plans of North Bengal party in June 1932 :—**

In June another meeting of the North Bengal party was held in Dinajpur. It was attended by —

Naren Ghosh (Dinajpur),

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Dwijendra Nath Ray (Pabna),
Priya Nath Haldar (Pabna),
Sisir Bhattacharji (Bogra),
Kali Bandhu Chakrabartti (Bogra),
Kali Das Sanyal (Natore, Rajshahi),
Bishnupada Ganguli (Calcutta),
Chittapriya Majumdar (Calcutta),
Gauri Kanta Saha (Calcutta),
Binay Bhusan De (Domar, Rangpur),
Atul Chakrabartti (Rangpur),
Kamala Kanta Kar (Katihar, Purnea),
Anil Ray Chaudhuri (Krishnagar, Nadia), and
Miss Amiya Ghosal (Krishnagar, Nadia), who lives with her uncle Manoj Mukharji, who is in business at Krishnagar.

It is reported that they decided to commit dacoities in order to get money to buy firearms with, that Bishnupada Ganguli of Calcutta was appointed treasurer of the league, and that funds had been allotted to the different centres.

The Katihar, Krishnagar, and Calcutta connections that transpire in this report indicate that the organisation had spread farther afield since the last meeting. A further connection is with Jalpaiguri where Arun Chakrabartti has joined the medical school. That he will work there for the party is indicate by a report that he sent a letter from Jalpaiguri to Kamalendu Bagchi a Congress worker of Balurghat, asking him to meet the members of the league in Dinajpur.

Naren Ghosh is reported to have been touring in Pabna and Rajshahi during July.

39. Recruiting activity in Dinajpur, July and August 1932 :—

(a) The Paharpur Tarun Sangha was the meeting place of the Dinajpur Jugantar group. After it was proscribed by Government Shibendra Samajdar and other members of the party removed the proscribed books and distributed them among members and sympathisers. Most of them kept with one Pratul Bose, B.A. and Dhiren Gupta, pleader. Subsequently the books were transferred to the house of Haridas Gupta, Kabiraj, at Kshetrapara, whose grandson is the librarian. This house became in June the meeting place of the party.

(b) In July it was reported that the Dinajpur party had been greatly disturbed by police activity and that Naren Ghosh was so anxious to avoid arrest that he was letting no one know where

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he was living. Kalyani Ray was back again in Dinajpur (it is not known what she did in Assam) and was taking an active interest in the progress of the party.

(c) Now active recruits reported in July are :—

Bhabesh Chandra Chakrabartti, son of late Ramesh Chandra Chakrabartti, Munshipara, Dinajpur town, student, Rangpur College.

Sukhamay Bose of Ghosepara, Dinajpur town, student, Rangpur college.

Satadal Ray, son of Satish Ray, pleader, Senhati, Khulna, of Dinajpur town, student, Rangpur College.

Harendra Kumar Chakrabartti son of Satish Chakrabartti, kabiraj, Kalitala, Dinajpur town, late student, Rangpur College.

(d) A boy whose name is Mantu was reported to be acting as a messenger for Naren Ghosh.

(e) Other members of the party mentioned in July are :—

Amiya Bhattacharji.
Amiya Sen
Biren Chattarji.
Phani Biswas.
Chittaranjan Ghosh.
Prabodh Bose.
Hari Das Bose, pleader
Lali of Dinajpur town.

(f) In August, Bijay Mitra and Satyen Ghosh were taking an active part in the recruitment of the party and were meeting for this purpose in the house of Satish, muktear, at Balubari. They were said to be verifying the antecedents of likely boys before accepting them as members. They recruited —

Jibesh Ghosh *alias* Potal, brother of Naren Ghosh,
Alo, brother of Satadal Ray,
Tarapada Dhar, and
Basanta Chattarji compounder of Sen Brother, chemists.

Atul Sen and Narain Chakrabartti were mentioned as members of the same party.

Basanta Chatarji is evidently the prisoner in the Dum Dum Jail mentioned in paragraph 16 (b). He has introduced another ex-convict of the civil disobedience movement, named Gurudas Talukdar, of Basuniapatti, who works in the dispensary of Upen Babu, doctor, to the party.

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(g) The name of a Calcutta link of the party is Manoranjan Mitra, brother of Bijay Mitra, who is a Medical College student in Calcutta, Naren Ghosh who went to Calcutta in August to get arms and ammunition met Manoranjan Mitra and asked him to give Satyen Ghosh a message about his return to Dinajpur. It is reported that in case of arrest Naren Ghosh will be succeeded by Dinesh Ray *alias* Bono, the latter by Dinesh Das *alias* Tagar, and the latter by Biswajit Ray, as leader of the Dinajpur group.

40. Attempt to steal a revolver in Dinajpur in August 1932 :—

On the 6th August,. Rai S. C.. Chakrabartti Bahadur, retired Superintending Engineer, Public Works Department, Bihar and Orissa, reported that his Webley .450 revolver and about 20 cartridges were missing. He subsequently reported that the revolver had been found but that 9 cartridges were still missing.

The Rai Bahadur lives with his brother Jogendra Chakrabartti, pleader the Congress leader of Dinajpur, and in the house there were also living —

(1) Rakhal Das Chakrabartti, son of late Kailash Chandra Chakrabartti, who is a nephew of the Rai Bahadur. He is an ex-detenu under the Emergency Powers Ordinance.

(2) Bamapada Acharji, son of Piari Mohan Acharji of Mahisballav, police-station Itahar. He was convicted for his civil disobedience activities in 1932.

(3) Nishi Kanta Hore, whose brother Pratap Hore was convicted in 1930 for civil disobedience.

(4) Kalikanta Maitra, nephew of Jogendra Chakrabartti, who took part in the civil disobedience movement in 1932.

Pratap Hore was a class-mate of Narendra Ghosh, the absconding leader of the Dinajpur Jugantar party.

It was learnt from a secret agent that this theft had been arranged by Pratap Hore at the instigation of Naren Ghosh. According to the agent the loss was discovered before Pratap Hore could make away with the weapon and Jogendra Chakrabartti was able to frighten the young man in the house into restoring it. None of the inmates of the house helped the police with any information which might have led to the prosecution of the thief.

41. Attempted robbery at Bogra in August 1932 :—

In Bogra on the 15th August an unsuccessful attempt was made to rob the Coronation High School fees amounting to Rs. 800 by some youths, of whom one was armed with a revolver and another with a

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dagger. Pabitra Kumar Ray of Jessore, a student of the Rajshahi College, was arrested on the spot. The search of Pabitra Ray's residence in Rajshahi resulted in the find of some plans of various places in Rajshahi and a misfired .32 bore revolver cartridge. The latter was found in a trunk belonging to Khitendra Nath Ghosh *alias* Nilu of Dacca, a student of the B. N. Academy, Rajshahi. Various interesting letters were seized also in which the names of Jamini Pal, Jnanendra Siddhanta of Rajshahi, Dwijen Ray of Pabna, N. Singh of Malda and one Kanu Da were mentioned. Kanu Da who is evidently a leader of importance, was the writer of several letters to Miss Santi Ray, sister of Pabitra Ray, which revealed a widespread organisation and the earnest desire of the leader "to unite all the boys of North Bengal."

Kanu Da's identity is not known but in a postcard, dated the 2nd September, and intercepted at Rajshahi, from N. Singha of Malda to Kamada Majumdar of Ghoramara, Rajshahi, there is a reference to the writer having received a letter from "Kanu Da (Chakrabartti)."

Naren Ghosh was disheartened by the arrests after the Bogra attempted robbery, but nevertheless instructed the Dinajpur, Pabna, Rajshahi, and Rangpur members to steal as many firearms as they could so that several dacoities might be committed after the Puja holidays.

42. Communication of instructions from Buxa detenus :—

Mani Lal Sen, son of Mati Lal Sen, Inspector of Police, Natore, Rajshahi, who is a college student in Calcutta, visited Dinajpur in August and showed Naren Ghosh, Dinesh Ray, and Dinesh Das, some orders issued by the Jugantar detenus in Buxa Camp. What these orders were the agent could not state. From previous experience of such orders it seems that they must have been incitements to crimes of violence.

43. Proposals to amalgamate Jugantar and Anushilan groups in North Bengal in July and August 1932 :—

(a) At the end of July 1932 it is reported a secret meeting was held at Dinajpur at which some members of the local Jugantar party and Anushilan Samiti were present. The Jugantar party was represented by —

Naren Ghosh,
Satyen Ghosh,
Dinesh Das,
Makhan Ghosh,
Phani Biswas, who works as an insurance agent in Dinajpur town, and
Dinesh Ray,

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and the Anushilan Samiti by —

Hrishikesh Bhattacharji, son of Ramesh Bhattacharji of Barabandar, Dinajpur,

Jyotsna Ray, son of Nagen Ray, and

Satya Bhusan Ghosh, who lives in the house of H. Biswas.

The members of the Anushilan Samiti suggested that the old rivalry should be forgotten and that both parties would work together. Naren Ghosh agreed provided that the Anushilan Samiti worked under the control of the Jugantar party. Hrishikesh Bhattacharji objected to this on behalf of the Anushilan Samiti and insisted on co-operation. This disagreement resulted in a quarrel which would have developed into a free fight if Satyen Ghosh had not interfered.

(b) While the Anushilan Samiti was proposing amalgamation to the Jugantar it seems that elsewhere in North Bengal the Jugantar was approaching the Anushilan Samiti, In August a report was received from a Pabna agent that one Dhiren Ray of Dinajpur (he may be Dinesh Ray) had recently visited Pabna and suggested to Bhabani Bhattacharji, Naren Sarkar, and Ranajit Sarkar, of the Pabna Anushilan Revolted group, that all parties in North Bengal should work together for the freedom of India. Bhabani Bhattacharji and Naren Sarkar agreed with the suggestion, but Rajani preferred an organisation that was split up into various groups to one which was controlled from the centre for in the latter case there were grave risks to the whole organisation whenever a member was arrested, whereas with various independent groups the risk was confined to the group of which the arrested person was a member. The Dinajpur youth expressed himself in favour of operations like the Chittagong raid in preference to the commission of stray murders and dacoities because of the inspiring effect such operations had on other members. No decision was reached on the subject of amalgamation, but it was decided as a matter of principle that members of one district or group should comply with a requisition for help made by another district or group.

It is by no means certain at present that Dhiren Ray mentioned by this agent is Dinesh Ray of the Dinajpur Jugantar party or that he is a member of the Jugantar party. He may even be a member of the Dinajpur Anushilan Samiti, out on a mission to capture the revolted groups.

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(c) In August another report was received that Jamini Majumdar, a Jugantar member of Rajshahi and Bogra, had some time previously discussed with Braja Mohan Shaha, a member of the Executive Committee of the Rajshahi Anushilan Revolted group; a proposal to form a central board for the control of both parties, but that no decision had been reached. It is interesting to note that the name of Prakash Bagchi, another member of the committee, was noticed on a copy of the *Atma Sakti* which was found when Pabitra Ray's house was searched in August.

Subimal Sarkar of the Pabna Anushilan Samiti is reported to have visited Rajshahi and to have summoned members of the Jugantar party, the Anushilan Samiti, and the Anushilan Revolted group, in an attempt to amalgamate all parties in North Bengal under his leadership.

(d) According to another agent detenu Shibdas Lahiri of Rangpur, who, though originally a member of the Jugantar party, was mixed up with Niranjan Sen Gupta's Revolted group in 1929 and the Anushilan Samiti's plans for a rising in 1930, was after his internment in his home in December 1931, involved in a conspiracy to bring about a rising in North Bengal. This rising was said to have been the proposal of a Calcutta Jugantar group with communist leanings (Bepin Ganguli's group may be the group referred to) and arms were to be supplied by the Madaripur and Dacca parties as well as from the Saraswati Library, the headquarters of Manoranjan Gupta's Jugantar organisation. Shibdas Lahiri's plan was to effect a temporary amalgamation of the Anushilan Samiti and the Jugantar party in North Bengal in order to carry out this rising and in pursuance of it detenu Dwijendra Chaudhuri of the Mymensingh Jugantar party, who was interned at Chilmari in Rangpur district, visited Kurigram and Rangpur in an attempt to amalgamate the Anushilan Samiti and the Jugantar party under his leadership. His attempt was not successful.

The theft of five rifles, four guns and 125 rifle cartridges of .275 bore from the house of Shibdas Lahiri's father in Rangpur in June was, it is reported, committed by the Anushilan Samiti and not by the Jugantar party, and it is possible that Shibdas Lahiri organised the theft himself in order to provide arms for the projected rising. It is natural to assume that the Anushilan Samiti having stolen the arms will

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retain them until the proposed amalgamation becomes a settled fact. As far as can be seen at present this is not the case.

(e) Naren Ghosh's reply to Hrishikesh Bhattacharji and the intention expressed by Subimal Sarkar of the Anushilan and Dwijendra Chaudhuri of the Jugantar party to be the leaders of the amalgamated groups they were trying to organise, furnish more examples, so common during the short lived amalgamation of these parties in 1928, of how jealous the leaders are of their position. Minor members may at any time abandon their leaders for the leaders of another more active party, but the tendency has always been for anyone with any pretensions to being a leader to refuse eventually to subordinate himself to the leader of any other party.

44. Arms :—

It does not appear that in 1930 when the Dinajpur party was under the control of the Rangpur leaders, it had any firearms. Since then the party has procured several. The following is a summary of the information received about them : —

(i) A five-chambered Smith and Wesson .32 bore revolver stolen in March 1931 from Thakurgaon. This weapon came into the possession of the police in 1932. (*See* paragraph 19)

(ii) A Mauser pistol, received by Karali Biswas from Upendra Ray of Pabna in May 1931. (*See* paragraph 23)

(iii) A revolver with Jyotish Sen in May 1931. (*See* paragraph 23.)

(iv) A revolver was reported to be with Mrinal Ghosh Chaudhuri and Karali Biswas in June 1931. They used it for recruiting.

(v) Two revolvers were reported to have been obtained by Khitish Ray in Dinajpur in October 1931. [*See* paragraph 20 (d)]

(vi) A revolver was reported to have been given by Biswanath Lahiri of Rangpur to Naren Ghosh and Mrinal Ghosh Chaudhuri in the middle 1931 for use in a dacoity that was proposed.

(vii) A five-chambered .32 bore Harington Richardson revolver was stolen at Thakurgaon in November 1931, but was appropriated by the Rangpur party. (*See* paragraph 27)

(viii) A revolver was reported to be with Jyotish Sen early in 1932 He got it from Khitish Ray. [*See* paragraph 20 (f)]

(ix) Early in 1932 a reliable agent stated that the Dinajpur arms were distributed as follows : —

A Mauser with Adhirendu Sen Sarma. [*See* (ii) above.]

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A revolver with Naren Ghosh. [*See* (vi) and (iii) above]
A revolver with Mrinal Ghosh Chaudhuri. [*See* (iv) above]
A revolver with Jyotish Sen which he obtained from Khitish Ray and refused to returned to a man who came for it from Calcutta. [*See* (vii) above]

(x) In February 1932 information was received that Sisir Bhattacharji, son of Tara Chand Bhattacharji, pleader of Bogra, hearing that Madhab Ray of Hijli, who was then in jail had 300 revolver cartridges, was trying to secure some of them through one Kasimuddin Ahmad of Hilli to see whether they would fit the four revolvers which were in Dinajpur. [In (x) above four weapons are mentioned.]

(xi) A revolver was taken to Naren Ghosh at Dinajpur by Prafulla Ray of Bogra in April 1932.

(xii) Two revolvers — one belonging to Rajshahi and one to Pabna — were with Shibendra Samajdar in April 1932.

(xiii) The .38 bore revolver stolen from Serampore in May 1932 may be with the party. (*See* paragraph 37)

(xiv) One .380 bore Hughes and Sons' revolver was stolen by the Domar group in 1932. [*See* paragraph 22 (b).]

Dinajpur Jugantar Detenus

Banarji, Subal, son of Ananda Chandra, of Paharpur, Dinajpur, and of Tangail, Mymensingh. (Arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on 10th May 1932.)

Biswas, Karali Kanta, son of Kali Kanta, of Dinajpur town. (Arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on 29th October 1931.)

Datta, Paresh Chandra, son of Sarat Chandra, of Gurgola, Dinajpur town. (Arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on 29th April 1932.)

Ghosh, Surendra Nath, son of Kshirode, of Bagdali, police-station Pangsa, Faridpur. (Arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on 11th April 1932.)

Ghosh Chaudhuri, Mrinal Kanta, son of Durga Kanta, of Chatipara, Kalihati, Mymensingh, and Rangpur. (Arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on 15th February 1932.)

Ray, Kshitish Chandra, son of Satish Chandra, of Majdia, Purbasthali, Burdwan, and Thakurgaon, Dinajpur. (Arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on 18th December 1931.)

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Samajdar, Shib Nath *alias* Shibu *alias* Shibendra, son of Raj Kumar, of Paharpur town, Dinajpur, and Gosairhat, Faridpur. (Arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on 29th April 1932.)

Sen, Jyotish Chandra, son of late Jogesh Chandra, of Kalitala, Dinajpur (Arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on 7th November 1931.)

Sen Sarma, Adhirendu, son of Banka Bihari, of Sahabajgunj, Barisal, and c/o Dr. Prafulla Das Gupta of Domar, Rangpur. (Arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act ib 23rd May 1932.)

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N.B :— The persons whose names are printed in small type have not yet been traced and identified.

A

Acharji, Bamapada, son of Piari Mohan of Mahisbathan, police-station Itahar, Dinajpur
Adhikari, Nalini Ranjan, son of Nabadwip Chandra, pleader of Balurghat, Dinajpur
Adhikari, Sachi, of Thakurgaon, Dinajpur
Amiya, of Paharpur, Dinajpur
Arms and Ammunition

B

Bagchi, Abanindra, of Rangpur
Bagchi, Banindra, son of late Kedar Nath of Salban, Rangpur (detenu)
Bagchi Dhirendra Nath (G. L. No. 34
Bagchi, Kalipada, of Faridpur and Rangpur (G. L. No. 35, detenu)
Bagchi, Kamalendu, a Congress worker of Balurghat
Bagchi, Prakash, of Rajshahi
Bagchi, Ranajit, son of Sanjib, of Dinajpur
Banarji, Kali Prasad, of Madaripur, Faridpur (G. L. No. 83, detenu)
Banarji Kumud Ranjan
Banarji, Satya Priya, *alias* Kaloo, son of late Kumudini Kanta (Rai Bahadur), of Rajshahi town, and Ichhapura, Dacca (detenu)
Banarji, Sishir Kumar, son of Manindra Chandra, Gurgola, Dinajpur
Banarji, Subal, son of Ananda Chandra, of Paharpur, Dinajpur, and Tangail, Mymensingh (detenu)
Basu, Abinash, son of late Bipin Chandra Headmaster of the Gandhi Vidyalaya at Patnitala, of Dinajpur, and Faridpur
Basu, Bhupendra Nath, Secretary, Karmi Sangha, Dinajpur
Basu, Girija Kanta, Thakurgaon
Basu, Haridas, pleader, Dinajpur
Basu, Jagat Chandra, son of late Lal Bihari, of Dinajpur
Basu Pratul Chandra, Dinajpur
Basu, Pratul Chandra, B.A. son of Purna Chandra, of Ramnagore, Dinajpur
Basu, Probodh, Dinajpur
Basu, Sukhamay, of Ghasipara, Dinajpur town
Bhattacharji, Amiya, Dinajpur
Bhattacharji, Batukeswar, (an employee of the E.I. Rly)
Bhattacharji, Bhabani, Pabna

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Bhattacharji Bhabesh Chandra
Bhattacharji, Hrishikesh, son of Ramesh, of Barabandar, Dinajpur
Bhattacharji Janardan, son of Anukul Chandra, of Dinajpur
Bhattacharji, Keshab Chandra, son of Anukul Chandra, Kalitola, Dinajpur
Bhattacharji, Kumud, of Rajshahi
Bhattaharji, Sisir, son of Tarachand, pleader, of Bogra
Bhaumik, Pran Bandhu, son of Brajendra Bandhu, Deputy Magistrate, Dinajpur
Biswas, Anil Baran, son of Kali Kanta, retired Sub-Inspector of Police, pleader of Balurghat, Dinajpur
Biswas, Karali, son of Kali Kanta, of Dinajpur town and Rangpur (detenu)
Biswas, Mani Krista, Dinajpur
Biswas, Phani, Dinajpur
Biswas, Phani, (Inspector Agent in Dinajpur town)
Bombs

C

Chakrabartti, Ambika Charan, of Chittagong (G. L. No. 361)
Chakrabartti, Ananta Kumar, of Bakarganj (G. L. No. 367, convict)
Chakrabartti Arun (student of Medical School, Jalpaiguri)
Chakrabartti, Atul of Rangpur
Chakrabartti Bhabesh Chandra, son of late Ramesh Chandra, of Munshipara, Dinajpur town
Chakrabartti, Dhirendra, son of Ananda, of Ghungiakul, police-station Kalkini, Faridpur, and Calcutta (detenu)
Chakrabartti, Harendra Kumar, son of Satish, Kabiraj, Kalitola, Dinajpur
Chakrabartti, Jogendra Nath, pleader, son of Girish Chandra, of Dinajpur town
Chakrabartti, Kali Bandhu, of Bogra
Chakrabartti, Kalipada, of Parbatipur
Chakrabartti, Kiran Chandra, nephew of Mukunda Chandra, sometime Headmaster, Thakurgaon High English School, Dinajpur
Chakrabartti, Nagendra Sekhar ***alias*** **Galpora,** of Faridpur (G. L. No 426, detenu)
Chakrabartti, Narain, Dinajpur
Chakrabartti, Prafulla Chandra, Thakurgaon
Chakrabartti, Rajendra, Dinajpur
Chakrabartti, Rakhal Das, son of Kailash Chandra, Dinajpur (ex-detenu under the Emergency Powers Ordinance)
Chakrabartti, Satish Chandra, of Khulna (G. L. No. 458, detenu)
Chakrabartti, Satyesh, son of Srish, of Paharpur, Dinajpur

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Chakrabartti, Shyama Kanta, son of Surja Kanta, Muktear, Dinajpur town
Chakrabartti, Trailakhya Charan, of Mymensingh (G. L. No. 466, detenu)·
Chatarji, Anukul *alias* **Indur,** son of late Sarat Chandra, of Madaripur, Faridpur (convict)
Chatarji, Basanta, compounder of Sen Brothers, chemists Dinajpur)
Chatarji, Basanta, of Dinajpur
Chatarji (Bhattacharji?), Bhabesh Chandra, Dinajpur
Chatarji, Bhupendra, son of Jitendra, of Paharpur, Dinajpur
Chatarji, Bimal, son of Khitendra Daman, of Paharpur, Dinajpur
Chatarji, Biren, Dinajpur
Chatarji, Gopi Kanta, son of Brojesh, of Murshidabad
Chatarji, Jiban Lal, of Munshiganj, Dacca (G. L. No. 501, detenu)
Chakrabartti Kanuda *alias* Kanuda
Chatarji, Makhan, son of Probhat Chandra, of Panchasar, police-station Munshiganj, Dacca (detenu)
Chatarji, Nani Gopal, Dinajpur
Chatarji, Nirode Ranjan, son of Tarakeswar
Chatarji, Prafulla, son of an employee of the Kakina Wards Estate, student of Rangpur College, 1931
Chatarji, Promode Ranjan, son of Tarakeswar, Dinajpur
Chatarji, Rajendra, son of Ashu, of Kalitola, Dinajpur
Chatarji, Sudhir, son of Nibaran Chandra, of Solaghar,. Dacca
Chaudhuri, Arun Chandra, son of late Jogendra, of Pabna and Bhagalpur Bihar and Orissa.
Chaudhuri, Dwijendra, son of late Rajib Chandra of Mymensingh

D

Das, Dinesh *alias* **Tagar,** son of Rajmohan, of Kalitola, Dinajpur
Das, Narendra Nath, of Bakarganj (G. L. No. 634, detenu)
Das, Shyamapada *alias* Jobi, Dinajpur
Das Gupta, Indu Bhusan, son of a Naib of Goreya Estate, Thakurgaon, Dinajpur
Das Gupta, Indu Prokash, son of Dhirendra Nath, pleader, Kshetripara, Dinajpur
Das Gupta, J. M. (Dr.), son of Mohini Mohan, of Bogra, and Calcutta
Das Gupta, Jogendra Nath, son of Kasiswar, Ramnagar, Dinajpur
Das Gupta, Khagendra Nath, son of Ishan Chandra, of Bidgaon, Dacca, and Jalpaiguri.
Das Gupta, Nirmal, son of Nikunja Bihari *alias* Milkanta, of Domshar, police-station Palong, Faridpur, and Barisal and 96A, Grey Street, Calcutta (detenu)
Datta, Bhupendra Kumar, of Jessore (G. L. No. 725, State prisoner)

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Datta, Paresh, son of Sarat Chandra, of Gurgola, Dinajpur town (detenu)
Datta Ray, Subodh Ranjan, of Dinajpur (employed in Accounts Department of the Calcutta Corporation)
De, Benoy Bhusan, of Domar, Rangpur
De, Debendra *alias* **Khoka,** son of Atul Chandra, of Kamarkhole, Srinagar, Dacca, and 8, Canal Street, Calcutta (detenu)
De, Harabilash, Haripore Thana Congress Committee
De, Manindra, son of a Sub-Inspector of Police, Alipur Duars
De Sarkar, Paresh Chandra, son of Ganga Charan, Accountant, Munsif's Court of Thakurgaon, Dinajpur
Deb, Atul Gobinda *alias* **De,** son of Kali Gobinda De, of Gopalerhamer, and Ulipur, Rangpur, and 93-I-B. Baitakhana Road, Calcutta (detenu)
Dhar, Abinash Chandra, son of late Jadab Chandra, Kalitola, Dinajpur town.
Dhar, Tarapada
Dhar, Khagendra Chandra

G

Ganguli, Bepin Behari, of 24-Parganas and Calcutta (G. L. No. 893)
Ganguli Bishnupada, of Calcutta
Ganguli Manoranjan, son of Dr. Nilkantha, of Thakurgaon, Dinajpur
Ganguli Mukunda Pada, son of Mohendra Chandra, Muktear, of Thakurgaon, Dinajpur
Ganguli Niranjan, son of Dr. Nilkantha, of Thakurgaon, Dinajpur
Ganguli Pratul Chandra, of Dacca (G. L. No. 907, State prisoner)
Ganguli Santosh Chandra, son of Barada Kanta, muktear, of Thakurgaon, Dinajpur.
Ganguli Syama Pada, son of Mohendra Chandra, of Thakurgaon, Dinajpur)
Ghosh, Chittaranjan, Dinajpur
Ghosh, Haripada (Pranabananda)
Ghosh, Jibesh *alias* **Potal,** son of Durga Das, of Balubari, and brother of Haren Ghosh, Dinajpur
Ghosh, Jyotish Chandra, of Burdwan and Hooghly (G. L. No. 961, detenu)
Ghosh, Jyotish, of Kakina, student of Rangpur College
Ghosh, Khagendra, Gaibandha, Rangpur
Ghosh, Khitindra Nath *alias* **Nilu,** son of Kedar, of Silmali, police-station Shibalaya, Dacca (student of the B. N. Academy, Rajshahi)
Ghosh, Kshettra Mohan, Dinajpur
Ghosh, Makhan, Dinajpur

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Ghosh, Manindra, Dinajpur
Ghosh, Narendra Nath *alias* **Nani** *alias* **Sushil**, son of Durga Das, of Balubari, Dinajpur
Ghosh, Rakhal Das, son of Upendra Narayan Ghosh amla of zamindar Rai Sahib's estate, Dinajpur
Ghosh, Sachin *alias* Chhinu, Dinajpur
Ghosh, Sailendra Nath, Dinajpur)
Ghosh, Satya Bhusan (lives in the house of H. Biswas), Dinajpur
Ghosh, Surendra Mohan, of Mymensingh and Calcutta (G. L. No. 1023, State prisoner)
Ghosh, Surendra Nath, son of Khirode, of Bagdali, police-station Pangsa, Faridpur (detenu)
Ghosh, Satyendra, of Balubari, Dinajpur)
Ghosh, Chaudhuri, Mrinal Kanti, son of Durga Kanta, of Chatipara, Kalihati, Mymensingh, and of Rangpur and Dinajpur (detenu)
Girija Babu, Zemindar of Phulbaria, Dinajpur
Goswami, Kartick, of Rajshahi
Guha, Amar, c/o Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, Dinajpur
Guha, Arun Chandra *alias* **Pran Kumar**, of Dacca (G. L. No. 1045, State prisoner)
Guha, Bibhuti Bhusan *alias* **Bhulu**, son of Kali Nath, Balubari, Dinajpur town, and 20, Sankaritola Lane, Calcutta (detenu)
Guha, Satindra, son of Priya Nath, of Dacca and Rangpur town (detenu)
Guha, Tarak Nath, Balurgahat Sub-Congress Committee
Guha Ray, Nikhil, of Faridpur (G. L. No. 1072, detenu)
Gupta, Dhiren, pleader, Dinajpur
Gupta, Haridas, Kabiraj, of Kshetrapara. Dinajpur
Gupta, Haridas, grandson of
Gupta, Manoranjan, of Bakarganj (G. L. No. 1085, State prisoner)

H

Haldar, Priya Nath, of Pabna
Hore, Nishi Kanta, brother of Protap Hore, Dinajpur
Hore, Protap, brother of Nishi Kanta, Dinajpur

K

Kanu Da (*see* Chakrabartti, Kanuda)
Kar, Jyotish Chandra
Kar, Kamala Kanta, of Katihar, Purnea, Bihar and Orissa
Kar, Prafulla, Dinajpur

Kar, Sasadhar, of Pabna (G. L. No. 1132. detenu)
Kasimuddin Ahmad, of Hilli, Bogra

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Kundu Murari, son of Muchiram, of Rahbari, Faridpur, and of Patgram police-station Harirampur, Dacca and Calcutta.

Kundu, Nishit Nath, pleader, Secretary of the Congress Committee, son of late Bipin Behari, of police-station Haripur, Dinajpur.

Kushiari, Jitendra Nath, of Dacca (G. L. No. 1146)

L

Lahiri, Biswanath, son of Nagendra, of Rangpur, and Khetuapara, Santhia, Pabna (detenu)

Lahiri, Prabash, son of late Srish Chandra, of Mohanpur, Pabna, and of Dilapur, Pabna town, c/o Mohini Lahiri, pleader, Pabna (detenu)

Lahiri, Ram Sudhangshu, Class IX, Zilla School, Dinajpur

Lahiri, Shibdas, son of Krishna, of Rangpur and Benares (detenu)

Lahiri, Subodh Kumar, son of late Sarat Kumar, of Nagarbari, police-station Pakurpara, Pabna.

Lali, of Dinajpur town)

M

Maitra, Jiban Mymensingh

Maitra, Kalikanta, nephew of Jogendra Chakrabartti, Dinajpur

Maitra, Krishna Pada, Dinajpur

Mantu (messenger of Naren Ghosh)

Muzumdar, Ananda, son of late Kalu Chandra, of Sylhet and Calcutta (detenu)

Mazumdar, Chittapriya, of Calcutta

Mazumdar, Jamini, of Rajshahi

Mazumdar, Kamada, of Ghoramara, Rajshahi

Mazumdar, Sukumar, son of Ambica Charan, of police-station Hajiganj, Tippera, and Calcutta (convict)

Mitra, Bijoy Ranjan, son of late Nibaran, of Durgapur, Gopalpur, Faridpur, and of Dinajpur town (G. L. No. 1256)

Mitra, Manoranjan, son of late Nibaran, of Faridpur and Dinajpur and brother of Bijay Ranjan Mitra.

Mitra, Panna Lal, son of Mani Mohan, of Agarpara, police-station Khardah 24-Parganas, and 10-1, Haladhar Bardhan Lane, Calcutta (G. L. NO. 1274, detenu)

Mitra, Santosh Kumar, son of Durga Charan, of No. 10-1, Haladhar Bardhan's Lane, Calcutta (G. L. No. 1280, killed in Hijli Camp, 1931)

Mukharji, Atul, Rangpur

Mukharji, Bamapada, of Panchgram, Dinajpur

Mukharji, Bankim, son of Jogendra, of Hooghly, 24-Parganas and Calcutta

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Mukharji, Kiran Chandra, son of Amrita Lal, of Bhugilhat, police-station Abhaynagar, Jessore (G. L. No. 1320, detenu)

Mukharji, Prafulla *alias* **Manu,** son of Sreeram, of Kaunia, Barisal town, 45, Jagannath Ghat, Calcutta, and post office Narban, Darbhanga, Bihar and Orissa (detenu)

Mukharji, Pulin of Dacca, student, Rangpur College

Mukharji, Sukumar *alias* **Mohit,** son of Sreeram, of Lakhutia, police-station Kotwali, Barisal, and Domar, Rangpur.

Munshi, Dhirendra Nath, of Mymensingh (an amla of the Dinajpur Maharaja)

N

Nag, Kshitish Chandra, Dinajpur

Nandi, Sachindra Nath, son of late Janaki Nath, of Faridpur and Rangpur (detenu)

Neogi, Kalidas, son of Kalad Prasad, retired Inspector of Excise, and of Dinajpur town.

P

Paharpur Tarun Sangha

Pal Jamini

Palit, Nalini Kanta, son of Dharma Das, merchant, of Thakurgaon, Dinajpur

R

Raha, Santosh Kumar, Dinajpur

Rava, Vishnu Chandra, Dinajpur

Ray, Alo (brother of Satadal Ray), son of Satish, pleader, Senhati, Khulna and of Dinajpur.

Ray, Bibhuti Bhusan, nephew of Hem Chandra Ray, merchant, Thakurgaon, Dinajpur.

Ray, Biswajit, son of late Rukmini Kanta, of Kalitala, Dinajpur

Ray, Dhiren, of Dinajpur

Ray, Dinesh *alias* **Bono,** son of Lalan, of Kalitala, Dinajpur

Ray, Dwijendra Nath, of Pabna

Ray, Jatindra Mohan, of Jessore and Bogra (G. L. No. 1498, detenu)

Ray, Jatindra Nath, son of Jadu Nath, of Paharpur, Dinajpur

Ray, Jyotsna, son of Nagan, of Dinajpur

Ray, Kshitish Chandra, son of Satish Chandra, of Majdia, Purbasthali, Burdwan, and Thakurgaon, Dinajpur (G. L. No. 1512, detenu)

Ray, Madhab, of Hilli, Bogra

Ray, Manindra Nath, Balurghat Sub-Congress Committee

Ray, Nikhil Chandra, son of Sarat Chandra, of Pabna

Ray, Nirmal Chandra, son of Satish Chandra, Pleader, Dinajpur

Ray, Nisith, Nilphamari, Rangpur

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Ray, Pabitra Kumar, son of Pramatha Bandhu, of Bhagabannagar, Jessore, student of Rajshahi College.
Ray, Phani Bhusan, son of Debendra, of Bagdali, Faridpur (convict)
Ray, Phani, of Rangpur
Ray, Prafulla, of Bogra
Ray, Probodh Chandra, son of late Sasadhar, Kshetripara, Dinajpur
Ray, Probhat Chandra, Dinajpur
Ray, Radha Ranjan, son of Bibhuti Bhusan, Kshetripara, Dinajpur town
Ray, Sarada Kanta (Dr), Dinajpur
Ray, Satadal Chandra, son of Satish Chandra, pleader, Senhati, Khulna, and of Dinajpur town.
Ray, Sudhindra *alias* **Khoka**, son of Narendra Kishun Ray, pleader of Kishoreganj, Mymensingh (convict)
Ray, Sudhir Chandra *alias* **Badal**, son of Satish Chandra, of Majdia, Purbasthali, Burdwan, and Thakurgaon, Dinajpur.
Ray, Upendra, son of late Bhabani Nath Ray, of Rangagram, police-station Sujanagore, and of Serajganj, Pabna, and Rishikesh, Dehra Dun (detenu)
Ray, Chaudhuri, Anil, of Krishnagar, Nadia
Ray, Chaudhuri, Satyendra Nath, son of Harendra Narayan, zamindar, Bahari.
Ray Chaudhuri, Suresh Prasad *alias* **Kalu**, son of Mati Lal, of Jaleswaritola, Bogra, and Rangpur (detenu)
Robbery, Dinajpur mail

S

Sachin, a school teacher of Fulberia, Dinajpur
Samajdar, Harabandhu, son of late Annada Charan, of Singardaha, Gosairhat, Faridpur (arrested in Delhi in august 1932 with a revolver)
Samajdar, Pryanath, a Congress worker, Dinajpur
Samajdar, Shibendra *alias* **Shiba**, son of Raj Kumar, of Paharpur town, Dinajpur, and Gosairhat, Faridpur (detenu)
Sanyal, Girija of Rajshahi
Sanyal, Kalidas, of Natore, Rajshahi
Sanyal, Kali Narain, son of late Ashutosh, of village Kamargaon, Natore, Rajshahi, of Dinajpur and of 40-A, Sankaritola East Lane, Calcutta
Sarkar, Binay Bhusan of Chandpur, police-station Patnitala, Tippera
Sarkar, Jiban Ranjan, son of late Prasanna Kumar, of Pathakkandi, Madaripur, Faridpur (detenu)
Sarkar, Karuna Kanta, Dinajpur
Sarkar, Mati, son of Srish Chandra, brother of Paresh Sarkar, of Katnarpara Bogra town.

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Sarkar, Naren, of Pabna
Sarkar, Prafulla Kumar, student of class IX of the Maharaja G. N. High English School.
Sarkar, Ranajit, of Pabna
Sarkar, Subimal of Pabna
Sarma Sarkar, Bimalendu Nath, Dinajpur
Satish, muktear Balubari, Dinajpur
Sen, Amiya, Dinajpur
Sen, Atul Chandra, Dinajpur
Sen, Atulya Charan, son of Abinash Charan, pleader, Kalitola, Dinajpur
Sen, Haripada, son of Gobinda Chandra, of Serajganj and Kalitala, Dinajpur town.
Sen, Hemanta Kumar, nephew of Hiralal Sen, merchant, Thakurgaon, Dinajpur.
Sen, Jyotish Chandra *alias* **Haridas** (detenu), son of late Jogesh Chandra, of Kalitala, Dinajpur
Sen, Kumud, son of late Behari Lal, of Dighirpar, police-station Kotalipara, Faridpur, and 20-A, Ram Mohan Saha Lane, Calcutta (detenu)
Sen Mani Krista, son of late Beni Madhab, of Biradi, Faridpur, and Rangpur town (detenu)
Sen, Mani Lal, son of Mati Lal, Inspector of Police Natore, Rajshahi
Sen, Manoranjan, Dinajpur
Sen, Naresh, son of Dwarka Nath, of Rangpur, and 87-1 Beltala Road, Calcutta.
Sen, Nirmalya *alias* Renu, of Dinajpur
Sen, Paramesh Charan, Dinajpur
Sen Rabindra Charan, Dinajpur
Sen, Radha Gobinda, of Kalitala, Dinajpur
Sen Shyamananda, son of Nripendra Nath, of Mymensingh (G. L. No. 1715, detenu)
Sen Gupta, Amarendra, of Thakurgaon, Dinajpur
Sen Sarma, Adhirendu, son of Banka Bihari, of Sahabajganj, Barisal (and c/o Dr Prafulla Das Gupta). of Domar, Rangpur (detenu)
Shaha, Braja Mohan, of Rajshahi
Shaha, Gauri Kanta, of Calcutta
Siddhanta, Jnanendera, of Rajshahi
Sikdar, Probodh Chandra, son of Madhab Chandra, pleader, Munshipara, Dinajpur.
Singh, Birendra Nath, son of Nil Ratan, Ghashipara, Dinajpur
Singh, Mohini *alias* **Singh Ray,** son of Lalit Mohan, of Nadia and post office Badurganj, Rangpur (detenu)
Singh, N., of Malda

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T

Taluqdar, Gurudas, of Basuniapatti Tarafdar, Hrishikesh, of Bogra

WOMEN

Bimal Prativa Devi, wife of Dr. Charu Chandra Banarji, 264, Russa Road, Kalighat and P. 238, Lake Road, Calcutta.
Birbala Debi, of Dinajpur
Chakrabartti, Mahamaya, late student of the Dinajpur Girls' School
Chakrabartti, Sudha, daughter of Satish, overseer, District Board of Dinajpur
Das, Kalyani
Ghoshal Amiya (Miss), niece of and c/o Manoj Mukharji, of Krishnagar, Nadia.
Nani, daughter of Suniti, of Kalitala, Dinajpur (school teacher at Cawnpore)
Ray, Kalyani, niece of Jyotish Sen, of Dinajpur
Ray, Santi, sister of Pabitra Ray and Pramatha Bandhu Ray, of Bhagabannagar, Shakipur, Jessore.
Suniti, daughter of late Jogesh Chandra Sen, of Kalitala, Dinajpur, and Jyotish Sen's widowed sister.

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Report on the Activities of the Kalyan Sangha of Tippera District

By

R. E. A. Ray

Special Superintendent, I.B., C.I.D., Bengal

Calcutta

Bengal Government Press

1932

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Foreword

This note has been compiled from the secret records of the Intelligence Branch and is to be treated, therefore, as a secret document and is to be kept in the personal custody of those Superintendents of Police to whom it is sent.

District Intelligence Branch Officers, however, should study it and should be allowed access to it whenever necessary.

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The Kalyan Sangha of Tippera District

1. Kalyan Sangha—Foundation of—by Lalit Barman at Brahmanbaria in 1929 :—

Lalit Mohan Barman who founded the Kalyan Sangha at Brahmanbaria is the son of Karunamay Barman of Brahmanbaria and was born in 1899. He was mentioned by secret agents as a member of the Jugantar party in 1918 and 1924. According to his own statement, recorded after his arrest in 1931, he started the Kalyan Sangha in 1928 as a club for culture, physical and mental.

It is indeed in 1928 that the first mention of the Kalyan Sangha was made in the statements of secret agents, so this may perhaps be accepted as the correct date. Novertheless there is evidence that Lalit Barman was the leader of a terrorist party in Brahmanbaria before that. In February 1932 agent T. A. 17 stated that it was in 1926 that he was recruited to the Brahmanbaria party and that at that time Lalit Barman used to instruct the senior members, and Birendra Bhattacharji *alias* Sudhangshu, the juniors. In 1931 agent T. A. 16 also said that it was in 1926 that he was recruited by Lalit Barman. Information was received in 1926 that Rupendra Pal and Kamakhya Chakrabartti, whose names have transpired in the Kalyan Sangha's recent activities, had firearms in their possession.

The formation of the Kalyan Sangha was undertaken by Lalit Barman with the object of establishing an open organisation in order to facilitate the recruitments of terrorists. That it was used in this way is clear from the statements of many agents. The Kalyan Sangha in Brahmanbaria and the Sri Sangha in Dacca were organised on similar lines, and it appears that the former was but a branch of the latter. In 1931 confessing revolutionary No. 587 stated that Lalit Barman was recruited by Rebati Barman, himself a recruit of Anil Ray, the leader of the Dacca Sri Sangha. In 1929 one Rohini Chakrabartti of Brahmanbaria stated that he was once a member of Lalit Barman's Kalyan Sangha, a physical culture club, but that a few members were members of the inner circle, a secret organisation with its headquarters at Dacca where the daggers and firearms of the party were kept.

Lalit Barman spread his organisation in many places in the Tippera district.

2. Comilla Young Men's Association :—

In 1928 it was reported that he had organised the Comilla Young Men's Association of which he was Secretary, other office-bearers being Rash Mohan Chakrabartti, the Superintendent of the Ramala Chhattrabas

(a students' hostel) who was President, and Khagendra Gupta who was Assistant Secretary. The latter informed an agent that the youth movement had been started in Comilla in order to revive revolutionary activity in the district. In 1929 Khagendra Gupta started a library called the Chittarjan Library in the house of Basanta Mazumdar, the well-known agitator, as a branch of the Student's Association. It was reported also that a secret meeting of the Brahmanbaria Kalyan Sangha was held in Bhuban Bardhan's house at which it was decided to start a Sangha in Comilla.

3. **Kalyan Sangha—Agents' description of : —**

In December 1931, A.L.S. XXVIII described how he was recruited to the Brahmanbaria party in 1928 by Nripen Pal. There was a gymnasium, where, in addition to gymnastice, lathi and dagger play were taught, and also a library containing books on revolutionary subjects. He had to swear on the Gita that he would not harm the party by divulging secrets, but although he knew that he had become a member of a revolutionary party, he was told nothing about the party's secret activities. He mentioned the names of 29 young men who were members of the Kalyan Sangha when he joined it, but there were others whose names he did not know. Among those mentioned were Nripen Pal, Sudhangshu *alias* Biren Bhattacharji, Pabitra Deb Ray, Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai, Amulya Kanchan Datta Ray, Barindra Ghosh and Kamakshya Chakrabartti, who have since been arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, and Sushil Barman who is absconding. The following were also mentioned as members of the party in 1928. Manindra Pal, Subodh Ray, Apurba Kanchan Datta, Akhil Nandi, and Binay Datta, all of whom have been arrested except the last-named.

It has been stated above that agent A.L.S. XXVIII was told nothing about the secret activities of the party. Confessing revolutionary No. 616 in his statement of 30th January 1932 said that in 1930, when he was a new recruit, Lalit Barman interviewed him and told him that he would have to ask no questions and obey implicitly all orders of the leaders and that death was all that the members could expect for themselves, for it was not they but future generations who would witness the results of the party's labours.

Until Brahmanbaria Post Office robbery in 1931 the Kalyan Sangha confined its activities to organising, for Lalit Barman, like Anil Ray in Dacca, was opposed to precipitate action which would lead to the breaking up of party.

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4. **Rivalry of local Dacca Anushilan Samiti group :—**

Lalit Barman's activities in Brahmanbaria were resented by the members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti group which had been established there for a long time. The parties quarrelled and the ill-feeling reached such a pitch that in 1930 the Kalyan Sangha hired a goonda who assaulted members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti on two occasions and followed that up by leading a raid on two houses belonging to members of the Samiti. As will be shown later, this rivalry continued during 1931.

5. **Activity in 1930 :—**

According to a statement made by agent 'C. 109' in January 1932 Lalit Barman represented the Tippera group at a secret meeting of the Dacca Sri Sangha held in Calcutta after Anil Ray's arrest in July 1930. The Central group insisted on retaining all the arms in Dacca, with the result that Lalit Barman seceded from the Dacca Sri Sangha. This is the only statement received to this effect, however.

Lalit Barman was in jail from 19th June 1930 to 1st November 1930 in connection with the civil disobedience movement, and during this time the members were eager to commit crimes of violence and were hoping in August 1930 that Rebati Barman, the leader of the Calcutta group of Anil Ray's party, would send them orders to do so. The aim of the Dacca Sri Sangha at that time, however, was to organise an insurrection and not indiscriminate outrages. The murder of Mr. Lowman in Dacca in August was perpetrated by the Bengal Volunteer group which had been formed by some members of the Dacca Sri Sangha who disagreed with this policy.

Among the prominent members of the Kalyan Sangha party who were mentioned as being active at this time were Sushil Barman, Akhil Chandra Nandi, Surendra Das, Subodh Mukharji, Rupendra Pal and Amulya Kanchan Datta Ray.

On his release from jail in November 1930 Lalit Barman resumed charge and busied himself in recruiting.

6. **Quarrels with Dacca Anushilan Samiti branch continue :—**

The fresh recruiting activity of the Kalyan Sangha caused further trouble with the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. A member of the Jugantar party named Nani Mazumdar who went to recruit at Nabinagar was assaulted in January 1931, but was avenged by an assault on Bhupendra Dhar of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti Branch at Brahmanbaria. After these incidents the rivalry between the two parties naturally became intense, but they are reported to have sunk their differences at the time of the Janmastami procession when they were ready to repel an apprehended

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Muhammadan attack, and during the flood distress when they worked together to relieve the sufferers, and incidentally to win the sympathy and respect of the public. Nevertheless collaboration for their common object, the expulsion of the British from India, appears to have been impossible, for in September there were more assaults and counter assaults, the victims being Ramanath Pal of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti and Manindra Pal, Mohini Mazumdar, Binay Datta, and Amulya Barman, of the Kalyan Sangha. Kailash Chandra Deb Ray, pleader, and Kumud Chandra Nandi, mukhtear, the patrons of the Kalyan Sangha, sent for help from Comilla and for a week considerable excitement prevailed. A compromise was reached, however, on the intervention of some members of the local bar, and it was agreed that the Kalyan Sangha would no longer interfere with the Dacca Anushilan Samiti.

At the Bengal Provincial Students' Association conference which was held in Comilla in May it was announced that instructions had been sent from Calcutta that after the Hijli incident the two parties should work together. In October Bhuban Bardhan returned from Calcutta with a similar message. A local agent reported that some members of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti at Brahmanbaria had joined the Kalyan Sangha. If this is so, the ill-feeling between the parties is not likely to improve.

7. **Lalit Barman's socialist programme and party's connection with Communists :—**

Meanwhile Lalit Barman was again sent to jail from 6th December 1930 to 11th March 1931 for his civil disobedience activities. It appears that when in jail he worked out some scheme of organisation on socialist lines. This is mentioned in a letter written to him by one S. K. Paramanik and intercepted by the Tippera police in April 1931. The details of the scheme are not known, but the letter indicates that it provided for the support of many labour unions and that Subhas Chandra Basu was in favour of it. After his arrest in June 1931 Lalit Barman said that he was in favour of socialism and approved of Subhas Basu's speech at the Karachi Congress.

In October 1931 agent T.A. 10 stated that he had learnt from Bankim Mukharji (the leader of the Samyaraj party, a communist party with its headquarters in Calcutta) and Surendra Das (a leading member of the Kalyan Sangha) that both the Jugantar party and the Dacca Anushilan Smiti group at Comilla had been informed of a scheme of insurrection throughout India in which the Babar Akalis of the Punjab would co-operate with the Bengal party.

However impracticable such a scheme may—in fact it seems that it was an invention of Banking Mukharji—the fact that Bankim Mukharji

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was in touch with the Kalyan Sangha and the Dacca Anushilan Samiti in Comilla was corroborated in November by agent S.A.1, who said that Bankim Mukharji had returned from Comilla where he had met members of these parties and that the local Congress men, among whom Kamini Kumar Datta was mentioned, were helping the formation of organisations of peasants throughout the district.

8. Brahamanbaria post office robbery in March 1931 :—

While Lalit Barman was till in jail the first overt act of the Kalyan Sangha was committed, namely, the robbery at the Brahmanbaria post office on 5th March. According to secret information Sushil Barman, Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai and Manindra Pal conceived the plan. Subodh Chaudhuri, the son of the Postmaster, was a member of the party and gave them information about the amount of money received in the post office. According to one agent members of the party used to assembly in the Postmaster's house for several evenings before the robbery took place. They hoped to commit it on the 4th March when, according to Subodh Chaudhuri's information, a sum of Rs. 40,000 would be taken to the post office safe in the police-station nearby. On that date, however, the money was taken too early in the evening for their convenience. On the 5th the money was despatched just when it was getting dark. The packer, head postman, and the clerk had just left the post office when they were attacked by three or four men armed with a revolver and lathis. The head postman and the clerk were badly injured by lathis and the money amounting to Rs. 10,942 stolen. The revolver was fired but only in order, apparently, to frighten people away. The loot was taken by Birendra Bhattacharji and, according to one agent, kept in the house of pleader Kailash Chandra Deb Ray for the night. An agent reports that it was Birendra Bhattacharji who procured the revolver and the other weapons and two agents state that the revolver was supplied from Dacca. A Dacca agent reported that two members of Manindra Datta Gupta's Jugantar group of Dacca took two revolvers and cartridges to Brahamanbaria on 3rd March and returned on the 10th. The persons who actually committed the robbery are reported to be Barindra Ghosh, Binay Sen (care of Dakshina Charan Sen, retired Magistrate), and Subodh Ray (son of a Naib of the Sarail estate), while in addition to those already mentioned Sailendra Bhattacharji of Kalikacha and Debendra Talapatra, pleader, were in the conspiracy.

It is noteworthy that Indumati Debi, sister of Ananta Lal Singh of Chittagong, who was then touring the province for money for the defence of the Chittagong Armoury Raid case, was in Brahmanbaria the day the

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robbery occurred and was living with Debendra Talapatra. She is reported to have stated soon after the crime that it was the work of the Chittagong party. A Tippera agent reported that she received a share of the loot. The lion's share of the booty was certainly retained, however, by Birendra Bhattacharji who absconded from Brahmanbaria and went to Dacca. This led to a split in the party and the formation of a separate group by Birendra Bhattacharji the activities of which are described in paragraph 15 of this note.

9. **Issue of leaflets :—**

The Jugantar party was evidently elated by this success, for on the 10th March some red leaflets entitled "Up with revolution, down with Gandhi" were posted up in Comilla. It is reported that the leaflet was written by Amulya Kanchan Datta Ray and pasted up by himself, Akhil Nandi, Subodh Mukharji, and Nirmalendu Bhattacharji.

10. **National Militia and Chhattra Sangha formed in 1930 :—**

According to confessing revolutionary No. 616 in his statement of 30th January 1932 the Comilla Congress decided in 1930 to form a National Militia and Nirmalendu Bhattacharji was appointed captain and Sailesh Chaudhuri instructor. Subodh Mazumdar, son of Basanta Mazumdar, was a major in the corps.

Nirmalendu Bhattacharji made a statement on 27th January 1932 in which he said that at the end of 1929 or in the beginning of 1930 Akhil Nandi and others organized a branch of the Bengal Provincial Students' Association and called it the Chhattra Sangha of which he, Nirmalendu Bhattacharji, became a member of the executive committee. Under Akhil Nandi's orders he organized the Militia of which he was appointed captain. Akhil Nandi told him that the object of forming the Militia and training the members was to secure suitable young men to take part later in simultaneous risings in order to make India free, and that it would be necessary to obtain money and firearms. In order to spread anti-Government feelings the Chhattra Sangha organized picketing and public meetings. Bankim Chakrabartti, Amulya Datta, Apurba Datta, Subodh Mukharji, Naresh Banarji, Sudhindra Deb, Satyabrata Sen, Sailendra Ray Chaudhuri, and Nripen Pal, were prominent members of the Chhattra Sangha.

At the end of April 1931 and All-Bengal Students' Conference was held at Comilla which was attended by Subhas Basu, Sarat Chatarji (the novelist), Bimal Prativa Debi, Bipin Ganguli, Hari Kumar Chakrabartti, and Pulin Das. Confessing revolutionary No 615 stated in January 1932 that Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai had spent Rs. 3,500 out of the loot of

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the post office robbery on this conference and paid the fares of Subhas Basu, Sarat Chatarji, Hari Kumar Chakrabartti, Bipin Ganguli, and Bimal Prativa Debi. Although this statement lacks corroboration, nevertheless, an agent reported before the conference was held that it was proposed to spend Rs. 3,000 of the loot on a conference of the Jugantar party to be held at the same time, but that Lalit Barman had recommended that the whole sum should be spent in procuring firearms.

11. Meeting of Bengal Provincial Students' Association in Comilla :—

On 20th September a meeting of the Bengal Provincial Students' Association, an organisation controlled by the Jugantar party, was held in Comilla and office-bearers were elected. Subsequently Rabindra Goswami, Santi Guha, Satya Brata Sen, and Hem Chandra Sarkar, members of the Kalyan Sangha, were deputed to represent the Comilla branch of the Bengal Provincial Students' Association at the annual conference in Calcutta. Two of them returned in October and reported that plans were being made in Calcutta in consultation with other terrorist groups in Bengal to do something which would surpass even the Chittagong raid.

12. Kalyan Sangha—after the robbery :—

After the Brahmanbaria post office robbery the Kalyan Sangha in Brahmanbaria and Comilla committed no further overt act during the year, but continued recruiting and organising the party. In September a parcel containing more than a hundred revolutionary books, which would have made a very good recruiting library, was seized by the police at the Comilla railway station. They had been purchased in Calcutta from the Swaraswati Library and had been addressed to Akhil Nandi. According to one agent Bhuban Bardhan, Amulya Kanchan Datta, Akhil Nandi, and Surendra Das held a meeting to discuss this seizure, and decided that in future consignments of books and arms should not be sent by name to a member of the party but to some sympathiser employed in business, such as Kalu Gupta, Chakrabartti Brothers, Sukumar Mukharji, Narendra Dhar, and Surendra Ghosh. Lalit Barman, who was arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in June, was reported in November to have sent out instructions that terrorist outrages were not to be committed, his policy being to organise an insurrection in three or four years' time. According to another agent, however, instructions had been received from Calcutta that Gandhi's mission to England would not result in a declaration of complete independence and so revolutionary parties were to organise insurrections.

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According to a statement of agent A.L.S. XXVIII made in December, Suren Das, the leader of the Kalyan Sangha, went to Calcutta in September or October to get money from Captain Naren Datta, brother of Kamini Datta of Comilla, who was then collecting funds for flood relief. At first Captain Naren Datta refused to give him any money because of the way Brahmanbaria boys had been misbehaving, but with the help of Nripendra Pal and Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai Suren Das was able to persuade him to part with Rs. 1,000 and some clothes for distribution among victims of the floods in Comilla. Suren Das did not, however, distribute either the money or the clothes, but added the former to the party's funds and even sold the clothes for the same object.

13. **Proposal to commit dacoity :—**

In October the Kalyan Sangha realised that Biren Bhattacharji of Natai had no intention of returning the party's arms and a discussion was held at Fulgazi in Noakhali district to decide how to obtain money for buying firearms. Amulya Kanchan Datta, Nirode Chakrabartti, Rupendra Pal, and Prasanna Sinha met in the latter's house. Nirode Chakrabartti's suggestion was to commit a robbery in Brahmanbaria, but this was not approved as being unsafe after the post office robbery. Amulya Kanchan Datta suggested robbing some jute merchants' money while being taken from Kuthi to Kamalasagar railway station on the 9th. This was approved and Nirode Chakrabartti was deputed to select five members to take part. It was arranged that the conspirators themselves should be nowhere near the scene of occurrence. Nirode Chakrabartti said that two of his recruits had made two imitation pistols, which with a 6-chambered revolver already under his control, daggers and iron rods, would be used in the crime. The crime was not however committed. The need of firearms was seriously felt and in December the party hoped to collect Rs. 550 to buy five revolvers in Calcutta.

14. **Headquarters transferred to Comilla under Suren Das at end of 1931 :—**

The final rupture between Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai and the Kalyan Sangha group in October left the following as the more important members of the latter group:—

Comilla	*Brahmanbaria*
Amulya Kanchan Datta.	Sushil Barman.
Rupendra Pal.	Biren Bhattacharji *alias* Sudhangshu.
Hemendra Bhattacharji.	Manindra Pal.
Surendra Das.	Sachindra Deb.
Bhuban Bardhan.	

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Nirode Chakrabartti.
Apurba Datta Ray.
Satyabrata Sen.
Subodh Mukharji.

Kamini Kumar Datta, pleader and Congress leader of Comilla, helps the Kalyan Sangha with money. This was reported by agents T.A.10 in January and T.A.15 in October 1931.

According to agent A.L.S. XXVIII the Kalyan Sangha as an open organisation ceased after the arrests under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, but the revolutionary members scattered all over the district and organised local terrorist groups, the headquarters being now transferred to Comilla under Suren Das.

15. **Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai's group :—**

Birendra Bhattacharji *alias* Jogen, son of Mahesh Bhattacharji, of Natai, Brahmanbaria, Tippera was a student at the National Medical School in Dacca in 1929 and 1930 and a member of the Dacca Sri Sangha. Early in 1930, when the Dacca Anushiian Samiti was planning an insurrection, he is reported to have volunteered his services to Madan Mohan Bhaumik, the leader of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti, in Dacca. This was before the Jugantar party's scheme had been made known to the various Jugantar groups. He was sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment in May 1930 at Brahmanbaria for his participation in the civil disobedience movement and was released on 1st November 1930. The part he played in the Brahmanbaria post office robbery in March 1931 has already been described. No information was received at the time that he had severed his connection with the Kalyan Sangha, but in June 1931 agent B.K.D. VII stated that he had formed a separate group with the members of which he planned and committed this robbery. Although he kept the loot and the arms which he bought out of it in his own custody, refused to render any accounts to Surendra Das, and acted generally as if independent of the leaders of the Kalyan Sangha, the latter too some time to realize that he had in fact formed a separate group. Agent B.K.D.VII reported that in June, after Lalit Barman's arrest, a meeting was held in the house of ex-detenu Pramatha Bhattacharji at Bidyakot at which Suren Das of Hyderabad, Bhupen Barman of Bidyakot, Rupendra Pal, Amulya Datta, and Nirode Chakrabartti decided that Biren Bhattacharji might be offered the post of group leader in the party but nothing higher.

Agent A.L.S. XXVIII reported in December that Biren Bhattacharji resented Nripendra Pal's criticisms of his conduct in retaining the loot

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of the Brahmanbaria robbery and the arms which he had been entrusted with or had bought. He maintained that he was only acting as the custodian for the whole party and would willingly supply arms when required for any special purpose. He refused, however, to keep any with Suren Das at Comilla, because there was no safe place there where they could be kept. It seems that until October or November the Kalyan Sangha still hoped to share in the loot of the crime and reassert their authority over Birendra Bhattacharji but that they then received his ultimatum that he would not return the money or make over the arms unless he were declared leader of the party. On his terms being refused, the separation of his group from the Kalyan Sangha became an established fact.

The following joined Birendra Bhattacharji's group:—Akhil Nandi, Subodh Ray, Barindra Ghosh, Bankim Chakrabartti, Binay Datta, Birendra Datta, Sailendra Bhattacharji *alias* Buro, Pramatha Bhattacharji, Pabitra Deb Ray, Nirmalendu Bhattacharji, Sailendra Ray Chaudhuri, Nripendra Nath Sen, Chandra Kumar Sarkar, Sishir Kumar Chaudhuri, brother of Miss Suniti Chaudhuri, Naresh Chandra Banarji, of Kashba, Binay Nandi. There are undoubtedly many others.

Birendra Bhattacharji, Barindra Ghosh, and Binay Sen, absconded after the post office robbery and Subodh Ray was arrested, released on bail, and subsequently discharged, for there was no evidence to take the case to court. Biren Bhattacharji was in Calcutta most of the time until the end of the year collecting firearms and strengthening his organization.

16. **Determination to commit outrages :—**

According to the statement of confessing revolutionary No. 616 recorded on 30th January 1932, Birendra Bhattacharji used to tell the members of his party that Indians in spite of their intellectual superiority were the victims of unfair discrimination even in their own country at the hands of the British, and that the only way to free the country was by bloodshed, and further excited them with promises to eclipse the Chittagong armoury raid and to wage guerilla warfare against the Government. The members naturally became eager to commit dacoities and murders.

In November and early in December it was learnt that this group intended to commit dacoities and to assassinate the District Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police, and the District Intelligence Branch Inspector.

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17. **Birendra Bhattacharji discusses murder plans and organises murder of Mr. Stevens :—**

According to the statement of agent P.R.B.II dated 7th January 1932, Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai, Barindra Ghosh, Subodh Ray, and another youth whose name was Chandra De or Sarkar and whose brother was a Civil Court peon in Comilla (probably Chandra Kumar Sarkar), called some members of the Kalyan Sangha, namely Birendra Bhattacharji *alias* Sudhangshu, Sushil Barman, Manindra Pal, and Satish Chandra De, for a discussion at Brahmanbaria early in December. Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai and his followers suggested that the party should undertake the assassination of high officials and police officers at Comilla, Brahmanbaria, and Chandpur, in order to terrorise Government. Sushil Barman and his followers opposed the suggestion saying that Government would take drastic action and smash up the organisation, and that if they were to do something for India, they should wait until their organisation, training, and armament were good enough to enable them to embark on something on a big scale. Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai and his followers disagreed and expressed their determination to commit murders in spite of what others might think.

About three days after this Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai, Barindra Ghosh, Subodh Ray, and Chandra De or Sarkar went to Comilla and joined up with Akhil Nandi. Another agent stated that Binay Nandi also arrived with them. They had firearms with them, 2 according to one agent, 6 according to another and 8 according to a third. The Kalyan Sangha in Comilla, then under Suren Das, refused to find shelter for Birendra Bhattacharji and his followers, but this was provided through Akil Nandi's influence by Miss Prafulla Brahma and Miss Santi Ghosh of the Chhattri Sangha, a female terrorist organization of which an account is given in paragraph 19 of this note. According to confessing revolutionary No. 616 in his statement of 30th January 1932 Akhil Nandi had trained these two girls and Miss Suniti Chaudhuri as revolutionaries with the help of Sudhir Brahma, Prafulla Brahma's brother, while Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai taught them the use of firearms in Santi Ghosh's house. Agent P.R.B. II stated in January 1932 that Akhil Nandi had also trained Parul Mukharji and Mayna Mukharji, sisters of detenu Amulya Mukharji.

Information was received from more than one agent early in December that Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai and his group were desperate and on the 11th the Comilla police raided several houses in Comilla in order to effect their capture and also to recover a revolver that had recently been stolen from the house of one Banga Chandra De, and

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was believed, erroneously as it now appears, to have been stolen by that group. Subodh Ray, Barindra Ghosh, Bhupendra Sarkar, Sukumar Bhaumik, Ananta Kumar De, Santosh Chatarji, and Bimal Chaudhuri, were arrested, but unfortunately Birendra Bhattacharji of Netai was not found.

18. Murder of Mr. Stevens :—

On 14th December 1931 at about 10 a.m. two girls called on Mr. Stevens, District Magistrate of Tippera, in his house at Comilla and sent in a card bearing the names Illa Sen and Mira Debi. Rai Sahib Nepal Chandra Sen, Subdivisional Officer, was with Mr. Stevens when the card was brought in, and he and Mr. Stevens went to the verandah to see what they wanted. They said that they wanted to give an exhibition of swimming. Mr. Stevens took their petition to his office room, endorsed it to the headmistress of the Girls' School, and made it over to one of the girls, since identified as Santi Ghosh. As he did so the other girl, Suniti Chaudhuri, whipped out a revolver from under her clothes and fired into Mr. Stevens' chest at a distance of three feet, and fired again as Mr. Stevens reeled and turned into the room. Rai Sahib Nepal Chandra Sen seized Suniti Chaudhuri's hand which had the revolver in it and both fell to the ground. While this struggle was in progress Santi Ghosh pulled out a revolver and fired at the Rai Sahib without hitting him, however. Rasmat Ali chaprassi grappled with Santi Ghosh who fired at him, hitting him in the left arm, but with the help of Yasin chaprassi and Nona Mia, guard constable, she and Suniti Chaudhuri were overpowered and their revolvers taken from them. During the struggle four live cartridges fell from Suniti's person and three more were found when she changed her clothes. Mr. Stevens meanwhile had fallen dead in the pantry where he made his way after being shot.

Suniti Chaudhuri and Santi Ghosh were tried by a Special High Court Tribunal consisting of J.J. Pearson, S. C. Mallick and S. K. Ghosh and constituted under the Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance, 1931, and were sentenced on 27th January 1932 to transportation for life under section 302/34, Indian Penal Code, for the murder of Mr. Stevens, no separate sentences being passed on them under section 19 (f), Indian Arms Act, or on Santi Ghosh for attempting to murder Rasmat Ali chaprassi and Rai Sahib Nepal Chandra Sen, offences of which they were found guilty. When discussing the sentence to be passed their lordships remarked :—

"The outrageous nature of the crime is patent to all. These young Bengali girls planned out a cruel murder and by a mean trick decoyed

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Mr. Stevens to their presence. They then took advantage of the man's natural courtesy and proceeded to shoot him and anyone else who opposed them in a most determined and ruthless manner. After committing the crime they were quite self-possessed, and in the language of the Deputy Magistrate who recorded their statements, nonchalant and quite at ease. Of any sign of remorse after this lapse of time we have had no indication; on the contrary, their demeanour in the dock has been one of cheerful disregard of consequences. Yet the fact remains that they are not more than 16 and are girls of respectable family. This sort of crime is, we believe, unprecedented. The evidence does not suggest any motive, not even the statements which the girls made after the occurrence. It may be a reasonable surmise that they are instruments of sinister agencies, though that by itself would not extenuate the offence in any way.

"Youthfulness in itself is a factor which requires to be taken into consideration and brought into the balance along with the other circumstances of the case. Having regard to principles which have been applied to young or adolescent criminals, we think that in this case capital sentence need not be inflicted and that the proper sentence would be transportation for life.

"We accordingly sentence each accused to undergo transportation for life on the charge under section 302 (murder) read with section 34 of the Indian Penal Code. We do not think it necessary to pass separate sentence in respect of convictions on the other charges. As to the future treatment of these prisoners we draw the attention of the local Government to their case and recommend that due regard be paid to their antecedents and subsequent behaviour. Beyond this we do not think it necessary to give any special directions."

Thus ended the trial of an epoch-making case. The date of the murder was the date on which judgement was expected in the dacoity case in which Bimal Prativa Debi, who had done so much for the Chhattri Sangha, was arrested on the scene of occurrence.

Confessing revolutionary No. 616 stated on 30th January 1932 that Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai had selected and deputed these two girls to murder Mr. Stevens and that there was a motor car in readiness near the Guru Training School in which they were to escape after the crime. Agent P.R.B.II stated that Birendra Bhattacharji had supplied them with the two revolvers and that he and Akhil Nandi had incited them to commit the murder. According to agent M.N.S. 2 the murder was expedited because Mr. Stevens was about to leave the district on Furlough. The Superintendent of Police and the District Intelligence Officer were,

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according to agents T.A.10 and T.A.13, to have been assassinated at the same time as Mr. Stevens, but fortunately the former was out on tour and the latter's house was found to be difficult to reconnoiter. These agents said that Satish Ray of Kalikacha was deeply implicated in this conspiracy. Agent T.A.10 in fact said that Satish Ray accompanied the two girls in a hackney carriage part of the way to Mr. Stevens' house. The object of sending two girls to murder Mr. Stevens was to set up an Indian record of female heroism to emulate that of some Russian girl in the time of the Tsar. This would encourage other girls in Bengal to become terrorists. Both agents said that the group did not intend to rest on their laurels after this crime but would murder all European officers and other important officials of the district, including Mr. Stevens' successor, and would also commit dacoities. Birendra Bhattacharji approached Rabindra Goswami and Subodh Mukharji of the Kalyan Sangha after the murder and suggested that they should join him in his plans of further outrages. Agent T.A.16 reported that Subodh Mukharji, on receipt of a revolver from Birendra Bhattacharji as a token of confidence, agreed to try to join up the Kalyan Sangha with Birendra Bhattacharji's group. After the outrage, however, several members of both groups were arrested and others scattered fearing arrest and no further crimes were committed.

19. **The Chhattri Sangha :—**

In October 1931 the Calcutta Police searched No. 238, Lake Road, the house of Mrs. Bimal Prativa Debi who had been arrested in connection with the Maniktala dacoity case. Among the correspondence seized was a letter dated 10th September 1931, from Miss Santi Ghosh of Peace Cottage, Comilla, addressed to Bimal Prativa Debi. She wrote that Bimal Prativa Debi should send some albums (evidently albums of photographs of the Chittagong raiders who were killed) through Santi Ghosh's dada. She also referred to the seizure at Comilla railway station of some books that had cost Rs.200. These are the books mentioned in paragraph 12. A letter written to Bimal Prativa Debi by Prafulla care of Rajani Kumar Brahma, Bagchagaon, Comilla, was also seized. In this letter Prafulla described a dream which she had had of a battle in which girls and boys fought with equal courage against their common enemy. The Comilla police searched the houses of these two girls. In Santi Ghosh's house a list of members of the Chhattri Samiti was found and in Prafulla Brahma's house some leaflets which had been issued by the Nari Satyagraha Samiti of which Bimal Prativa Debi was a member. In a statement made to an officer of the Intelligence Branch Santi Ghosh

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said that she became acquainted with Bimal Prativa Debi when the latter visited Comilla to attend the Students' Conference which was presided over by Sarat Chatarji, the novelist, and Hari Kumar Chakrabartti. She said that she was the Secretary of the Chhattri Sangha which was organised by the girls of the Faizunessa Girls' H. E. School in April 1931. She denied having written the letter referred to above. She said that she was in favour of non-violence. Prafulla Brahma stated that there had been a Chhattri Sangha in the Faizunessa Girls' School for two or three years which was merely a debating club. Dissension arose, so before the summer holidays of 1931 she, Santi Ghosh, and some others, decided to start a Chhattri Sangha outside the jurisdiction of the school. She was made President, Santi Ghosh, Secretary, Ashoka Nandi, Vice-President, and Nilima Nandi, Assistant Secretary. She said that the Sangha had no library or gymnasium and that it was founded "to establish unity among the girls and to improve health and self-protection." They used to practise lathi and dagger play in the houses of Madhabi, daughter of Jogneswar doctor, and Santi Ghosh. When Bimal Prativa Debi visited Comilla with Subhas Basu she and Santi Ghosh introduced themselves to Bimal Prativa Debi who visited Santi Ghosh's house and congratulated them on forming the Chhattri Sangha and promised her assistance.

Salilabala Ghosh, the mother of Santi Ghosh, stated in January 1932 that some time before the Students' Conference Akhil Nandi, Hemendra Bhattacharji, Bankim Chakrabartti, Amulya Kanchan Datta, and others induced Santi Ghosh, Prafulla Brahma, and Nilima to form a female organisation and that Bimal Prativa Debi and Indumati Debi used to give the girls instructions.

No secret information was received about its connection with the local terrorists until immediately before the murder of Mr. Stevens, when agent C. 109 stated that Birendra Bhattacharji had taken over the female organisation, and agent T.A.10 stated that when Birendra Bhattacharji and his associates came to Comilla they were sheltered by Prafulla Brahma and Santi Ghosh. After Santi Ghosh and Suniti Chaudhuri murdered Mr. Stevens more information was received. Agent S.N.C. 1 stated that a probationary pleader named Santosh Chatarji had told him that there was a good female organisation at Comilla which had extreme views. Agent A.N.C. 8 stated that Indumati Debi had recruited Santi Ghosh for Surjya Sen's Chittagong party, and agent C.109 stated that Birendra Bhattacharji had kept firearms with Nilima Debi.

The Chhattri Sangha of Comilla has a President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Assistant Secretary, whose names have already been given, a working committee consisting of 10 girls from the Faizunessa

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Girls' School, 6 girls from the Abhay Asram Girls' School, 6 girls from the Nivedita Girls' School and 3 girls from the Lower Primary Girls' School, and an advisory committee consisting of 3 members one of whom is Salilabala Ghosh, Santi Ghose's mother. The names of 71 members have been collect. They are all daughters of bhadralok Hindus.

20. **Branches of party in Tippera district :—**

In addition to the two principal centres at Brahmanbaria and Comilla there are branches of the Kalyan Sangha in several places in the district.

(a) *Nabinagar :* The Nabinagar group appears to have been started by Lalit Barman in 1929. In 1930 information was received from agent A.S.3 that Satyabrata Banarji, son of the Postmaster, Nabinagar, and Pabitra Chakrabartti and Debendra Bhaumik, students of the local H. E. School, were recruiting for the Kalyan Sangha at Nabinagar. In March 1931 the agent supplied a list of 15 members. In May 1931 the headmaster of the Nabinagar H. E. School, a supporter of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, was stabbed by some youths in a railway carriage at Pagachong station. It appears that he had recently punished some members of the Bengal Provincial Students' Association, Subhas Basu's organisation, for quarrelling with some members of the All-Bengal Students' Association. Birendra Bhattacharji *alias* Sudhangshu, Binay Datta, Manindra Pal and Hari Mohan Poddar were seen running away from the station after the crime. Agent P.R.B. II stated that Birendra Bhattacharji *alias* Sudhangshu and Binay Datta were among the culprits. Agent A.S. 3 said in September that Dinabandhu Bhaumik and Surendra Bhaumik were rich men who supported the Chhattra Sangha, which Lalit Barman had started, and had borne the legal expenses of the members of Lalit Barman's party who had assaulted the headmaster. This group is important and is controlled from Brahmanbaria and Manindra Pal and Hiralal Deb frequently inspected it.

(b) *Kalikacha :* This group was, according to agent A.L.S. XXVIII, organised by Subodh Ray, Manindra Pal, Barindra Ghosh and Akhil Nandi, and is important. Agent S.L.C (1) stated on 4th March 1932 that after the murder of Mr. Stevens a secret meeting was held in the house of Kumud Nandi of Kalikacha which was attended by about 30 young men and Nihar Ranjan Datta, a member of Biren Bhattacharji's group, and

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Sudhangsu-Bimal Das Gupta of Chittagong. They discussed the murder and decided that it would have a good effect on the morale of the revolutionaries.

(c) *Kuthi* : A.L.S. XXVIII reported that this was a very important centre at which firearms and probably absconders were concealed. It was frequently visited by Amulya Kanchan Datta, Akhil Nandi, Bhuban Bardhan, Suren Das and Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai.

(d) *Kamalasagar (Kashba)* : An important centre according to A.L.S. XXVIII which was visited by Amulya Kanchan Datta, Bhuban Bardhan, and Suren Das. In August 1930 a member of Nalini Boses' Barisal Jugantar group wrote from Kamalasagar to Barisal to say that he was trying to obtain arms from Agartala.

(e) *Chunta* : A.L.S.XXVIII reported that this is not an important centre, nevertheless it was visited by Akhil Nandi and Amulya Kanchan Datta.

(f) *Medda* : Agent T.A. 17 stated on 17th February 1932, that two or three years ago some members of the Brahmanbaria Kalyan Sangha quarrelled with Lalit Barman and started a society in Medda called the Suhrid Sangha under Makhan Datta, son of the late Satish Datta of Medda, but that some of the members still supported the Kalyan Sangha.

(g) *Chandpur* : In October 1930 agent T.A. 13 stated that one Rati of Ranirdighi, Comilla, was organising a Jugantar group at Chandpur while another agent, T.A. 15, stated that this group, known as the Sakti Sangha, consisted of about 30 members of whom Brajesh Chakrabartti and Bibhuti Ranjan Gupta were the leaders.

(h) *Bidyakot* : In March 1931 information was received from agent A.S. 3 that Pramatha Bhattacharji, ex-detenu, and Bhupesh Barman of Bidyakot had formed a branch of the Kalyan Sangha in that village. He subsequently reported that Swami Swarupananda who had an asram there helped this secret organisation and visited the neighbouring villages of Kalikacha, Sarail, Chunta, Shyamagram, Bitghar, Kasba, Ramchandrapur, Ujanchar and Majiara where the party had some footing.

(i) *Sangraish* : In November agent T.A. 15 reported that Sishir Chaudhuri and Bankim Chakrabartti of the Comilla party were recruiting at Sangraish. Bankim Chakrabartti is a member of Birendra Bhattacharji's group, so it is possible that the Sangraish group will become part of that group.

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(j) *Akhaura :* In December 1931 a casual agent reported that Dhirendra Chandra Das of the Kalyan Sangha was organising a group in the Debagram H. E. School near Akhaura under the guidance of Bhuban Bardhan and Apurba Kanchan Datta Ray, brother of Amulya Kanchan Datta Ray, and that the headmaster of the school, Hemendra Nath Datta, the assistant headmaster and Naresh Chandra Datta were Congress men who were sympathetic and helped the terrorist organisation.

21. **Hill Tippera :—**

(a) *Agartala :* Confessing revolutionary No. 616 stated on 30th January 1932 that it was in December 1930 that Manindra Biswas of Agartala approached Nirmalendu Bhattacharji at Comilla and said that he wanted to join the revolutionary group with his 8 or 10 recruits. His proposal was accepted after Bankim Chakrabartti had been to Agartala to test the recruits. After the split in the Tippera party, Mani Biswas sided with Surendra Das against Birendra Bhattacharji.

In September 1931 agent A.S. 3 stated that Surendra Das and Manindra Pal had recently been to Agartala to organise a party there with the help of Manindra Biswas whom he described as a motor driver of Agartala. In December agent C. 109 stated that Mani Biswas of Biswas and Sons, a motor car business, was in charge of the Agartala party, that absconders were sheltered there, and that Mani Biswas had asked Rupendra Pal for some arms in order to commit dacoity. According to agent T.H.T. in his statement, dated 7th January 1932, Harendra Sen of Kashba visited Mani Biswas at Agartala in June and by arrangement with him sent a boy named Dhirendra Goswami of Kashba who was admitted to the Agartala H. E. School in September with the idea of recruiting members for the party. Akhil Nandi of Kalikacha is also reported to have visited Mani Biswas in September. It is to be noted that Umesh Singh, a relative of Ananta Singh of Chittagong lives at Agartala.

(b) *Udaipur :* In November Agent T.A. 13 stated that Prasanna Kumar Sinha of Noakhali district had instructed Debendra Kumar Das, a homœopath of Udaipur, to work for the Comilla Jugantar party.

(c) *Belonia :* In October agent B.K.D. VII stated that Rupendra Pal and Amulya Kanchan Datta had visited Belonia and had met Dr. Prasanna Kumar Bhaumik, the local Jugantar organiser and friend of Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai.

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22. Connection with other districts :—

During 1931 information was received about the connection of the Kalyan Sangha with terrorist organisations in other districts, namely, Calcutta, Dacca, Noakhali, Chittagong, Mymensingh, Barisal, Khulna and Chandernagore.

(a) *Calcutta :* Calcutta being the principal source of the supply of smuggled arms, it is but natural that all active terrorist parties should have a group there, or should be linked up with some Calcutta group.

The connection of the Tippera party with Calcutta was originally through Rebati Barman, the organiser of the Calcutta group of the Dacca Sri Sangha, whose recruit Lalit Barman is reported to have been. It was in 1930 that a report was received that Nripendra Pal had been made leader of the Brahmanbaria group in Calcutta. As such he was under Rebati Barman, the leader of the Calcutta branch of the Dacca Sri Sangha, the parent body. He was a student in the Bangabashi College and became the Secretary of the Bangabashi College Students' Union and of the Bengal Provincial Students' Association, positions which gave him excellent opportunities of recruitment and collaboration with terrorist of all districts until his arrest under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in December 1931.

According to a statement made by confessing revolutionary No. 624 in March 1932, the Kalyan Sangha in Calcutta was divided into three groups, North Calcutta, Central Calcutta and South Calcutta, each having three of four sub-groups with from 10 to 20 members. The sub-group leaders knew their group leader but not each other unless specially introduced, while the ordinary members knew as few others as possible. The duties of recruitment and the collection of money and arms were performed by separate sections. Nripendra Pal, the leader of the party, was under Naren Sarkar after the arrest of Rebati Barman, and among the members subordinate to him were Samarendra Pal, Usharanjan Pal, Pabitra Deb Ray and Krishnananda Datta. Nripendra Pal was intimately connected with Subhas Basu, Bipin Ganguli and Hari Kumar Chakrabartti, and his party under instructions of Lalit Barman supported Subhas Basu in his campaign against the Gandhi-Irwin pact.

In July 1931 C. 109 reported that in May Nripen Pal, Rupendra Pal, Jogen Datta, Nibaran Datta, Khitish Sen, and Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai met in order to discuss a

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programme for the Calcutta party. Birendra Bhattacharji urged them to make up the quarrel with the Dacca Sri Sangha (*See* paragraph 5) and devote their energies to procuring firearms.

Reports were received from the same agent in August and September to the effect that Nripen Pal was consulting Birendra Bhattacharji and treating him as a trusted member of his party. In September agent C. 109 reported that Nripendra Pal, Nibaran Datta, Rupendra Pal, Kshitish Chaudhuri, Subodh Ray (concerned in the Brahmanbaria post office robbery), Bhuban Bardan, and Naresh Banarji (a recruit of Akhil Nandi's) met at the Canning Hostel and decided to place their party in Calcutta in touch with Hari Kumar Chakrabartti (détenu). Birendra Bhattacharji, of Natai, and Abinash Bhattacharji, the President of the Bengal Provincial Students' Association. The annual conference of the Bengal Provincial Students' Association was held in Calcutta in September 1931 and delegates from various districts visited Nripen Pal at the Canning Hostel. It has already been stated that the Tippera delegates were members of the Kalyan Sangha. There is no doubt that the opportunity was seized to discuss terrorist organisation, for shortly after this, in October, agent T. A. 10 reported that the Jugantar party's policy would be dictated from Calcutta where district organisers were being summoned for consultation with Hari Kumar Chakrabartti and Abinash Bhattacharji. Agent C. 109 reported in this month that Nripendra Pal wanted a member of the group to see Hari Kumar Chakrabartti and get into touch through him with arms smugglers. Hari Kumar Chakrabartti's arrest under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in October was a bad blow to the party. It was not until December that Nripendra Pal understood that Birendra Bhattacharji had been working for himself and he then regretted having made over to the latter the arms which he had collected in Calcutta (*see* paragraph 24).

In October agent T.A. 10 stated that one Bhupendra Das, a student at the Scottish Churches College, was the connecting link between Comilla and Calcutta and that Nibaran Datta and Suresh Chakrabartti were important members of the party working in Calcutta.

According to agent J.P. 38 Pulin Sen of Noakhali, a member of Satindra Nath Sen Gupta's Barisal organisation, who was arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in January 1931, used to live with Usharanjan Pal of Comilla at

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7/A, Bechu Chatarji Street. This indicates a connection of the Tippera group in Calcutta with Satindra Nath Sen Gupta.

The same agent also stated that in December 1931 Ramesh Chakrabartti, M.A., a member of the Comilla party, was looking for accommodation for some members of that party who had recently absconded to Calcutta, evidently after the murder of Mr. Stevens.

In 1930 and 1931 Birendra Bhattacharji was, according to various agents, conducting arms smuggling operations in Calcutta. These have been described in paragraph 24 of this note, and show that he was in touch with the Bengal Volunteer group in Calcutta. From July to the end of November 1931 he was staying with Pramatha Chakrabartti at Astanga Ayurved College Hostel, 71/1, Baghbazar Street, Calcutta.

On 4th November 1931 officers of the Calcutta Port Police arrested Sukumar Mazumdar *alias* Khoka of Comilla and Bidhu Bhusan Guha *alias* Mukul of Faridpur with a 7-chambered .450 bore revolver and 8 cartridges. Bidhu Bhusan Guha is a cousin of Birendra Ghosh *alias* Manik, of Dacca, and was identified by the Port Police watchers as a youth who was seen with Bimal Das Gupta, who murdered Mr. Peddie and attempted to murder Mr. Villiers, negotiating for arms from a smuggler. These two youths lived at 31, Kanai Dhar Lane, the headquarters of the Bengal Volunteer group in Calcutta, and it was this arrest and the developments from the search of 31, Kanai Dhar Lane, to which is due the success of the police attack on that group.

Birendra Bhattacharji's connection with this address was shown by agent A.L.S. XXVIII who stated in December that he had referred to the arrests and search in such a way that it was clear that he used to visit that address himself.

According to a statement made by the same agent, Amulya Das Gupta sent a messenger to Comilla on the 5th December to see Birendra Bhattacharji who had left Calcutta on the 27th November. Birendra Bhattacharji sent him back to Calcutta with six revolver cartridges which appeared to have been fetched from Kutthi and a letter for Amulya Das Gupta. The messenger also took back a letter for Atin Basu Thakur, a member of the Calcutta branch of the Dacca Sri Sangha who had been for some time living in Calcutta subject to an order under section 2 (1) (a), (b) and (c) of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. In this letter he asked Atin Basu Thakur to return the revolver

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which he had given him some time previously. The letter and cartridge were delivered to Amulya Das Gupta, but Atin Basu Thakur was rearrested under Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act before the messenger could deliver the letter to him. Confessing revolutionary No. 617 referred to this matter in his statement of 30th January 1932 and says that the messenger was Pramatha Chakrabartti and that Atin Basu Thakur took the six cartridges from Amulya Das Gupta. The latter was a member of the Saraswati Library Jugantar group under Rasik Das and Bhupen Datta and before the Dalhousie Square Bomb outrage used to live above the *Benu* office at 93/1F, Baithakhana Road. While there he met Satya Bhusan Gupta and Rasamay Sur of the Bengal Volunteer group, Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai, and also members of the Saraswati Library group. Birendra Bhattacharji got into touch with him again in August 1931, introduced him to Atin Basu Thakur and Pramatha Chakrabartti, and asked him to work with his group.

In December agent A.L.S. XXVIII mentioned Sailendra Nath Bhattacharji *alias* Buro, of Kalikacha, Brahmanbaria, a College student who lived at 19/A, Hara Kanta Tagore Square, as an important member of Birendra Bhattacharji's party.

(b) *Dacca :* The connection with Dacca requires no explanation for the Kalyan Sangha is but an offshoot of the Dacca Sri Sangha. In March agent T.A. 10 reported that the party had eight revolvers which were sent to Dacca when the Dacca party wanted them. Agent T.A. 10 and confessing revolutionary No. 599 stated that the revolver used in the Brahmanbaria post office robbery were supplied from Dacca. Agent A. 97 of Dacca reported in March that on 3rd March, i.e., two days before the dacoity, Jagadish Chandra Chakrabartti *alias* Mangal, and Sudhangshu Bhattacharji of Fagunashar, members of Manindra Datta Gupta's orgnisation at Jainshar, Dacca, took two revolvers and some cartridges to Brahmanbaria and returned them about the 10th to Manindra Datta Gupta at Jainshar. The Jainshar organisation is a branch of the Munshiganj Jugantar party (Deben Lal Chatarji's group).

In September agent T.A. 10 reported that one Nirode (possibly Nirode Chakrabartti of the Kalyan Sangha) visited Dacca and Mymensingh to consult the leaders of the Jugantar parties in those places and returned with the information that they wished to send absconders to Comilla for shelter. The

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Comilla party appears to have agreed to help, but no information has been received that any absconders came to Comilla for shelter from Dacca. In October agent C. 109 reported that Nirode Chakrabartti had gone to Dacca in order to persuade some thirty or forty members of Satish Pakrashi's group (Dacca Anushilan Samiti Revolted Group) to join the Sri Sangha. The result of this mission was not reported.

Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai went to Dacca after the Brahmanbaria post office robbery and associated there with the Bengal Volunteer group of the Dacca Sri Sangha. It is that his sympathies lay all along with that group and it is probable that he planned the robbery and the murder of Mr. Stevens as a result of his association with that group. In October agent C. 109 reported that Birendra Bhattacharji had sent some arms which he had obtained in Calcutta through Hari Kumar Chakrabartti to Dacca and in December that he had procured 23 (?) weapons in Calcutta some of which he had sent to Dacca.

(c) *Noakhali :* In May 1931 agent T.A. 13 stated that the Jugantar organisation in Feni was connected with the Comilla organsiation through Comilla boys who were studying in Feni College and that this organisation was expecting a plan of work from Lalit Barman's Brahmanbaria organisation.

In September agent C. 109 reported that Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai, Nripen Pal and Rupendra Pal had decided to spread the organisation and had got into touch with Prasanna Kumar Sinha of Daulatpur, police-station Parsurao, Noakhali, who was living at Fulgazi. In October he reported that Rupendra Pal and Amulya Kanchan Datta had visited Feni, Fulgazi and Belonia. Amulya Datta's visit to Noakhali district was also mentioned by agent T.A. 13. At Fulgazi they met Prasanna Kumar Sinha and decided that centres would be opened there, at Chhagnalia (under Dwarika Bhaumik), and at Belonia, all under the general secret control of Amulya Datta but with one Akhil Datta as the ostensible leader. While there they had the discussion about committing dacoity already mentioned in paragraph 13(a). At Feni they met Anil Majumdar and Rebati Baidya of the local College who promised to work for them. At Belonia they met Dr. Prasanna Kumar Bhaumik, the local organiser of the Jugantar party and friend of Birend Bhattacharji, and actually made an attempt to recruit two b who declined, however, because they were already memb

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which he had given him some time previously. The letter and cartridge were delivered to Amulya Das Gupta, but Atin Basu Thakur was rearrested under Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act before the messenger could deliver the letter to him. Confessing revolutionary No. 617 referred to this matter in his statement of 30th January 1932 and says that the messenger was Pramatha Chakrabartti and that Atin Basu Thakur took the six cartridges from Amulya Das Gupta. The latter was a member of the Saraswati Library Jugantar group under Rasik Das and Bhupen Datta and before the Dalhousie Square Bomb outrage used to live above the *Benu* office at 93/1F, Baithakhana Road. While there he met Satya Bhusan Gupta and Rasamay Sur of the Bengal Volunteer group, Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai, and also members of the Saraswati Library group. Birendra Bhattacharji got into touch with him again in August 1931, introduced him to Atin Basu Thakur and Pramatha Chakrabartti, and asked him to work with his group.

In December agent A.L.S. XXVIII mentioned Sailendra Nath Bhattacharji *alias* Buro, of Kalikacha, Brahmanbaria, a College student who lived at 19/A, Hara Kanta Tagore Square, as an important member of Birendra Bhattacharji's party.

(b) *Dacca :* The connection with Dacca requires no explanation for the Kalyan Sangha is but an offshoot of the Dacca Sri Sangha. In March agent T.A. 10 reported that the party had eight revolvers which were sent to Dacca when the Dacca party wanted them. Agent T.A. 10 and confessing revolutionary No. 599 stated that the revolver used in the Brahmanbaria post office robbery were supplied from Dacca. Agent A. 97 of Dacca reported in March that on 3rd March, i.e., two days before the dacoity, Jagadish Chandra Chakrabartti *alias* Mangal, and Sudhangshu Bhattacharji of Fagunashar, members of Manindra Datta Gupta's orgnisation at Jainshar, Dacca, took two revolvers and some cartridges to Brahmanbaria and returned them about the 10th to Manindra Datta Gupta at Jainshar. The Jainshar organisation is a branch of the Munshiganj Jugantar party (Deben Lal Chatarji's group).

In September agent T.A. 10 reported that one Nirode (possibly Nirode Chakrabartti of the Kalyan Sangha) visited Dacca and Mymensingh to consult the leaders of the Jugantar parties in those places and returned with the information that they wished to send absconders to Comilla for shelter. The

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Comilla party appears to have agreed to help, but no information has been received that any absconders came to Comilla for shelter from Dacca. In October agent C. 109 reported that Nirode Chakrabartti had gone to Dacca in order to persuade some thirty or forty members of Satish Pakrashi's group (Dacca Anushilan Samiti Revolted Group) to join the Sri Sangha. The result of this mission was not reported.

Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai went to Dacca after the Brahmanbaria post office robbery and associated there with the Bengal Volunteer group of the Dacca Sri Sangha. It is that his sympathies lay all along with that group and it is probable that he planned the robbery and the murder of Mr. Stevens as a result of his association with that group. In October agent C. 109 reported that Birendra Bhattacharji had sent some arms which he had obtained in Calcutta through Hari Kumar Chakrabartti to Dacca and in December that he had procured 23 (?) weapons in Calcutta some of which he had sent to Dacca.

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help them with the organisation of the party which was not doing well since Lalit Barman's arrest. Amulya Kanchan Datta admitted to the police that he had met Satindra Nath Sen Gupta at the Brahmanbaria station. The connection of detenu Pulin Sen of Noakhali, a member of Satindra Nath Sen Gupta's party, with the Chittagong Jugantar party has been established as has that between the Kalyan Sangha and the Noakhali Jugantar party. In September 1931 agent J. P. 38 stated that Usha Ranjan Pal of the Brahmanbaria group had suggested to Surendra Das Gupta of Faridpur, a member of the Barisal party, that that group should be amalgamated with Satindra Nath Sen Gupta's party. In December 1931, confessing revolutionary No. 601 stated that the Bengal volunteer group of the Dacca Sri Sangha had a branch in Barisal as well as in Comilla, Brahmanbaria and Chittagong. The personnel of the Bengal Volunteer group at Barisal is not known, but it seems from what has been said above that the Barisal group said to be connected with the Kalyan Sangha and the Bengal Volunteer group of Dacca is probably that of Satindra Sen Gupta. Another point that should not be lost sight of is that Satindra Nath Sen Gupta helped Bimal Prativa Debi to found the Ananda Math in Calcutta. Bimal Prativa Debi's connection with the Kalyan Sangha has been shown.

(*f*) *Mymensingh :* In September agent T.A. 10 stated that one Nirode Babu (probably Nirode Chakrabartti of the Comilla group) had gone to Dacca and Mymensingh to consult the Jugantar parties there and reported on his return that these parties wanted the Comilla party to shelter some of their absconders. The Comilla party was short of funds but was willing to help. In October the same agent stated that Birendra Datta of Kalikacha had gone to Calcutta with some members of the Mymensingh party and that Suresh Chandra Ray, a member of the Mymensingh Jugantar party, had joined the Comilla College and was acting as the connecting link between these two districts. In the same month agent P.R.B. II stated that Sushil Barman of the Kalyan Sangha was going to Bajitpur in Mymensingh on some important work for the Sangha. In November agent T.A. 13 stated that Sushil Barman had been fetched from Bajitpur in order to prevent the Brahmanbaria boys from joining Birendra Bhattacharji's group. In the same month agent T.A. 16 stated that an absconder from Mymensingh named Chakrabartti (identity not known) had come to Comilla for shelter in October but that the Comilla party was unable to help

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him. Agent T. 21 stated that Sailesh Chakrabartti *alias* Chatarji of Sarail, an active member of the Jugantar party, had approached Sachi Kanta Chakrabartti of Podda, Mymensingh, for arms and that the latter had promised to supply some.

(g) *Khulna :* In September agent C. 109 stated that during the civil disobedience movement Rupendra Pal met detenu Satish Chakrabartti of Khulna, an important member of the Jugantar party, in the Dum Dum jail. Satish Chakrabartti gave him a letter of introduction to Sailaja Ghosh of 12, Bahir Mirzzapur road, Calcutta, who in February was hoping to reorganise Satish Chakrabartti's party. No further information was received about this Nirmalendu Bhattacharji who was arrested with birendra Bhattacharji of Natai in Calcutta in January 1932 was a student of the Daulatpur College.

(h) *Chandernagore :* There is only one reference to a connection with Chandernagore in the secret information received in 1931, namely, a statement made by agent C. 109 in September to the effect that one Surendra Datta of Noakhali, who was a member of Surjya Sen's Chittagong party and had been a Jugantar organiser in Comilla, was then working as a Kabiraj in Chandernagore. A man of this name was traced at Chandernagore. He is a resident of Talbaria, Noakhali, and is a teacher at the Howrah Nripen School.

23. Connection with other provinces :—

(a) *Assam :* In September 1931, agent A. S. 3 stated that Binode (? Subodh) Chaudhuri, son of the Postmaster of Brahmanbaria, had been sent to the Sylhet College where he had joined the Tarun Sangha, and that Manindra Pal and Bhuban Bardhan of the Kalyan Sangha were sending him instructions about organising a branch of the Kalyan Sangha there. In the same month agent T.A. 13 stated that Sushil Biswas, a student of the Comilla College who had been elected Vice-President of the Comilla branch of the Bengal Provincial Students' Association, an essentially Jugantar concern, was previously the Vice-President of the Sylhet Students' Association.

(b) *Bihar and Orissa :* In September 1931, agent C. 109 stated that Suresh Chandra Deb, who is now a primary school teacher in Ranchi, was the guru of Lalit Barman who orgnised the Kalyan Sangha under his supervision.

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In October the same agent stated that Prasanna Kumar Sinha of Noakhlai was employed in Jamshedpur and returned there after the completion of the plans to commit the dacoity mentioned in paragraph 13. In November an agent T.A. 13 stated that Prasanna Kumar Sinha was a colleague of Surjya Sen of Chittagong and was working for the terrorists somewhere outside Bengal. He was in Bengal in November and told Dhirendra Mazumdar of Feni that if arrangement were made to take delivery he could send revolvers and materials for making explosives. In December agent A.L.S. XXVIII stated that in 1928 when he was recruited to the Kalyan Sangha, he was advised by Swami Swarupananda, who had an asram at Chas in Manbhum district and used to visit Brahmanbaria every year, not to get mixed up in any political organisation. In October 1931, however, agent A.S. 3 stated that Swami Swarupananda, who also had an asram in Bidyakot, Tippera, was helping the Kalyan Sangha and after the arrest of Lalit Barman had been deputed by ex-detenu Pramatha Bhattacharji to visit the neighbouring villages where the Jugantar party had members, both in order to attract the ordinary public by his religious discourses and to discuss politics with students.

(c) *Bombay :* In September 1931, agent C. 109 reported that one Chittaranjan Datta had arrived in Bombay and was staying with one Bhuban Pal at room No. 3, third floor, 105, Deoji Street. Both were stated to be recruits of Rupendra Pal, but the object of their visit to Bombay was not stated.

24. Arms :—

As usual, the information received from secret agents about firearms is apt to be confusing. Members are prone to exaggerate the number of firearms in the possession of their party in order to impress other members of their strength. During the year no agent handed over or produced for inspection any of the arms of the Tippera party. The gist of the information about arms is as follows :—

In 1926 agent T. 13 reported that Rupendra Pal and Krishna Das Pal had given a revolver to Jogesh Ray, the leader of the Chandura party. In 1926 agent T. 17 reported that some arms, packed in oil-cloth, which had been received from Mohini Datta of Dacca, had been kept in turn with Sukumar Barman, Suresh Bhattacharji, and Harendra Chakrabartti, and that Kamakhya Chakrabartti had a revolver. In 1929 T.A. 4 reported that the Kalyan Sangha had a .380 and a .450 revolver which Birendra

Bhattacharji of Natai had showed him and a Mauser pistol which was with Akhil Nandi of Kalikacha.

In September 1930 agent A.S. 3 stated that when Loke Nath Bal, the Chittagong absconder since arrested and convicted, was in Comilla in July of that year he left a revolver with Kamakhya Bhattacharji (? Chakrabartti), a student of the Dacca Mitford Medical School. In August 1930 agent C. 100 stated that, according to what he had heard from Susil Barman, the Kalyan Sangha had one revolver and that efforts to buy more had been unsuccessful. In December 1930 agent T. 19 stated that the Kalyan Sangha had four or five revolvers which were under the control of Birendra Bhattacharji *alias* Sudhangshu, son of the headmaster of the George H. E. School, Sachindra Deb, and Kamakhya Chakrabartti, son of the drawing master of the Annada H. E. School.

In March 1931, a few days after the Brahmanbaria post office robbery, agent T. A. 10 stated that he had heard that the Kalyan Sangha had eight revolvers which were sent to Dacca whenever required there and that one of the persons concerned in the robbery had a nickel-chambered revolver. In October, agent C. 109 stated that the Kalyan Sangha had only one firearm. It seems that Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai managed to seize all the arms of the Kalyan Sangha, for in December agent A.L.S. XXVIII stated that Nripen Pal's party had none at all.

Information has been received from several independent sources about Birendra Bhattacharji's procuring of firearms. In December 1931 agent A.L.S. XVIII stated that in 1930 Birendra Bhattacharji kept one large and three small revolvers with Pramatha Chakrabartti in Calcutta and that in May 1931 he kept a Mauser pistol with the same person, but shortly afterwards transferred all four weapons to the custody of Pabitra Deb in whose possession they were at the beginning of December 1931. A reference to what are probably the same weapons mentioned by A.L.S. XXVIII is contained in the statement made on 21st January 1932 by confessing revolutionary No. 609. He is hazy about the dates, but says that in the latter part of 1930 Biren Ghosh's party, a group of the Dacca Sri Sangha, obtained one .320 revolver, one .450 revolver, 100 cartridges, and an automatic pistol for Rs. 1,000 from smugglers in Calcutta. The revolvers were first kept with Ajit Guha Ray and the automatic pistol with Shishir Datta, but Nepal Nag made them all over to Birendra Bhattacharji. Subsequently Biren Ghosh bought a Mauser pistol for Rs. 800 from a smuggler and gave it to Ajit Guha Ray who gave it to Nepal Nag. The latter handed it over to Birendra Bhattacharji. These weapons were handed over to him because Biren Ghosh's party

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could not pay for them at that time. Birendra Bhattacharji apparently could and did. Agent A.L.S. XXVIII also said that in December 1931 Atin Basu Thakur of Rebati Barman's group had a revolver which Biren Bhattacharji had given him.

According to a statement made in January 1932 by confessing revolutionary No. 615 Birendra Bhattacharji spent Rs. 4,000 of the loot of the post office robbery on the purchase of four .380 bore 5-chambered revolvers and one seven-shot pistol from Bipin Ganguli in Calcutta, took them to Comilla, and made them over to Akhil Nandi who kept them with Binay Nandi. In January agent P.R.B. II stated that Binay Nandi had kept one revolver with his cousin Jyotika Kumari *alias* Kona Nandi whose father, Kumud Nandi, muktear, found it in her box a few days after the murder of Mr. Stevens and threw it into a tank. This is the story she is said to have told to Sukamal, son of Sarada Kabiraj, who went to recover the weapon from her.

In December agent C. 109 stated that Pabitra Deb with whom Nripen Pal had entrusted firearms had joined Biren Bhattacharji's group, and that the latter had given Pabitra Deb three revolvers for safe custody. The same agent stated that Birendra Bhattacharji had recently sent 23 (?) firearms from Calcutta, of which some were sent to Dacca and others to Nilima Debi of the Comilla Chhattri Sangha. The agent stated that Nripen Pal had bought two firearms from one Birren of Mechuabazar Street and six from ex-detenu Nibaran Mitra with the help of ex-detenu Girindra Banarji and had given them all to Biren Bhattacharji which he then regretted.

Information has been received from two sources that the Tippera party obtained firearms with the help of Hari Kumar Chakrabartti in Calcutta. The first mention was by agent C. 109 who stated in October that Birendra Bhattacharji of Natai had sent some firearms which he had obtained from Hari Kumar Chakrabartti to Dacca. Then in November confessing revolutionary No. 596 stated that he had heard from Amulya Das Gupta (detenu) that Lalit Barman's party gave Rs. 5,000 to Hari Kumar Chakrabartti two months previously for the purchase of arms.

In January 1931 agent P.R.B. II stated that Lalit Barman had spent Rs. 3,000 out of the loot of the postal robbery on 12 revolvers which were bought in Calcutta through Nripendra Pal and distributed among the members of his party, but that after Lalit Barman was arrested Birendra Bhattacharji who had received some of them collected the rest and kept them under his own control. This is the only statement that has been received that Lalit Barman received a share of the loot of the Brahmanbaria post office robbery. In January 1932 agent C. 109 stated

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that Nripendra Pal when arrested in December sent word that Bipin Ganguli still had a sum of Rs. 150 left over from the amount advanced by him for the purchase of arms. Jagadish Sarkar of Rebati Barman's Calcutta group recovered this sum from Bipin Ganguli.

Agent T.A. 13 said that when Birendra Bhattacharji returned to Comilla from Dacca in November he refused to return to the Comilla members six revolvers and Rs. 10,000 which the Comilla party had entrusted with him. In December, before the murder of Mr. Stevens, agent T.A. 10 reported that Birendra Bhattacharji refused to give up six revolvers and some money to the Kalyan Sangha unless he were made leader, and T.A. 13 stated that Birendra Bhattacharji and his associates who had come to Comilla had about eight revolvers with them.

It would be profitless to attempt to work out exactly how many weapons Birendra Bhattacharji managed to procure. The two revolvers which were recovered from the girls who murdered Mr. Stevens were of the following description :—

(1) 5-chambered Short revolver, mark 8 m.m. L. E. B. with No. 17 on the rod base and 7 on the trigger (found with Suniti Chaudhuri).

(2) .450 Webley revolver No. 2 C. F. bore, 5-chambered, makers' No. 72988 Manton & Co. No. 5990 (found with Santi Ghosh). Information was received that the original plan was to shoot the Superintendent of Police and the District Intelligence Branch Inspector at the same time as the District Magistrate, in which case probably four more weapons would have been required assuming that the assassins would also have been in pairs. Another piece of information that may be mentioned is that of agent J. P. 44 who stated in December that Santi Bikash Datta, already mentioned, had gone to Chittagong before the murder to fetch two revolvers and cartridges for the Comilla party. It is not clear whether they were for Birendra Bhattacharji's group or the Kalyan Sangha.

There is also information about the manufacture of firearms locally. In February agent T. 19 stated that he had heard from Naren Ghosh (G. L. No. 992) that Nani Mazumdar's group of the Kalyan Sangha had begun to prepare firearms in Nabinagar and Bhairab. In October agent B.K.D. VII stated that when the plan to commit a dacoity was discussed at Fulgazi Nirode Chakrabartti said that two of his recruits had made imitation pistols in one of which the chamber of a revolver had been used.

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25. Bombs :—

No information has been received that the Kalyan Sangha or Biren Bhattacharji's group made any preparations to make explosives or have any bomb shells. Agent T. A. 13 stated in November, however, that Prasanna Kumar Sinha of Noakhali district, who is a member of the Kalyan Sangha, told Dhirendra Mazumdar of Feni that he could send materials for making bombs (probably from Jamshedpur) if proper arrangements could be made for taking delivery of them.

26. Internments :—

The following members of the Kalyan Sangha and Birendra Bhattachrji's group have been arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act :—

		Date of arrest
1.	Bardhan, Bhuban Bhehari, son of Ananda of Khariala, Nabinagar, Tippera, and Comilla town	21-3-1932
2.	Barman, Lalit Mohan, son of late Karunamay of Paritala, Brahmanbaria, Tippera	1-6-1931
3.	Barman, Rebati Mohan, son of late Hari Mohon of Simulkandi, Bhairab, Mymensingh	1-9-1930
4.	Bhattachrji, Birendra, son of Mohesh of Natai, Brahmanbaria, Tippera	3-3-1932
5.	Bhattacharji, Birendra Behari, son of Benode of Nazirnagar, Tipperra	20-1-1932
6.	Bhattacharji, Birendra Chandra *alias* Sudhansu, son of Purna Chandra of Brahmanbaria town	27-11-1931
7.	Bhattacharji, Hemendra, son of Banga of Comilla town and Ibrahimpur, police-station Nabinagar, Tippera	28-2-1931
8.	Bhattacharji, Nirmalendu, son of Promode of Astagram, Brahmanbaria	15-2-1932
9.	Bhattacharji, Sailendra, son of Amar of Kalikachha, Sarail, Tippera	8-1-1932
10.	Brahma (Miss) Prafulla Nalini, daughter of Rajani, Muktear, Comilla	21-3-1932
11.	Chakrabartti, Bankim, son of Bipin Chandra of North Chandla, police-station Kasba, Tippera, and Comilla town	21-3-1932
12.	Chakrabartti, Kamakhya, son of Kali Prasanna of Brahmanbaria, Tippera	9-12-1930
13.	Chakrabartti, Pramatha, son of Pyari of Silaner, Brahmanbaria	21-3-1932
14.	Chaudhuri, Sishir, son of Uma Charan of Ibrahimpur, Nabinagar, Tippera and Comilla town	21-3-1932

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		Date of arrest
15.	Datta, Amulya Kanchan, son of Mathura of Gantampara, Brahmanbaria, Tippera	29-10-1931
16.	Datta, Apurba Kanchan, son of Mathura of Gantampara	10-2-1932
17.	Datta, Birendra Kumar, son of Rukini of Kalikachha, Sarail, Tippera	21-3-1932
18.	Deb, Sachindra, son of Mohesh Chandra of Brahmanbaria	24-12-1931
19.	Deb, Satya Prasanna, son of late Kailash Chandra of Natai, Brahmanbaria, Tippera	29-12-1931
20.	Deb Roy, Pabitra Kumar, son of Kailash of Kampur, police-station Nazirnagar, Tippera	2-1-1932
21.	Ghosh, Barindra, son of Shyama Charan of Agarpara, Bajitpur, Mymensingh, and Brahmanbaria, Tippera	11-12-1931
22.	Ghosh, Jatindra Nath, son of Ambika of 81, Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta	8-4-1932
23.	Ghosh, Kamala Kanta, son of Chandra Kanta of Sreeghat, Nabinagar, Tippera, and Calcutta	5-12-1930
24.	Mukharji, Subodh, son of Chinta Haran of Comilla town	23-3-1932
25.	Nandi, Akhil Chandra, son of Prakash of Kalikachha, Sarail, Tippera	21-3-1932
26.	Nandi, Anil Chandra, son of Prakash Chandra of Kalikachha, Sarail, Tippera	21-3-1932
27.	Nandi, Benoy Kumar, son of Hem Chandra of Kalikachha	21-3-1932
28.	Nandi, Bimal Chandra, son of Ananda of Kalikachha	21-3-1932
29.	Nandi (Miss) Nilima, daughter of Basanta of Kalikachha, police-station Sarail Tippera	21-3-1932
30.	Nandi, Sukumar, son of Kumud of Kalikachha	20-1-1932
31.	Pal, Manindra Chandra, son of Thakurchand of Ghatiara, Brahmanbaria, Tippera	3-2-1932
32.	Pal, Nripendra Nath, son of Kali Mohon, Muktear, Brahmanbaria and Calcutta	23-12-1931
33.	Pal, Samarendra, son of Narendra of Ibrahimpur, police-station Nabinagar, Tippera, and Calcutta	22-1-1932
34.	Pal, Usharanjan, son of Bipin Behari of Satmura, Nabinagar, Tippera and Calcutta	20-1-1932
35.	Ray, Birendra Chandra, son of Banga Chandra, Muktear, Comilla town	21-3-1932
36.	Ray, Subodh, son of Aswini of Rasiklal, Sreenagar, Dacca, and Comilla town	6-2-1932
37.	Ray Chaudhuri, Manindra Lal, son of Janaki of Banaripara, Barisal, and Comilla town	21-3-1932
38.	Sarkar, Bhupendra Chandra, son of Mohim of Dacca and Comilla town	6-2-1932

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39. Sarkar, Chandra Kishori, son of Ambika, of Noakhali and Comilla town — 21-3-1932
40. Sen, Nripendra Nath, son of Prabhat of Comilla town — 15-4-1932

27. **Convictions :—**

The following members of the Kalyan Sangha and Birendra Bhattacharji's group have been convicted in specific cases :—

1. Miss Suniti Chaudhuri, daughter of Uma Charan of Comilla.
2. Miss Santi Ghosh, daughter of late Professor Debendra Ghosh of Comilla:

   Convicted and sentenced to transportation for life on 27th January 1932 by the Special Tribunal, Calcutta, under sections 302/34, Indian Penal Code, and 19(f) of the Arms Act (Stevens' murder case).
3. Bhuban Behari Bardhan, son of Ananda Mohan of Brahmanbaria.
4. Lalit Mohan Barman, of Pairtala, Brahmanbaria.
5. Birendra Bhattacharji, son of Mahesh of Natai.
6. Pramatha Bhattacharji (ex-detenu), son of late Hara Kumar of Bidyakut, and Brahmanbaria.
7. Debendra Talapatra, M.A., B.L., Pleader, Brahmanbaria :

   Convicted and sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment under sections 117/143/186/341, Indian Penal Code, on 19th May 1930 at Brahmanbaria.

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Addresses—
Kanai Dhar Lane, No. 31, Calcutta . . . 1075
Baitakhana Road, 93/1F, *Benu* Office, Calcutta . . . 1076
Baghbazar Street, No. 71/1, Calcutta . . . 1075
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A BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE

Tippera Anushilan Samiti

(1928 to April 1938)

Compiled by

S. I. Gopal Chakrabartti
of the Tippera D.I.B.

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1928 to April 1930

1. **Introduction :—**

The district of Tippera has always been in the forefront of every form of anti-British movement. Starting from the Anti-partition agitation and the Swadeshi movement which were the forerunners of the Maniktala Bomb case in which Ullaskar Datta of Tippera played an important part, up to date, the youths of Tippera have always been found taking part in every subversive movement. The tide of the Anushilan samiti started by Pulin Das of Dacca had its usual sways in Tippera. The part played by youths of Tippera in the terrorist movements of 1914, 1921-22, 1925-27 is quite well-known and has fully been incorporated in the notes prepared from time to time in the Intelligence Branch and in this office. It was a Tippera youth, Atindra Mohan Ray Chaudhuri, who is often acclaimed as a hero by the terrorists and their sympathisers, who emptied his revolver on the 30th June 1916 on the late Basant Chatarji, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Intelligence Branch, who was the right-hand man of Sir Charles Tegart in his campaign against terrorism in Bengal. One thing stands out prominently that every time the movement exceeds the previous one in its extent and fury. Whenever there is an open movement such as the Non-co-operation and the Khilafat agitation, the Civil Disobedience movement, etc., a cry is raised that terrorism is dead. There is an obvious lull on the surface, but the open movement gives the terrorist leaders a greater facility for recruitment, and from under the veil of what is apparently a constitutional agitation springs forth a terrorist outburst with an added momentum and ravages with a greater vehemence and fury. This has been the history of the terrorist movement in the past and there is a saying that history always repeats itself. This account by no means claims to be an exhaustive survey of the Anushilan movement in Tippera. That is an enormous task and embraces almost 75 per cent of the records of the Tippera District Intelligence Branch, as the history of terrorism in Tippera is nothing if it is not a history of the Anushilan movement, and it is this party which captured the imagination of most of the youths. Jugantar played but a rather less important role here. We shall only make an attempt to touch the salient facts and very outstanding events. We shall begin our account from the year 1928, when just before the Civil Disobedient Movement the country was literally flooded with a number of youth and student organisations. Both Jugantar and Anushilan played its due part behind each set of youth and student organisation. We shall deal with only those which were under the influence of the Anushilan.

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2. **Youth and Student Movement, 1928, 1929 and 1930 :—**

These are the years of preparation. We find the notorious Pratul Ganguli of the Dacca Anushilan of Pulin Das visiting Tippera. It was under his influence that youth organisation were built up all over the district. these were :—

1 *Tippera Juba Samiti :—*

Secretary —Jogesh Chakrabarty (ex-detenu)
Assistant Secretary—Nibaran Datta (ex-detenu)
Treasurer—Atindra Ray Chaudhuri (ex-detenu)

The executive committee consisted of Harendra Bhattacharji (ex-detenu), Dhurjati Nag (ex-detenu), Khagendra Gupta (ex-detenu), Amulya Mukharji (ex-detenu). Smaller samities were started all over the district almost at every place where there was High English School. Such organisations existed at Baburhat, Hajiganj, Boalia, Matlab, Sachar, Paikpara (Tarun Sangha), and the following of them deserve special mention, as each of these we found subsequently to be a good camp of the Anushilan for recruitment, shelter of absconders, custody of revolutionary books and framers :

(1) Chandpur Balak Sangha
(2) Chandpur Jubak Sangha
(3) Desbandhu Bandhaab Samiti of Comilla, Kandirpar
(4) Swabhab Sangrakshini Samiti of Sonarang compound
(5) Bajrapur Chittaranjan Library
(6) Chandpur Puran Bazar Arya Samiti
(7) Bagichagaon Tarun Sangha
(8) Syamagram Athletic Club.
(9) Nabinagar Byam Samiti
(10) Bajapti Brati Balak Sangha

3. **Tippera Students' Association :—**

This association was formed in 1929 with Kumud Sen (ex-detenu) as Secretary. Most of the office-bearers and the members of the executive committee were common with the Tippera Juba Samiti. The same group of people preferred to masquerade under the cloak of a seemingly innocent name with a view to keep the student element within their pernicious fold. This was a branch of the All-Bengal Students' Association patronised by the late Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta.

4. **Gymnasiums and Libraries :—**

The method adopted appears to have been the same as is done now. A number of gymnasiums were organised in which the students were encouraged to take physical exercise. Some libraries were also started

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and the stock of books consisted of the lives of nationalist heroes of India and other countries. Boys were encouraged to read these. There was always kept ready with some of the more important members a stock of proscribed and revolutionary literature such as the lives of Kanailal, Khudiram, etc., and of the fighters of freedom in other countries and the "advanced" pupils were given these books when it was clearly understood by the more cunning of the members that the victim had swallowed the bait and the poison had begun to act. At this time some High Schools introduced the system of physical instruction to their boys. Advantage was taken of this opportunity to introduce capable members of the party as gymnastic teachers who could readily influence their boys. Two such notorious instances are given below.

5. **Gymnastic Teachers and Inter-District Connection :—**

Members of the Surjya Kanta Memorial Gymnasium in Barisal organised touring parties to show physical feats during some Students' and Youth conferences in Tippera. Two members of the Surjya Kanta Memorial were able to secure the position of the gymnastic teachers in Tippera. Dhurjati Nag (ex-detenu) was appointed to the Iswar Pathsala, the biggest high school in Tippera and Suresh Ganguli made his way to the Purna Bazar M. S. School in Chandpur. Both of them had to be arrested under the Bengal Criminal law Amendment Act towards the end of 1930, for their subversive activities among the students. This early connection with the Barisal Anushilan gives us a key to the later (1934-35) activities of the Anushilan in Bakarganj.

6. **Conferences and "Days" :—**

Terrorists, like ordinary criminals, show a lack of originality in their tactics and methods. We find them organising "conferences" and "Days" on any pretext however small. This is done to keep their spirit going. This was done in 1929 and 1930 also. A few important events are given below only to show how their spirit was worked up. On the 3rd February 1929, "Students' Day" was observed at Comilla when Thakur Kahan Chand Varma of the Lahore Arya Samaj, a very capable speaker, spoke on the Students' unity and urged the students to espouse the cause of the country. Presiding over the "Swabhab Sangrakshini Samiti" in the Comilla Giridhari School on the 15th April 1929, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, made a similar speech. "Bhishmastami Day" (in memory of the hero Bhishma of the Mahabarata) was organised by the Members of the Ramesh Memorial Akhra, Comilla, on the 24th February 1929 (Ramesh Chandra Banarji of Dacca—G. L. No. 110 — an Anushilan member convicted in a dacoity case on the 12th February 1913 and killed by the

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Muhammadans during the Comilla communal riot of 1927). *Lathi* and dagger play was indulged in and the youths were trained with *lathis* in military fashion. Even the girls joined these military drills in uniform and from this the notorious Parul Mukharji (convicted in the Tittagarh Case) was called "Major Didi". Her sister Moyna *alias* Usha Mukharji also joined these drills. On the 23rd April 1929, Pratul Ganguli of Dacca, a leading member of the Dacca Anushilan (now an ex-State prisoner) was presented with an address of welcome by the youths and students. The students of the Moynamati Survey School went on strike as a protest against a decision of the Principal and the Students' Association and the Juba Samiti helped the strikers. On the 7th September 1929, students were advised in a meeting to follow the example of the students in Russia, China and Egypt. On the death of Jatin Das, who starved himself to death in Lahore Jail, the students of Comilla observe *hartal* on the 16th September 1929. On the 29th September 1929 and 30th September 1929, Pratul Ganguli presided over the second anniversary of the Deshbandhu Bandhab Samiti in Comilla. The Tippera Youth Conference was held at Chandpur on the 29th October 1929 and 30th October 1929. J. M. Sen Gupta presided and Prof. Jnan Shaha of Bihar, a terrorist of inter-provincial notoriety, acted as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. In this conference one Sailendra Ray, secretary of the All-Bengal Youth Association, delivered a seditious speech asking the youths not only to sacrifice blood, but also to shed blood for the independence of the motherland. (He was prosecuted and convicted on a charge of sedition). In November 1929, Asadudullah Shiraji of Shirajganj, Pabna, formed a Muslim Students' Association at Comilla. The aims and objects of this association were identical with those of the other students' organisation and some members of this association were given military training in drill in the compound of the Fuller Islamia Hostel. Shiraji addressed a number of students' meetings and advised them to unite and fight for the liberty of the motherland. A pamphlet written by Shiraji named "Biplabe Tarun" was sold or distributed in meetings. Shiraji's meetings were the places where the slogan "Inquilab Zindabad" was shouted for the first time in the district of Tippera. Military drill with *lathi* and band, *lathi* and dagger play, meetings and conferences, formation of samitis, study in libraries and discussion among members continued in full swing and the authorities, who were fully alive to the dangers of a rising youth movement, could not check these subversive activities in the absence of any special legislation, as the Criminal Law Amendment Act was not brought into force and thus the malefactors were free to carry on their destructive activities.

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7. **Early symptoms of a rupture :—**

That all was not well with the youth and student organisation showed itself very early. In May 1929, the Superintendent of Police, Tippera, received a threatening letter asking him and his officers to be very careful. Fortunately for us, there was a serious fight between the Anushilan and the Jugantar parties during 1929 and 1930. The two rival parties were known as "Bhaja" (Anushilan) and "Dhaja" (Jugantar) supported by the late J. M. Sen Gupta and Subash Ch. Bose respectively. Stabbing in darkness and riots in daylight were the order of the time between the rival parties and cases were instituted at the Kotwali police-station which, however, were settled out of court at the intervention of some leading men of the town. The Jugantar organised their meetings and conferences separately in which the Anushilan did not take part and the spirit of animosity continued and has been tin existence till to-day. The youths kept themselves busy with assaulting each other and could hardly divert their attention to others. This state of things continued till the first week of March 1930. But one thing was noticeable. The youths and students of the rival parties fought among themselves, but when the fight was with the Government, they showed wonderful powers to combine. This feature is noticeable till this day.

8. **Tippera District Political Conference and Tippera Students' Conference :—**

In March 1930 (11th March 1930 and 12th March 1930) were held the Tippera Political Conference, with J. M. Sen Gupta as president, and the Tipper a Students' Conference in which Mr. P. K. Chakrabartti, Bar-at-Law, Editor, Advance, a lieutenant of J. M. Sen Gupta, presided. Ajit Datta, son of Kamini Datta, acted as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Students' Conference. This Conference was attended by Pratul Ganguli, Madan Mohan Bhaumik, Nalini Kishore Guha and other notorious terrorist leaders of he Dacca Anushilan Samiti, Sachindra Mitra, Biredendra Das Gupta of the All-Bengal Students' Association and several other notorious revolutionaries. This conference gave a great urge to the Anushilan movement. Under the garb of gymnasiums and student associations, hundreds of youths were recruited to the Anushilan party. The police were handicapped. There was no special legislation to deal with the emergency. It is an admitted fact that if the police have no weapons wherewith to fight the terrorist menace, the organisers of terrorist parties would not care much for the police and this accounts for the paucity of information at this stage which the police were able to secure subsequently. But whatever little was known at the time was enough indication that a storm was brewing.

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9. The Chittagong Armour Raid and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930 :—

The Chittagong Armoury Raid took place on the 18th April 1930. This was an eye-opener to the Government and the Bengal Criminal law Amendment Act (then known as the Bengal Ordinance was promulgated on the next day. This was the first step to equip the police with a real weapon to deal with the terrorist menace which had been eating into the very vitals of the youthful intelligentsia in Bengal.

Armed with the powers conferred by the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, the police began to take action. It is from this time that information of real importance could be collected by the police and on this information is built up the history of the Anushilan movement the programme of which was to instil revolutionary ideas in youths in order to organise a simultaneous armed rising all over India, in order to free the country from the hands of the British.

April 1930 to December 1930

10. The House of Labourers and Allied Companies :—

Before we proceed further it is worthwhile to mention the part played by the House of Labourers Ltd., Comilla, in the growth of the terrorist movement in Tipper a. The House was started as a humble smith's shop by Jogesh Chatarji of the Kakori case in 1922 with a capital of Rs 220 donated by Babu Mahesh Chadra Bhattacharhji, the business magnate of Tippera (Incidentally it might be mentioned that this archangel of terrorism was very deeply involved in the terrorist organistion of Tippera and toured all over the district in connection with the village propaganda work of the Non-cooperation and the Khilafat movements). Ex-detenu Atindra Mohan Ray Chaudhuri, Surendra Ray, Jitendra Bhattacharji, Prafulla Chakrabartti, Manindra Chakrabartti, Amulya Mukharji, Jogesh Chakrabartti were all workers of the House which was started on a communistic basis, each worker sharing the profit. Soon it was able to draw their sympathy of the leaders and the public and the humble smithy was raised to the standerd of a limited concern with an authorised and fully subscribed capital of three lakhs of rupees. Then there was trouble about the division of profit and at the intervention of Pratul Ganguli, all workers were converted into salaried employees. The workers had to move all over the district, in Tripura State and Assam in connection with the steel construction work of the company and this afforded them a great opportunity of spreading the ramifications of the Anushilan organistion throughout the district and in Tripura State. A few other companies were also floated. These were the Peerless Tea Co.,

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Ltd. and the Comilla Electric Supply Co, Ltd., subsidies by the House of Laborers Limited, the Bholachand Palliamangal Bank Ltd., and the Inland Transport Company, Limited, organised by ex-detenu Surendra Ray of Bhellanagar. Two motor launches of the Transport Company plied for between Brahmanbaria and Nabinagar and Naraingan] and Maniknagar. Many youths were given employment in these concerns. With the perfect ease and the security of an employed life, they carried on the organistion of the Anushilan Samiti.

11 **Activities of the other parties and their influences :—**

The part played by their hero Jogesh Chatarji in the Kakori Mail Dacoity which took place on the 9th August 1925 had already captured the imagination of the Anushilan enthusiasts of Tippera. Pratul Ganguli of Dacca visited the district several times and encouraged the workers. An equally dangerous and a more unscrupulous worker, Satish Pakrashi, is stated to have visited Nabinagar on the 16th August 1929 and it was under his inspiration that Surendra Ray formed groups at Nabinagar, Bhellanagar, Bholachang, Syamgram, Bitghar, Bidyakut and places near about. Pakrashi was hauled up and convicted in the Mecchuabazar Conspiracy Case (19th December 1929). Besides Satish Pakrashi (ex-convict and ex-detenu) Pratul Ganguli and Ramesh Acharaji (ex-State prisoner) also visited the house of Surendra Ray in 1929.

The Comilla Abhoy Asram with its vow of non-violence, was found to shelter one Upendra Dhar (Jugantar) of Hailkandi, Cachar, Assam, as Medical student. Upendera was arrested in the Asram with incriminating letters and proscribed books and subsequently convicted in the Deoghar Conspiracy Case (20th October 1927). Ramesh Datta Chaudhuri (G.L.No 584) of Morakori, Sylhet, and one Sachikanta Chakrabartti (G.L.No. 451) of Katiadi, Mymensingh who used to reside at Tulsahar near Brahmanbaria, organised the Kishoreganj-Tippera-Sylhet terrorist groups. One Kshirode Behari Ray of Fandauk Nasirnagar, committed a Mail Robbery (13th March 1933) in Madhabpur in Sylhet district, He was caught re-handed and he confessed to the existence of an anarchist party under Ramesh Datt Chaudhuri and Sachikanta Chakrabartti. Last of all came the Chittagong Armoury Raid with its tales of thrill which captured the imagination of the youths and worked up their already poisoned sentiment. On to the other hand Jnananjan Neogi of the Deshabandhu Pallisanskar Samiti visited the district with his magic lantern and made speeches on "Desherdak" (since proscribed). His disciple, Nani Gopal Bhattacharji also delivered similar lantern lectures in the Dharmanagar Pallimangal Karmamath in Kasba police-station (a Jugantar organisation where there was a bomb

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explosion in 1927). The Tripura Hitashadhini Sabha which claims to be a social service organisation paid for the training of Prafulla Sen (later convicted in the Tittagarh Conspiracy Case) and sent him to the district on a monthly salary of Rs. 50 to carry on social service propaganda. He utilised the opportunity for disseminating anti-Government ideas in youths and carried on a propaganda on behalf of the Youth and the Student movement, in short for the Anushilan party. This is how we began the year 1930.

12. **The ex-detenus continue to organise :—**

In the beginning of 1930 we find the following detenus who were all released about the years 1927-28 engaged in reviving the Anushilan organisation the foundation stone of which was already laid in the youth and the student organisations, gymnasiums, akhras, reading clubs and military drilled units. Atindra Ray Chaudhuri and Manindra Chakrabartti organised in Sadar, Probhat Chakrabartti (convicted in the Inter-Provincial Conspiracy Case) in Chandpur, and Surendra Ray in Brahmanbaria. Soon after the Armoury Raid and the promulgation of the Bengal Ordinance (now Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act), Amulya Mukharji and Jogesh Chakrabartti scented danger, and in order to evade arrest, they suddenly disappeared from Comilla. Information received at the time goes to show that they were moving in different places in the Brahmanbaria subdivision and they were ultimately arrested in Dacca later. On the 26th March 1930, Jitesh Lahiri of Rajshahi (Inter-District connection) was found to have been carrying on secret correspondence with Amulya Mukharji of the Tippera Anushilan. This gives us a key as to how Probhat Ray of the Luke Shooting Case of Rajshahi found an easy shelter in Tippera in 1934 which we shall mention later. The notorious terrorist and ex-State prisoner Trailokhya Chakrabartti *alias* Kalicharan *alias* Maharaja who hails from Kapasatia, police-station Bajitpur, Mymensingh (of the Fatejungpur murder notoriety) also visited Tippera and established a link with the Anushilan party of Faridpur which in subsequent days developed to a great extent, so much so that the headquarters of the party was shifted in 1934 from Tippera to Faridpur. The revolutionary Jatra party of the Swadeshi days fame, owned by Mukunda Das of Barisal, gave performances in Tippera in March 1930 and contributed its mite in the moulding of youthful minds. The National Week from the 6th April 1930 to 13th April 1930 was organised by the ex-detenus in Tippera and the youths and students took a very prominent part in the various functions on the occasion.

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13. Tripura State :—

The vicinity of the Tripura State to the district of Tippera is a very important factor in the history of the terrorist movement in this district. The comparative ease with which terrorists can run to the safety zone in the State has always played a prominent part in the annals of terrorism of Tippera. The State police is naturally less enthusiastic to curb the activities of terrorists and some of them can be rightly charged with entertaining a spirit of sympathy to the revolutionaries. Collection of intelligence in the State has always been very difficult, and it has always been rendered the more difficult owing to the apathetic, if not hostile, attitude of the State police. In January 1930, a young men's association known as the Purbapara Samiti was started in Agartala. This was an Anushilan organisation. This was subsequently named Milan Sangha of which one Sachindra Mazumdar *alias* Lengra (ex-detenu) became the leader. The Chittagong Jugantar had its branch at Agartala, but that is beyond the scope of this history. The Agartala branch of the Anushilan party had helped its comrades in Tippera with arms and ammunitions which can be procured within the State borders with comparative ease, had never grudged to provide shelter to absconders from British territory, and had helped the party with firearms, men and money in committing dacoities for the collection of party funds as will be seen in appropriate places.

During the year 1928-29 the members of the Comilla Anushilan party namely Amulya Mukharji, Jogesh Chakrabartti, Manindra Chakrabartti (ex-detenus) and others paid frequent visits to Agartala. As a result of these visits the Chhatra Sangha (Anushilan) was started in 1929 but it broke up owning to a quarrel amongst the members. Some of the members, namely ex-detenus Umesh Lal Singh, Sachindra Lal Singh, Sukumar Bhaumik, Birendra Datta and others, started an organisation styled as Bharatri Sangha on the same lines with 40 members. In 1931 a quarrel broke out between Schindra lal Singh (ex-detenu Jugantar) and Sukumar Bhowmick (ex-detenu Anushilan) over the leadership of Bhratri Sangha, as a result of which Sukumar Bhowmick broke away and started a new organisation known as the Milan Sangha. The Bhratri Sangha allied with the Chittagong Jugantar, Tippera Jugantar (Brahmanbaria Kalyan Sangha) and the Sankarmat group of Barisal (Jugantar) whereas the Milan Sangha joined the Tippera branch of the Anushilan organisation.

14. Inter-District Connections :—

During the year under report (1930) we find that the Tippera Anushillan had established an inter-district link with the following

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districts :—

(1) *Chittagong* — through Uttar Kumar Dhar, who was a student of the Comilla Victoria College and an enthusiastic member of the Juba Samiti and the Students' Association.

(2) *Noakhali*—Kumud Sen (ex-detenu, Anushilan) of Batisha, police-station Chauddagram, Tippera, was the connecting link in 1930.

(3) *Faridpur*—through Suresh Ganguli who was a gymnastic teacher in the Puranbazar School. He is a Faridpur man and was trained up in the Surjya Kanta Memorial Institution of Barisal.

(4) *Bakarganj*—through Dhurjati Nag and Suresh Ganguli as detailed in paragraph 5.

(5) *Rajshahi*—through Jitesh Lahiri—*vide* paragraph 12.

(6) *Dacca*—(Pratul Ganguli). The Tippera Anushilan Samiti is nothing but a branch of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti of Pulin Das. Old members like Trailokhya Chakrabartti and Pratul Ganguli and Ramesh Acharji organised in Tippera. Monoranjan Ray of Bakshibazar, Dacca, Rabindra Chakrabartti of Dacca and another youth of Dacca came to Comilla as tourists on 30th April 1929, resided with Dhurjati Nag and were entertained by the Students' Association with a show of physical feats. Atindra Ray Chaudhuri had also visited Dacca and it is believed that the Dacca Anushilan was very closely linked up with the Tippera Anushilan. In his statement, dated the 6th September 1930, T.A. 10, said that the Tippera Anushilan was linked up with Khulna. This was very likely through one Mritynesh Sarkar of the Barisal Surjyakanta Memorial. Long after, in 1934-35, Atul Datta of Bajapti was found moving in Khulna as an absconder. The same agent, stated on the 13th September 1930, that the Tippera Anushilan was linked up with the Dacca party, and yet in another statement, dated the 18th September 1930, he described the connection of the Tippera party with Calcutta and Noakhali. T. A. 9 in his statement, dated the 3rd June 1930, stated that there was a link between the Tippera and the Chittagong Anushilan. T. A. 13 mentioned the connection between the Feni and Tippera Anushilan on the 23rd November 1930.

15. **Arrest of Probhat Chakrabartti :—**

The Bengal Ordinance was promulgated on the 19th April 1930 and Probhat Chakrabartti (ex-detenu) was arrested on the 22nd April 1930. (This dangerous terrorist absconded from his domicile att Asansol on the 10th January 1932, was subsequently arrested with firearms on the 14th

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January 1933 and convicted in the Inter-Provincial Conspiracy Case later.

Materials on record against others were not considered adequate to justify their detenution. Military drill with *lathi* (accompanied by band), *lathi* and dagger play, meetings, conferences and discussions continued unabated throughout the year 1930. The year had begun with a deliberate act of student incendiarism. On Independence Day (26th January 1930) the Comilla Station Club (European Club) premises were set fire to and reduced to ashes. Dhurjati Nag of Iswar Pathsala toured in Nabinagar and Brahmanbaria with his party, and Suresh Ganguli did the same in Chandpur. The most popular subject for the lantern lecture of Prafulla Sen at that time was Biplabi Bangla. Students' Day was organised on the 9th February 1930.

15(A). **Arms :—**

T.A. 10 in his statement, dated the 2nd March 1930 said that Suresh Ganguli possessed two revolvers. On the 25th August 1930. Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri, Sachindra Ray and Dwijendra Lal Basu attempted to rob a mail runner at Shahatali near Chandpur at 22.10 hours. They were arrested, but had to be discharged for paucity of evidence. The same agent stated on the 14th July 1930 that Dhurjati Nag had one revolver. On the 21st August 1930, T.A. 10 said that after the Chittagong Armoury Raid, Ananta Singh came to Comilla and deposited six revolvers with Amulya Mukharji and a few days later Lokenath Bal came to Comilla and kept 12 revolvers with the same person. T. A. 13 stated on the 16th November 1930, that Khagendra Gupta kept three revolvers concealed in a tank near Chauddagram. The same agent reiterated on the 14th December 1930 that the Chauddagram party had two revolvers.

16. **Close of the year 1930 and arrests :—**

Only 14 arrests were made under the Bengal Ordinance in 1930, and of these, besides that of Probhat Chakrabartti (ex-detenu), the following deserve mention :

1. Ex-detenu Amulya Mukharji—25th September 1930
2. Ex-detenu Manindra Chakrabartti—9th December 1930
3. Ex-detenu Jogesh Chakrabartti—25th September 1930
4. Ex-detenu Atindra Ray Chaudhuri—13th December 1930
5. Ex-detenu Kshitish Bhaumik—12th December 1930
6. Ex-detenu Dhurjati Nag—24th August 1930
7. Ex-detenu Sailesh Chatarji—12th December 1930
8. Ex-detenu Kumud Sen—17th December 1930
9. Surendra Ray—27th October 1930

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17. **After-effect of the arrests :—**

These arrests did not check the movement to any appreciable extent. Younger workers took up the place of the senior members and carried on the organisation. Military drill, *lathi* and dagger play, training of male and female volunteers and secret organisation work of the samiti continued. On the 4th November 1930 a terrorist named Samarjit Sinha who died a natural death was cremated with full martial honour, and a dagger and a bugle was placed in the hand of the dead body. On the 30th November 1930, the Tippera Juba Samiti condemned the alleged dastardly sentence passed on Dr. Narain Ray of the Dalhousie Square Bomb outrage.

18. **Murder of Inspector Tarini Mukharji at Chandpur :—**

Inspector Tarini Chanran Mukharji of the Chittagong Government Railway Police was murdered on the Chandpur Railway station platform on 31st December 1930, by two members of the Chittagong Jugantar party. They were Ram Krishna Biswas and Kalipada Chakrabartti and Inspector Mukharji was mistaken for Mr. T. J. A. Craig. Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, who had also been travelling on the same train. Although a Jugantar crime, it had its bad effect on the Anushilan party. The two culprits were arrested near Meherkalibari.

19. **Arrests lead to better Intelligence :—**

Although the arrests made in 1930 did not retard the progress of the terrorist movement, the very idea that action was being taken and the police had been specially empowered to deal with the situation, led to a wholesome change in the nature of the intelligence collected. More inner information began to be forthcoming from the beginning of the next year, 1931.

20. **Youth and student movement :—**

The year 1931 began with military drill for the boys and girls. Miss Parul Mukkharji (later convicted in the Titagarh Conspiracy Case) *alias* Major Didi organised a band of 30 girls and trained them up in military drill and taught them lathi, dagger and sword play. Makhan Datta of Chandpur led a batch of student militia in Chandpur. The Tippera Students' Conference was held at Chandpur on the 30th April 1931 and 1st May 1931 when Prafulla Nandi with a batch of youths showed lathi, dagger and sword play. In a meeting of the students held at Comilla on the 19th May 1931, ex-detenue Pulin Gupta took the chair and speeches were made on the student movement in Russia, China and Egypt. The Jugantar party too organised similar conferences and these also served the purpose of encouraging students of all groups to organise themselves

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and take part in political movements. On the 7th May 1931 and 8th May 1931, the Jugantar organised a students' conference at Comilla (branch of the Bengal Provincial Students' Association). Sarat Chatarji, the well-known novelist, presided and Subhash Bose attended this conference. On the 28th June 1931 and 29th June 1931, the Brahmanbaria Subdivisional Students' Conference was held at Kalikatcha in Brahmanbaria subdivision. Satin Sen of Barisal was the president. On the 15th July 1931 and 16th July 1931 the Jugantar party organised a youth conference at Brahmanbaria in which Jnananjan Neogi of Calcutta presided and delivered his fiery speech on Desher Dak and Biplabi Bangla. Asadadullah Shiraji also addressed this meeting. These meetings and conferences incited the students to acts of violence. There was the lawlessness of the Civil Disobedience Movement to deal with which the Police had to take recourse to *lathi* charges. Designing persons took advantage of these *lathi* charges to incite the youths and students against the police and the Government of which the police were only an agency. Handbills and secret pamphleteers were secretly distributed and these did their own share of mischief to misguide the youths. Officers were threatened with warning letters and on the 24th April 1931, head Constable Anukul De of Comilla District Intelligence Branch while engaged in protective duty on his officer was threatened with assault by two youths who were found later to be very dangerous persons and had to be dealt with under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. On the 5th August 1931, the students of the Chandpur Jubilee School went on strike as a protest against the hanging of Ram Krishna Biswas of Chittagong who had shot Inspector Muhkarji at Chandpur on the 31st December 1930, and they organised a procession. In October 1931, Palli Samitis were formed in Chunta and Kalikatcha in Sarail police-station and these were afterwards found to be recruiting grounds of the Anushilan party.

21. **Activities of the Anushilan party :—**

The secret group of the Anushilan party was organising fast at this time. Ex-detenus Harendra Bhattacharji, Khagendra Gupta, and Sushil Bhattacharji, who apprehenced arrest absconded, but continued their organisation work secretly. Ex-detenu Nibaran Chandra Datta was organising in Comilla and Chandpur, ex-detenu Haribhushan Mazumdar in Comilla and Chauddagram, ex-detune Dinesh Ghatak and ex-detenue Dhiresh Ghosh at Comilla and Chandpur, Surendra Ray (ex-detenu) in Brahmanbaria, while the organisation in Tripura State also continued in full swing under Sachindra Mazumdar *alias* Guru Deb and Sukumar Bhowmick (ex-detenue).

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22. **Actions :—**

The party was desperately in need of funds to support the absconders and in order to collect funds, robberies and dacoities must have to be committed and these were not possible without sufficient number of firearms which were also necessary for the purpose of recruitment. The intending recruits had to be shown firearms to make them believe that the party had arms in its control for an armed rising. Between the 22nd June 1931 and 25th June 1931, a Browning 8-shot, automatic pistol belonging to a Sub-Inspector of the Tripura State Police was removed from the house of a relation of his. Harendra Bhattacharji, Dhiresh Ghosh, Prafulla Nandi, Sukumar Bhaumik, Ananta Lal De, Deba Prasad Sen and Gopal *alias* Pankaj *alias* Dwijendra Lal Datta were suspected to have been responsible for this. Between the 9th December 1931 and 11th December 1931, one six-chambered revolver belonging to Dr. Banga Chandra De of Ujirdighi, Comilla, was stolen. Birendra Datta, Khagendra Gupta, Kanti *alias* Purnendu Sen, Pancha *alias* Monomohan Ghosh and others of the Anushilan party were suspected to have committed this. On the 6th August 1931 the Agartala Anushilan party is believed to have been able to steal Rs. 1,600 in G. C. Notes from the house of a banker named Girish Chandra Chakrabartti.

The Jugantar was also active during this time. The cash of the Post Office at Brahmanbaria was robbed on the 5th March 1931, a bomb was thrown at the vendor of the Chandpur Excise shop on the 15th June 1931, killing two persons. Explosive substances and materials for making bombs were recovered from a house in Sangraish in the vicinity of Comilla town. The last act of violence during the year was the murder of Mr. Stevens, the then District Magistrate, Tippera by two girls on the 14th December 1931. These acts of violence by the Jungantar encouraged the Anushilan members and they wanted to surpass their rivals as will be found from the long catalogue of acts of violence committed by the party in 1932.

23. **Arms and Ammunitions :—**

Information was received that the party was in possession of the following fire arms in 1931. It is of course very difficult to give the actual number of arms, as different agents might have mentioned about the same arm on different dates.

Dhiresh Ghosh had a revolver (T.A. 10, dated the 24th March 1931). Miss Prafulla Mukhi Basu of Nibedita School, Comilla, was a custodian of party arms (T.A. 10, dated the 15th April 1931). Nabinagar Anushilan possessed three revolvers and one gun (T.A. 14, dated the 7th August 1931). Jyotish Mazumdar of Chandpur (of the Inter-Provincial Case) had

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a five-chambered revolver (T.A. 24, dated the 14th September 1933) in the latter part of 1931. Puranbazar Acharjyabari was the place for the custody of the firearms of the Chandpur Anushilan (T.A. 10, dated the 8th April 1931). The pistol stolen from the Sub-Inspector of the Agartala Police was with Harendra Bhattacharji (T.A. 10, dated the 16th July 1931). Gobar Mukharji made over a revolver to Dhiren Dhar and Khagendra Dhar too had a nickel-plated 6-chambered revolver (T. A. 10, dated the 18th August 1931).

24. **Inter-district connections :—**

Besides the inter-district connections reported in the history for the year 1930, it seems that a new link was established this year, while the old connections continued. It was with the Mymensingh Anushilan party as reported by T. A. 10, on the 23rd July 1931 and T. A. 14, on the 19th August 1931.

25. **Centres :—**

The different centres mentioned in the history for the year 1930 continued to work. The following centres showed good outturn of work :—

Jinodepur (Nabinagar), T. A. 14, dated the 7th August 1931. Bangora, police-station Muradnagar, T. A. 14, dated the 7th August 1931. Suchipara, police-station Hajiganj, T. A. 15, dated the 13th November 1931. Leading members—Pranmohan Nag, Jiban *alias* Probhat Nag and Biseswar Chakrabartti. Srirampur, police-station Nabinagar, T.A. 14, dated the 7th August 1931. Bhellanagar, police-station Nabinagar, T.A. 14, dated the 7th August 1931 and T.A. 19, dated the 4th March 1932. Mani Ray, son of Sachindra and Kartick Bhattacharji were leading members. Bardain, police-station Chauddagram, group under Haribhushan Mazumdar, Phani Bhusan Mazumdar and Debeswar Mazumdar in direct touch with the Comilla Anushilan. Towards the end of 1930 this party was able to secure a revolver for training up young members (T.A. 13, dated the 23rd November 1930).

26. **Important arrests :—**

Eight arrests were made under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, during 1931, of which the following were very important and had some effect on the activities. But this effect was not appreciable just after the arrest, as the movement did continue for a long time after it by the lieutenants of the leading members who assumed the roll of leaders after their arrest :—

(1) Sushil Bhattacharji of Chunta on the 24th August 1931.
(2) Harendra Bhattacharji of Dharkar on the 20th October 1931.

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(3) Nibaran Chandra Datta of Khalilabad on the 31st December 1931.
(4) Hari Bhusan Mazumdar of Bardain on the 31st December 1931.
(5) Dinesh Ghatak of Comilla on the 12th October 1931.
(6) Dhiresh Ghosh of Comilla on the 12th October 1931.
(7) Khagendra Gupta of Batisha on the 18th June 1931.

The secret groups of the Anushilan were fully active at the close of the year 1931.

1932

27. Students' Association and Youth Associations declared unlawful :—

The year opened with a show of *lathi* and dagger play by the members of the different centres of the Anushilan party. The Emergency Powers Ordinances were promulgated to combat the menace of the Civil Disobedience movement and the Students' and Youth Associations all over the district were declared unlawful and banned. The year 1932 is also very important as it noticed a rise in the agrarian agitation in this district. This has been discussed in fuller detail in the notes on the Krishak Samiti prepared by me some time ago for the examination of Mr. M. f. Cleary (*vide* File No. 46 of 1931). The organisers of the Civil Disobedience Movement used to lead bands of girl-singers in the public thoroughfares of Comilla, Chandpur and Brahmanbaria. This was known as Probhat Ferrier or the bands of morning singers. This Probhat Ferrie and the rise in the agrarian agitation had its effect on the youths of the district, as will be noticed from the following pages.

28. Centres and important workers :—

(i) Comilla :— This centres, originally organised by Atindra Ray Chaudhuri, Manindra Chakrabartti, Amulya Mukharji, Jogesh Chakrabartti and lesser leaders, continued its activity. Jagatbandhu Chakrabartti of Shaitshola, Burichang, was a very important member and he used to receive directions from Probhat Chakrabartti of Bordia, police-station Matlab, who escaped from his domicile in Asansol in the beginning of 1932 is dated to have visited Tippera on organisation tours secretly. Favourite places of secret meetings and sheltering party absconders were the following in Comilla town—Sonarang Compound, Bajrapur, Jamtala, Manoharpur, Digambartala, Ranirdigirpar, Chaudhurypara and the Rammala Chatrabash. Leading workers who used to assist Jagatbandhu were :

(1) Ananta De of De Datta and Co.
(2) Khagendra Dhar.

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(3) Promode *alias* Makhan Das
(4) Bhupendra Sarkar
(5) Kumud Sen.
(6) Prafulla Sen (Tittagarh Case) an important organiser having connection with the central body.
(7) Prafulla Nandi.
(8) Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri of Chandpur. He was a very important member and a District leader of the Anushilan.

(ii) *Female organisation*—(Comilla-Agartala)—We have already referred to the activities of Major Didi (Parul Mukharji) and Usha Mukharji *alias* Moyna. Through their assistance a female secret group of the Anushilan was soon organised and it comprised of Miss Protiva Bhadra, Miss Anila Purokayastha and two daughters of Lalit Deb Barman, Subdivisional Officer of Sonamura, Tripura State and of Agartala, named Miss Amiya and Miss Papiya. There were several other workers of the female group and we have only mentioned the few important ones.

(iii) *Chandpur centre* :—The Chandpur centre was mainly Prabhat Chakrabartti's organisation and was connected with the Calcutta central body. Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri, Monoranjan Ray, Kali Bhusan Datta, Makhan Lal Datta and Nani Datta were the leading members. This group was very closely connected with the Noakhali and the Faridpur Anushilan.

(iv) *Bordia centre* :—This centre was organised by Prabhat Chakrabartti. His brother Rebati Chakrabartti and nephew Sukumar Chakrabartti were important members.

(v) *Chandpur Puranbazar centre* :—Kaviraj Kshirode Ray and Makhan *alias* Jitendra Datta was important members.

(vi) *Bajapti centres* :—Makhan Lal Datta, Nani Datta, Atul Kumar Datta and his brother Pratul Datta were leading members.

(vii) *Baburhat centres* :—Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri, Sachindra Ray, Kali Mohan De, and Narayan Chakrabartti were leading members.

(viii) *Hamankordi centre* :—Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri, his brother Rajkumar, Snehamoy Datta of Ketua, Hemanta Singh and Nirmal Singh of Sengaon (there was a sub-group here) were leading members.

(ix) *Bakila centre* :—Brajendra Chakrabartti, Rai Haran Chakrabartti and Lalit Datta Gupta were leading members.

(x) *Harina centre* :—Nagendra Datta was a very important member.

(xi) *Hanarchar centre* :—Dhirendra De was a very important member.

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(xii) *Baharia centre :*— Lalit Chakrabartti, Sukumar Chakrabartti and Rajendra Chakrabartti were important members (T.A. 24, dated the 26th November 1932).

(xiii) Chunta centre :— Leading member—Abinash Bhaumik (Tippera C.A. 1, dated the 14th June 1932 and Tipper a C. A. 2, dated the 10th May 1932).

(xiv) *Malai centre :*— Leader—Prafulla Bhadra of Malai (C.A. 36, dated the 28th December 1932).

(xv) *Basutara centre :*—Leader—Nalini Bhadra.

(xvi) *Astagram centre :*— This group was controlled from Brahmanberia.

(xvii) *Chatalpur centre :*— Leader—Bidhubhushan Ray (C.A. 2, dated the 14th September 1932).

(xviii) *Mulagram centre (Kasba) :*—Leader—Amulya Chakrabartti of Mulagram.

(xix) *Kalikatcha centre:* —Leaders—Bishnu Das Nandi and Trailokya Datta (C.A. 2, dated the 17th May 1932).

(xx) *Shyamagram centre :*—Leaders—Jadunath Bhattacharji, Haripada Bhattacharji, Vivekananda Bhattacharji and Haridas De.

(xxi) *Nabinagar centre :*— Important members—Surendra Ray, Debendra De, Krishnapada Chakrabartti, Jamini Pal and Sital Das (C.A. 2, dated the 10th May 1932 and the 20th July 1932).

(xxii) *Brahmanbaria centre :*—This centres had four groups, viz. :—Seva Sangha, Santi Sangha, Balak Sangha and Surid Sangha. Important members—Debendra Ray, Manindra Chakrabartti, Indra Mohan Bhattacharji, Chittaranjan Barman, and Jyotish Chakrabartti, Deba Prasad Sen Gupta of Agartala was generally in charge and used to control. This centre was really organised by Sushil Bhattacharji of Chunta.

(xxiii) *Bidhakut Centres :*—It was controlled from Nabinagar. *Vide* T. A. 17, dated the 11th July 1932, also T.A. 20, dated the 12th March 1932.

(xxiv) *Rasullabad centre :*—Jamuna Behari De of Rasullabad in charge.

(xxv) *Bholachand centre :*—C.A. 13, dated the 5th August 1932.

(xxvi) *Fatepur centre :*— T.A 20, dated the 12th March 1932.

(xxvii) *Narainpur centre :*— This was a shelter managed by Nikhil Sadhu (T.A 20, dated the 12th March 1932).

(xxviii) *Ybrahimpur centre :*—Leaders—Nishi Kanta De and Jibesh Bhattacharji.

(xxix) *Aurile centre :*—Leading members—Nagendra Chandra Ray.

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(xxx) *Leshiara centre :*—Leader—Dhirendra Chakrabartti of Leshiara, Kasba.

(xxxi) *Akubpur centre :*— This group was organised by Haripada Bhattacahrji of Shyamagram. Chintaharan Datta, Ramani Das, Nikunja Bhadra and Jogesh Bhadra were important members (C.A. 7, dated the 3rd July 1932).

(xxxii)*Agartala, Tripura State :*— The Anushilan groups at Agartala used to work through two sub-groups known as Milan Sangha and Thakur Sangha. Surendra Chaudhuri, Krishnajit Deb Barman, Haridas Banarji, Mukul Mitra, Anantalal De, Deba Prasad Sen, Prafulla Nandi, Sachindra Datta, Probhat Ray and others were leading members. This place was a safe shelter for absconders a number of whom secured safe shelters within the State boundaries. Agartala was also a very good field for the Anushilan party in procuring arms and ammunitions. There was also a female organisation at Agartala and Miss Pulina Sen Chaudhuri was the leader of this female group.

29. **Arms and ammunition—Custoday, theft, etc. of :—**

Secret information of the arms and ammunitin possessed by the Tippera Anushilan party in 1932 is summarised below :

Chandpur Anushilan had two revolvers at their disposal (C.A 27, dated the 12th November 1932). Monoranjan Ray received a revolver from a Dhalghat (Chittagong) youth. Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri and Sachindra Ray were custodians of party arms (T.A. 24, dated the 25th September 1932) Biraja Prasanna Ray had a revolver for training member (T.A. 24, dated the 25th September 1932). Monoranjan Ray had a six-chambered revolver in July or August 1932 (T.A. 24, dated the 14th September 1933). The agent saw a six-chambered revolver with Jyotish Mazumdar in the middle of 1932. The agent brought two 6-chambered revolvers from Jyotish Mazumdar along with some cartridges and made them over to Sachindra Ray in 1932 (T.A 84, dated the 21st September 1935 and also T.A. 69, dated the 17th September 1935). Narayan Chakrabartti of Hamankordi deposited a revolver with Umesh Bardhan in 1932 (T.A. 74, dated the 1st May 1936).

It is of course very difficult to give the actual number of arms, as different agents might have mentioned about the same arm on different dates. Probhat Nag of Suchipara had some revolver cartridges (T.A. 74, dated the 14th September 1935). Dhirendra De had a five-chambered revolver with him (T.A. 39, dated the 25th January 1934). It was taken away by Hemanta Singh on the day of the arrest of Rai Haran Chakrabartti (T.A. 44, dated the 6th April 1934). A certain Sen of Chunta

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possessed 100 cartridges (C.A. 2, dated the 5th October 1932). Narendra Lodh of Chunta was the custodian of 3 revolvers (C.A. 18, dated the 17th December 1932). Prafulla Dhadra of Malai had a revolver supplied from Dacca (C.A. 36, dated the 28th December 1932). Paresh of Agartala supplied some revolvers and cartridges to the Brahmanbaria party, particularly for the use of the Shyamagram party (C.A. 2, dated the 23rd August 1932). Shyamagram party had a Mauser Pistol (C.A. 2, dated the 23rd August 1932). Haripada Bhattacharji of Shyamagram had a revolver (C.A. 7, dated the 11th July 1932). The Nabinagar Anushilan had 3 revolvers and one gun (T.A. 14, dated the 7th August 1931). Deba Prasad Sen had a revolver (C.A. 2, dated the 19th June 1932). Gopal Datta made a bomb in a soda water bottle and tested it (C.A. 2, dated the 4th November 1932). Prafulla Nandi had two revolvers in his possession (C.A. 31, dated the 28th November 1932). Phani Mazumdar has an alarm pistol (T.A. 10, dated the 27th February 1932). Gopal Pal had a new nickel-plated revolver with him (T.A. 10, dated the 17th March 1932). Sanjib Datta purchased a revolver from an up-countryman and supplied it to the Comilla Anushilan party (T.A. 10, dated the 11th July 1932). Khagendra Dhar possessed a 5-chambered revolver (T.A. 19, dated the 4th March 1932). The Comilla party had about 20 revolvers and a good number of bombs (T.A. 19, dated the 4th March 1932). Jagatbandhu Chakrabartti had a 6-chambered revolver and 30 cartridges (T.A. 19, dated the 20th May 1932). Khagendra Gupta had a pistol (T.A. 22, dated the 22nd July 1932). Benoy Bhaumik was in possession of a pistol (T.A. 26, dated the 3rd May 1933). Jogesh Bhadra of Akubpur had two revolvers (C.A. 7, dated the 11th August 1932).

(b) *Thefts of arms and ammunition :—*

(i) Between the 15th January 1932 and 17th January 1932, a six-chambered revolver belonging to the Sub-Registrar of Faridganj was stolen from his house by Indu Bhusan Chakrabartti, Snehamoy Datta and Dwijendra Basu. This crime was committed at the instance of Harikumar Ray Chaudhuri and Schindra Ray and the weapon was recovered from the following three accused persons of the Agartala Robbery case :—(1) Pabitra Pal, (2) Krishnapada Chakrabartti and (3) Sachindra Datta of Dharkar.

(ii) On the 20th December 1932 members of the Agartala Anushilan party stole the D.B.B.L. gun belonging to an officer of the Survey of India. Nihar Das of the Agartala Anushilan was suspected to have been responsible for this crime. This was undoubtedly a crime committed by the Anushilan party.

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The younger brother of Deba Prasad Sen of Agartala was also reported to have assisted in the commission of this crime.

(c) *Arms and ammunitions*—Recovery of : — On the 2nd September 1932 one Ananta De of Dacca and Agartala was arrested at Chartha in Comilla town, by a District Intelligence Branch Constable with a loaded pistol which was found on enquiry to be the property of Lalit Deb Barman, Subdivisional Officer of Sonamura. The two daughters of he Sudivisional Officer Amiya and Papiya, were members of the Agartala Milan Sangha and arranged to make the weapon over the Ananta through one Kanta Deb at the request of their party leader Probhat Ray *alias* Deb Barman to commit an action and from information in our possession it seems that the purpose was an attempt on the life of the District Magistrate, Tippera, or the Superintendent of Police. On the 1st September 1932, Binay Kumar Bhaumik was arrested with 4 live bombs, 1 knife and one wooden revolver in Comilla town. He was prosecuted and convicted under section 5 of the Explosive Substances Act and 19(e) of the Arms Act.

30. **Action :—**

The Anushilan party was responsible for the following actions during the year for collection of funds. Probhat Chakrabartti, the leader of the Anushilan, was now leading the life of an absconder with some of his co-workers, and money was badly required for the absconders and for procuring arms and ammunition. Several younger members of the Tippera Anushilan were then leading the life of absconders and of them Jagatbandhu Chakrabartti deserves mention, as he was arrested at Lahore on the 9th April 1933 with a revolver.

(i) *Agartala Robbery case :* This was committed by the Anushilan party and Krishnapada Chakrabartti, who had absconded from the Vuxa Detention Camp, Pabitra Pal and Sachindra Datta were caught red-handed with some firearms, notably the revolver stolen from the house of the Faridganj Sub-Registrar and were convicted. This robbery was committed in Agartala in the house of the father of Ashit Bhattacharji. An Anushilan member, on the 5th April 1932. Ashit is stated to have assisted the party in committing the dacoity.

(ii) *Mograbazar Dacoity :*— On the 13th June 1932, the shop of Mahim Shaha in Mograbazar was robbed by the members of the Agartala Milan Sangha who used guns reported to have been lent by some members of the Raj family of Agartala. One man died as a result of a gun shot wound, but the booty amounted to only Rs. 160. Prafulla Nandi, Birendra Bhattacharji *alias* Phalan Thakur and other

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members of the Anushilan party are believed to have committed it and Gopi Ballav Shaha assisted in its commission.

(iii) *Nayanpur Bazar Dacoity* :— On the 27th June 1932, cash and ornaments worth Rs. 1,960 were looted from a shop in Nayanpur Bazar. The dacoites were armed with revolvers and guns and Ananta De, Behari Deb Barman, Prafulla Nandi and others of the Agartala Anushilan were responsible for this crime. Ananta De was arrested with a pistol at Comilla within few a days and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for six years.

(iv) *Ellison Murder Case* :—On the 29th July 1932, Mr. Ellison, Additional Superintendent of Police, Tippera, was murdered on Church Road, Comilla, while returning from his office. This crime is believed to have been committed by one Sailesh *alias* Ranga Da of the Chittagong party. The Tippera Anushilan party was responsible for the crime in co-operation with the Jugantar party of Chittagong. The former afforded the murdered every facility to have a shelter and escape.

(v) *A Mail Dacoity* :— Between Natherpetua and Uttardah Railway stations on the Noakhali Branch Line from the Mail van on the 8th January 1932 was committed by the Tippera Anushilan party.

(vi) *Theft of five watches* of the Maharaja of Tipura from the shop of a watch repairer Dhunirjit Singh of Agartala on the 29th/30th November 1932. In this case the members of the Milan Sangha (Anushilan) were suspected.

(vii) *Theft of money and a watch from the house of Jogendra Ganguli of Agartala* :—On the 20th November 1932, Tinkari Ganguli and Sachindra Ganguli of the Agartala Milan Sangha are believed to have been responsible for the theft of a gold watch and cash, etc., worth Rs. 325 and they are stated to have spent the money for party organisation purposes. The watch was recovered on the 30th December 1932 from the den of Hem Bhattacharji and others of the Anushilan party at 35, Shib Thakur Lane, Calcutta, and was made an exhibit in the Inter-Provincial Conspiracy Case.

(viii) On the 3rd November 1932, Agartala Anushilan members are believed to have stolen cash Rs. 500 from the house of Sita Nath Bhattacharji and spent it for party purposes.

31. **Inter-Provincial and Inter-District Connections :—**

We have already stated that Probhat Chakrabartti of the Inter-Provincial Case escaped from his domicile at Asansol and was moving all over Bengal for the purpose of building up the Anushilan organisation. He sent out men of whom Sita Nath De *alias* Brahmachari

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visited Bihar, the United Provinces, Madras and the Punjab. The Bank robbery at Ooty in Madras was committed by this party. One of the Tippera members was arrested at Lahore with a revolver (he is Jagatbandhu Chakrabartti). It is also believed that it was Probhat who established a link with the Benares group of the Anushilan party. The arrest of Subodh Chatarji and Satiswar Chatarji, two important workers of the Anushilan party at Hajiganj and the arrest of Sita Nath De *alias* Brahmachari at Symgram in subsequent years confirms the inter-provincial connection of the Tippera Anushilan. In fact, the district of Tippera figured very prominently in the Inter-Provincial Conspiracy and the Tittagarh Conspiracy Cases.

Besides the inter-provincial connections, the previous inter-district connections continued and the following inter-district connections developed in 1932. The Chandpur Anushilan and connected with the Noakhali and Faridpur Anushilan (C.A. 80 and C.A. 81, dated the 7th August 1935). The party was connected with Dhalghat in Chittagong and Monmohan Shaha and Haribar Datta of the Chittagong party were given shelter in Tippera. Had connection with the Barisal party through Bishnu Pal (T.A. 24, dated the 25th September 1932). Aswini De of the party was connected with Mati Lal Ray of Chandangore (T.A. 24, dated the 26th November 1932). The Tippera Anushilan was connected with Habiganj (Sylhet) and the Mymensingh parties (C.A 23, dated the 26th October 1932). Deeply connected with the Agartala party. Was connected with the Dacca party (C.A. 36, dated the 21st February 1933). Tippera Anushilan was connected with the Habiganj party through Ramesh Ghosh of Tarapaiya and Prafulla Nandi (C.A. 2, dated the 13th October 1932). This Ramesh Ghosh was later arrested in Assam and convicted under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, was connected with the Rajshahi party through the wife of Sisir Chakrabartti, a teacher of Lokenath School, Rajshahi (T.A. 10, dated the 6th November 1933).

32. **Arrests and action taken :—**

During the year 1932, as many as 50 arrests had to be made under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930. The following important arrests deserve mention :

1. Ananta De of De Datta and Co.
2. Khagendra Dhar.
3. Promode *alias* Makhan Das.
4. Sukumra Bhaumik.
5. Bhupendra Sarkar.
6. Purnendu Sen *alias* Kanti.

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7. Birendra Datta.
8. Chandra Sekhar Das.
9. Trailokya Datta *alias* Laroo (Agartala Bhratri Sangha, Jugantar).
10. Rash Mohan Chakrabartti.
11. Hemendra Sen.
12. Nripendra Sen (Jugantar).
13. Phani Mazumdar.
14. Ratikanta De (Jugantar).
15. Makhan Datta.
16. Prafulla Nandi.
17. Ranjit Chaudhuri.
18. Birendra Bhattacharji *alias* Phalan Thakur.
19. Miss Prative Bhadra.
20. Nani *alias* Satyendra Ray.
21. Phani *alias* Sailendra Ray.
22. Ajit Sen.
23. Biraja Prasanna Ray.
24. Lalit Chakrabartti.

Raids were organised now and then and the District Intelligence Branch staff had to be increased in order to cope with the increased volume of work. At the close of the year, the situation did not show any marked change for the better, as the organisation was very deep-rooted and its ramifications extended all over the district. The notorious absconders Probhat Chakrabartti, Jagatbandhu Chakrabartti, Prafulla Sen were all out making mischief all over the place. But the nature of intelligence secured showed a marked change and more useful agents were secured. The District Intelligence Branch organisation was also decentralized and two District Intelligence Officers were posted to the two subdivisions in order to keep themselves more in touch with the local situation. This has indeed worked very well.

1933

33. Organisation at the beginning of 1933 :—

We begin the year 1933 with Probhat Chakrabartti and his confederates still out and carrying on the organisation in Tippera and elsewhere. Two of the more important of his lieutenants, Jagatbandhu Chakrabartti and Dhirendra Bhattacharji of Boalia, police-station Matlab, were organising in the Punjab and were arrested there. Jagatbandhu was arrested at Lahore with a revolver on the 9th April 1933. Dhirendra Bhattacharji was also arrested in the Punjab and later

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convicted in the Inter-Provincial Conspiracy Case. Jyotish Mazumdar was arrested in Calcutta with a revolver. Probhat arranged to despatch firearms to Tippera (vide the paragraph under arms and ammunitions) and arranged for the details of organisation in this district. He was arrested at Calcutta with firearms and ciphers.

The most important of the lieutenants of Probhat were Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri of Hamankordi organising in Chandpur and in charge of the organisation in the Tippera District. Ajit Sen escaped from home domicile in Comilla town, and was organising in the Sadar and Chandpur. Miss Parul Mukharji, Raiharan *alias* Sunil Chakrabartti of Bakila, Nárayan Chakrabartti of Hamankordi, Haridas De of Shyamagram, Jamuna Behari De, Hiralal Pal, Topendra Ganguli and Jadunath Bhattacharji of Shyamagram, Birendra Datta of Agartala and Monoranjan Ray of Hamankordi were moving in Tippera and Tripura State carrying on the organisation work. Each of these persons was wanted under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, and was evading arrest and was therefore treated as an absconder for whose apprehension rewards were declared.

34. **Centres and leaders :—**

The most active centre of the party was at Chandpur this time and Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri was the leader. The groups at Baburhat, Hamankordi, Bordia, Boalia, Rajargaon, Hajiganj, Paikpara, Asta, Bajapti and Hanarchar were very important. In Sadar the headquarters of the party had to be shifted to the villages, and Kamalapur, Chinamura, Alikamurra, Barkanta, Elliotganj, Ghaniarchar, Sushunda, Ramkrishnapur and Krishnapur were very important. In the Brahmanberia subdivisions, Syamgram, Nabinagar, Bhellanagar, Bholachang, Ibrahimpur, Chunta and Brahmanberia continued to be very important. The old centres continued the activities in full swing and in addition to these, the following centres came to notice in 1933 :—

(1) *Kanudasdi in Chandpur police-station* :—Leading members—Nibaran Deb Nath and Khushi Gopal Pal :— This centres sheltered absconders and arranged for the transport of members to and from Faridpur from this place instead of through Chandpur.

(2) *Mogra (Gangasagar centre)* :—Leading members—Gopi Shaha, Chitta Ray and Kumud Ray Chaudhuri. Facilitated the transport of arms and absconders to and from the Tripura State, instead of Akhaura which was closely watched.

(3) *Jahapur centre* :—Leader—Hem Chandra Shaha (C.A. 63, dated the 20th August 1933).

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(4) *Majidpur in Daudkandi* :—Leader—Jagatbandhu Shaha.
(5) *Daulatganj Bazar, Laksam centre.*
(6) *Centres* at Hatileta, Sonamura, Fatikchari, Kailasahar, Dharmanagar, Dharmapur, Khoai and Bilonia, worked in close co-operation with the Agartala group. The Sonamura group had direct touch with the Comilla group and the Bilonia group with the Noakhali group.

35. **Inter-provincial connections and inter-district connections :—**

We have already indicated the inter-provincial connection of Probhat Chakrabartti's gang with the united Provinces, the Punjab and Madras. We have also shown how two of Probhat Chakrabartti's agents were arrested in the Punjab. Another worker of this group who was wanted under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, was moving in Assam as an absconder and organising there. He is Ramesh Ghosh of Tarapaiya.

Atul Chandra Datta of Bajapti was organising in Noakhali as Swadesh. Haripada Bhattacharji was doing the same in Noakhali and Chandpur as an absconder. He was arrested at Chandpur while still an absconder on the 7th January 1933. Probhat Ray of Rajshahi ran for shelter to Tippera after the Luke Shooting case and was actually given shelter in Tripura State and Tippera district, till the middle of 1934. Hiralal Pal went to Rajshahi and was organising there. Harihar Datta and Monomohan Shaha of the Chittagong Anushilan are reported to have visited Chandpur subdivision several times and held meetings with the members of the Central Body. Anil Mukharji, an absconder from Dacca was carrying on the work in Chandpur. Krishna Chakrabartti and Sukumar Chakrabartti formed the connection with the Faridpur Anushilan. Nalini Ranjan Das Gupta escaped from exterminate at Rikhia, Deoghar, came to the Tripura State and was organisining there. Profulla Sen, Parul Mukharji and others were moving in Tippera, Faridpur and Barisal under different names and organising there. Atul Datta later shifted his place of work from Noakhali to Khulna.

36. **Arms and ammunition—Possession, theft, etc., of — Chandpur centre :—**

Monoranjan Ray received a revolver from a Dhalghat youth (C.A. 45, dated the 5th April 1933). Biraja Ray of Chandpur had a D. B. B. L. gun with which to train up boys (*ibid).* Probhat Chakrabartti supplied a revolver each to Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri and Atul Datta. Sukharanjan Sen of Bagra Bazar got 7 revolvers from Lalit Datta Gupta (C.A. 64, dated the 11th August 1933). Dhirendra Chakrabartti of

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Bosertaluk, had a revolver (T.A. 24, dated the 29th October 1933). Narayan Chakrabartti and Jamuna De had a revolver and some cartridges with them. Snehamoy Datta of Ketua had a pistol in 1933 (T.A. 74, dated the 2nd January 1935). Priyabala Debi, sister of Probhat, had two revolvers with her (T.A. 25, dated the 4th January 1933). Debabrata Ghosh of Bordia had a revolver and some cartridges (T.A. 25, dated the 7th February 1933). One S.B.B.L., one D.B.B.L. gun, one pistol, a revolver and some cartridges were in the possession of Prafulla Bhadra and Hemendra Datta (C.A. 36). Haridas De later came to be in charge of these firearms (C.A. 50, dated the 31st March 1933). Surendra Ray of Bhellanagar had two revolvers in his charge (*ibid).* One Nabadwip Das of Sahata was for some time the custodian of party arms (T.A. 32, dated the 23rd July 1933). Surendra Ray secured 15 small revolvers for the Comilla party in or after 1931 (T.A 34, dated the 3rd October 1933). Tippera Anushilan had one revolver, one pistol, one broken revolvers, Dr. Banga De's revolver and a D.B.B.L. gun and some cartridges (T.A. 36, dated the 16th November 1933). Benoy Bhaumik had a pistol (T.A. 26, dated the 3rd May 1933).

Probhat Chakrabartti sent a revolver and 30 cartridges to Lalit Datta Gupta and it was found out from an intercepted letter in which Probhat said that he was sending fruits for the Aunt of Debpur. The parcel containing the weapon was booked to Ibrahimpur Steamer Station. The police waited for a few days in expectation of some one coming to take delivery of the parcel, but as no one came the weapon and ammunition were seized.

Note :—It is very difficult to give the actual number of arms possessed by the Anushilan party. Different agents might have mentioned about the same arms on different dates.

37. **Actions :—**

Probhat Chakrabartti, as we have already stated, was arrested in Calcutta on the 14th January 1933. The Inter-Provincial Conspiracy Case was started and money was required for the defence of the accused persons in that case, as well as for the large number of party absconders who were moving all over the province. With the arrest of Probhat Chakrabartti, Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri of Hamankordi became the leader of the Anushilan party and the central body of the Anushilan used to meet in the Chandpur subdivision at different places till the end of 1933. These meetings decided the plan of action and details of these meetings have been fully incorporated in the statements of agent T.A. 71 who was a member of the Central Body and who was aptly described as the first living contact of this District Intelligence Branch with the

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Central body. It is not possible to repeat the full accounts of these central body meetings in this history. In short almost all the party absconders used to meet in a secluded place at night and decide upon plans of action. One such favourite meeting place was the dispensary of Nirmal Singh of Sengaon at Rajargaon, away from all roads and railways. The Anushilan party was responsible for the following actions in 1933 :—

(i) *Nalua Dacoity in Matlab police-staiton :*— Birendra Datta, Topendra Ganguli, Jadu Bhattacharji, and other Anushilan absconders committed this dacoity on the 4th January 1933 in the house of a rich money-lender near the Ram Krishna Mission. Ananta Lal Banikya actively assisted in the commission of this dacoity. Firearms used. These were kept in secret places by Sukumar Chakrabartti. The case was returned as Final report true. Rs. 698-9 was looted.

(ii) *Gouripore Post Office Dacoity :*—It was committed by the same gang on the 18th April 1933 and Rs. 385-3 looted. Revolvers and gun used.

(iii) *Gouripore Kutchery Dacoity :*—Another crime committed by the same gang on the 18th April 1933. Firearms used. Rs. 4,112 looted. One man arrested and convicted. Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri planned and arranged both of these actions which have been fully described by T.A. 71.

38. **Intelligence work and arrests :—**

Troops were posted to this district by now and the District Intelligence Branch Staff was increased, so that there was a vigorous campaign made for the collection of intelligence which improved to a great extent and led to the arrest of the following party absconders at different places in the districts :

(1) Birendra Datta.
(2) Monoranjan Ray at Narayanpur, Matlab, on the 22nd March 1933.
(3) Jadunath Bhattacharji on the 8th February 1933.
(4) Haripada Bhattacharji on the 7th January 1933.
(5) Topendra Ganguli on the 8th February 1933.
(6) Ramendra Bhaumik on the 1st May 1933 (Jugantar).

Of the 53 persons arrested during the year, no less than 35 were of the Anushilan party. Following important arrests were made :—

(1) Jitendra Chandra Datta.
(2) Sudhindra Lal Ray.
(3) Kanta Chandra Deb.
(4) Premangshu Chaudhuri.

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(5) Binode Das.
(6) Nani Gopal Datta of Chandpur.
(7) Upendra Chakrabartti of Fultali.

Nature of the information collected improved to a great extent and the posting of the troops restored confidence when more people dared to give information. The District Intelligence Branch officers could undertake extensive tours in the interior to tackle suspects and secure information. Mr. Springfield took over charge of the District Intelligence Branch in the latter part of 1933, from which time is notices an all round improvement in the intelligence work. Before this the intelligence was of a general nature regarding organisation, dacoity and murder.

39. **Close of the year 1933 :—**

Arrest of so many absconders and workers and the network of the District Intelligence Branch organisation unnerved the leader of the party, Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri, so much that from the end of 1933, he removed the headquarters of the Central Body to Faridpur. But he used to visit this district now and again to look to the organisation work. We shall deal with this in the next chapter.

40. **Hilli dacoity :—**

We have information to show that the Hilli dacoity in Dinajpur district was committed with firearms taken from the Tripura State through Bordia in Matlab police-station (*vide* T.A. 71).

1934

41. **History up to April 1934 :—**

In the following paragraphs (41 and 42) are quoted the history of the Anushilan party from an appreciation prepared by Rai Sahib Prabhat Ranjan Biswas of the Intelligence Branch, Calcutta.

Total strength of membership 475.

The policy of the Tippera Anushilan was to (i) recruit members for an armed mass rising, (ii) collect funds by stealing ornaments and cash and by committing dacoities to secure firearms, and (iii) murder of both European and Indian officials.

The party received a rude shock in the arrest of its leader Hari Kumar Ray Chaudhuri, and Ajit Sen and Anil Mukharji of Dacca at Hamankordi on the 8th April 1934. The following important workers of the party were also arrested during the year :—

(1) Nalini Ranjan Das Gupta who escaped from externment in Rikhia in Deoghar. Arrested in Agartala on the 27th April 1934.

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(2) Sachindra Mazumdar, Agartala leader.
(3) Ganesh Chakrabartti of Agartala.
(4) Ashit Bhattacharji of Agartala.
(5) Sarat Nath of Comilla.
(6) Sailesh *alias* Biswa of Comilla.
(7) Jnan Banarji of Comilla.
(8) Miss Moyna *alias* Usha Mukharji of Comilla.

The party was particularly strong at Comilla, Chandpur, Brahmanbaria and Tripura State. Deba Prasad Sen Gupta, Ajit Ray, Prafulla Sen and Parul Mukharji were still absconding. Atul Datta of Chandpur was the district leader. He was arrested in Khulna in 1934.

42. **Important centres in 1934 :—**

(i) *Comilla Centre :*—Names of 119 members transpired since the middle of 1933. Satyendra *alias* Nani Ray was in charge of the town organisation. He made over charge to Manindra Kisore Pal. Important members were :—

(1) Ramesh Ray.
(2) Bibhuti Biswas.
(3) Amulya De.
(4) Dhirendra Karmakar.
(5) Pocha *alias* Monomohan Ghosh.
(6) Miss Anila Purokayastha.

Secret information was received that the party intended to commit dacoities and murder the District Magistrate, Superintendent of Police and the District Intelligence Branch officers.

(ii) *Brahamanbaria centre :*—Ajit Ray (Absconding) was in charge. Important members were :—

(1) Chitta Barman.
(2) Kamakshya Bhaumik.
(3) Mani Ray.
(4) Kartick Bhattacharji.
(5) Abinash Bhaumik.

Names of 85 active members were on record.

(iii) *Chandpur centre :*—This was the strongest Anushilan centre in this district at that time. Names of 186 active members were on record. Hemanta Singh was the leader with Monoranjan Ghosh, Surendra *alias* Bindu Datta and Dr. Rebati De of Paikpara to assist him. Important members were :—

(1) Monoranjan Nath.
(2) Makhan Datta.
(3) Subodh Mazumdar.

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(4) Sukumar Chakrabartti.
(5) Pratul Datta.
(6) Kaviraj Kshirode Ray.

The party controlled firearms and hatched plans to commit dacoities and to murder the District Intelligence Branch Officer at Chandpur.

(iv) *Tripura State* :—This group was known as Milan Sangha. The leader Sachindra Mazumdar was arrested on the 1st May 1934. After his arrest Ashit Bhattacharji took the lead and was placed under arrest. Names of 75 active members transpired at that time. It was settled to fix the headquarters of the Anushilan at Agartala, but owing to several arrests it was shifted to Faridpur as stated before. The party controlled firearms and arranged to send away firearms to Faridpur from the Tripura State. Important members were :—

(1) Bhupendra Bahumik *alias* Kusha.
(2) Prafulla Bhaumik.
(3) Tinkari Ganguli.
(4) Haridas Basak.
(5) Gopal Datta.
(6) Birendra Kayral.
(7) Miss Pulina Sen Chaudhuri.

Female organisation in Tripura State :—There was a female organisation with ten members and Mrs. Champaklata Debi, wife of Ashit Bhattacharji at the head.

43. **Arms and ammunition—custody and seizure of etc. :—**

The following indecent cover the whole period of activity for the year 1934.

Ajit Sen possessed a revolver (T.A. 44, dated the 29th March 1934 and T. A. 55, dated the 7th March 1934). Paikpara centre had three revolvers (T.A. 44, dated the 25th May 1934). Sukumar Chakrabartti of Bordia had a revolver (T.A. 49, dated the 18th December 1934). Dinesh Chakrabartti took a revolver from Phani Ray before the arrest of Hari Kumar (T.A. 39, dated the 13th December 1934). Makhan Datta of Purna Bazar was in possession of a revolver (T.A. 49, dated the 17th June 1934). Chitta Ray had some arms and ammunition (T.A. 70, dated the 20th November 1934). Agartala Anushilan had two revolvers (T.A. 18, dated the 4th October 1934). Kusha *alias* Bhupendra Bhaumik had a revolver (T.A. 35, dated the 30th May 1934). There are other items of information regarding possession of firearms by the Agartala party. It appears that the Tippera Anushilan had at that time under its control some guns and revolvers which were subsequently removed to Faridpur.

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(i) *Theft of fire arms :*—On the 25th January 1934 two guns were stolen from the guard outpost of the Ishan Chandra Nagar Kutchery of the Tripura State and Mukul Mitra, Ganesh Chakrabartti and Nalini Ranjan Das Gupta were suspected to have committed the theft.

(ii) *Recovery of ammunition :*—On the 22nd April 11 live gun cartridges were recovered from the granary of Bhagaban Das (ex-detenu) of Tripura State.

May 1934 to the 13th July 1935

I take the following notes from a brief summary prepared by me on the 13th July 1935.

44. **General history and activities :—**

(a) Arrest of the three important absconders at Hamankordi on the 8th April 1934, in the course of which the District Intelligence Branch officer was attacked and had to open fire with his revolver, was followed up with the following important arrests :—

(1) Narayan Chakrabartti *alias* Jiban.
(2) Haridas De *alias* Dagu.
(3) Jamuna Behari De *alias* Karuna.
(4) Nagendra Chandra Deb.
(5) Brajendra Chakrabartti.
(6) Mukul Mitra.

Each of these persons was leading the life of an absconder far from his house.

(b) Ramesh Chandra Ghosh of Tippera who was moving as an absconder in Assam was arrested in Sylhet on the 10th September 1934 and run down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. Sukumar Chakrabartti was arrested at Ramkrishnapur far away from his home where he was sent by the Central Body for the collection of funds. He was bound down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. Hiralal Pal of Tippera was arrested in Rajshahi on the 17th August 1934 and successfully run down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and Probhat *alias* Shishir of the Luke Shooting Case of Rajshahi who was moving as an absconder in the Tripura State and Tippera and arranging for a dacoity in Chandpur subdivision, was arrested by a constable on suspicion at Matlab on the 18th May 1934 and successfully run down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code.

45. **The Central Body :—**

The Central Body which controlled the activities of the different groups of the party and had already been forced out of the district ordered

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the rest of their important workers and arms to be drafted to Faridpur, where, particularly at the Bilashkhan Asram and the Birendra Mandir at Chhoygaon, the headquarters of the body was located. T.A. 71 gave much valuable information about this Central Body and its activities in Tippera and Faridpur.

46. **Hajiganj mail dacoity with murder :—**

The Central Body was in desperate need of funds and absconder Deba Prasad Sen Gupta (since arrested on the 30th December 1934 in a den at Belgharia, 24-Parganas), arranged the looting of mails at Hagiganj which took place on the 2nd June 1934. Preparations for this dacoity were made in the Tripura State, at Rajargaon in Tippera and Faridpur and it has now been definitely established that the following persons committed this crime under the direct orders of the Central Body. The convicts in the inter-Provincial Conspiracy Case arranged to escape from the Alipore Central Jail and funds were required for them and for the defence of the party members in criminal cases. The following persons took part in this crime :—

(1) Absconder Ananta Chakrabartti of Dacca (since arrested at Barisal);
(2) Makhan Kar of Faridpur;
(3) Amulya Ghosh of Dacca;
(4) haridas Banarji *alias* Samiti *alias* Baltu of Faridpur;
(5) Sukumar Chakrabartti;
(6) Satish Chakrabartti; and
(7) Pranesh Chakrabartti of Tippera.

The firearms used in the Hajiganj dacoity were brought from Faridpur and left behind here, and the ammunitions from the Tripura State, and Faridpur with Nirmal Singh. The gang was sheltered by Nirmal Singh of Sengaon and the weapons were left in his charge after the crime. Prafulla Sen and Deba Prasad Sen (both absconders at that time) received the bulk of the loot, and used it for the purpose of arranging the escape of and shelters for the Inter-Provincial Case criminals. This Mail dacoity with murder was the last and the most daring political crime in this district up to date.

47. **The organisation in Tippera district :—**

The central Body had deputed Sukumar Chakrabartti to take charge of the Tippera Anushilan in June 1934, but he was arrested as soon as he set his foot at Ramkrishnapur in Homna police-station from Faridpur district and eventually convicted under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. Thus Tippera got detached from the Central Body for the time

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being, but the district did not lack in its representation in the Central Body, which according to secret information was shifted to Barisal towards the end of 1934 and thence to the vicinity of Calcutta. In December 1934 and January 1935, notorious absconders Purnananda Das Gupta (who had escaped from the Alipore Central Jail) and Miss Parul Mukharji of Tippera were arrested with ciphers and firearms in a den at Tittagarh on the 20th January 1935, Deba Prasad Sen of Agartala and Faridpur at Belgharia, on the 30th December 1934, following an explosion and Prafulla Sen of Tippera at Sukchar, police-station Khardah, on the 16th January 1935, all in the district of 24-Parganas. These arrests followed by many more gave a death blow to the Central Body which could not manage to send any more district leaders to Tippera, but this district continued to have small groups at the places mentioned in this history previously and these were led by minor leaders who made occasional attempts to get connected with the Central Body and it is on record that Makhan Lal Datta and Snehamoy Datta of Ketua, Chandpur, were in touch with the Central Body early in 1935. The latter who was definitely known to have participated in the Nalua Dacoity (Tippera S. R. case No. 6 of 1933), was arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act on the 9th April 1935.

In February 1935, Sukumar Chakrabartti of Bordia came home from jail and soon mixed with Raj Kumar Ray Chaudhuri (brother of Hari Kumar), Hemanta Singh, Nirmal Singh, Lalit Datta Gupta and Krishna Chakrabartti of Chandpur. They began a talk of reorganisation and collection of funds by dacoities.

48. Rajargaon preparation dacoity case :—

This activity referred to in the foregoing paragraph culminated in the arrest on the 28th May 1935 at Rajargaon, police-station Hajiganj of four individuals, viz. Lalit Datta Gupta, Nirmal Singh, Krishna Chakrabartti and Nitya Gopal Dhali with one S.B.B.L. gun and cartridges (both gun and revolver) and other full paraphernalia of dacoity. Six more of the conspirators were hauled up later and this list included Raj Kumar Ray Chaudhuri, Hemanta Singh. Lalit, Hemanta, Nirmal and Rajkumar were detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and others restrained. Later Krishna Chakrabarti had also to be made a detenue. This group possessed more firearms (at least a D.B.B.L. gun and a revolver) and during the arrest at Rajargaon, the fore end of the D.B.B.L. gun was left behind. This group also talked of avenging themselves on the District Intelligence Branch officers but this plan did not mature.

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49. **Activities at Comilla, Brahmanbaria and Agartala :—**

Smaller groups with younger members continued to flourish at Chandpur, Comilla, Brahmanbaria and Agartala. Krishna Chakrabartti was practically running the organisation at Matlab, Makhan Datta, son of Harish at Chandpur, Dhirendra Karmakar and Pocha *alias* Monmohan Ghosh at Comilla and they tried milder methods of stealing ornaments and cash from the houses of members for party funds and attempted to secure firearms from the Tripura State. Bimal sen and Sunil Chaudhuri tried in vain to find a link with the Central Body. Abinash Chandra Bhaumik was running the organisation at Chunta, but could not find out a link with the Comilla and the Agartala parties. Bhupendra Chanda of Lashiara, police-station Kasba, tried to form a group in his village. One Bimal Datta of the Chittagong Anushilan was arrested at Mogra where he had been carrying on the Party work along with Gopi Shah and others. He admitted in his statement that Abinash Bhaumik had brought him in to work for the party and establish a link with the Comilla and Agartala parties. He was convicted and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in default of sureties under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code and those who had given him shelter were sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment under the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act.

(a) *Tripura State :*—The activities of the Agartala Milan Sangha were checked to a great extent owing to the arrest and detention of Sachindra Mazumdar, Ganesh Chakrabartti, Nalini Ranjan Das Gupta and Ashit Bhattacharji, but Asha Ranjan Chakrabartti who had taken part in at least the two dacoities at Nalua and Gouripur and was booked for the Hajiganj Mail Dacoity with murder was still at large. His arrest under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act was sanctioned, but he was not found beyond the limits of the Tripura State. Asha Ranjan maintained a link with the Sylhet Anushilan. Tinkari Ganguli and Gopal Datta formed the link with the Mogra group. The Anushilan group at Bilonia which was working in close touch with the Noakhali Anushilan received a shock from the arrest of one Ananta Acharji with a revolver at Bilonia, on the 6th October 1934.

From the 14th July 1935 to 31st December 1935

50. T.A. 49 reported on the 14th July 1935, that one Mahendra Das of Tarapur who was connected with the Tippera-Noakhali Anushilan for a long time intended to abscond for party work. He was forthwith restrained under section 2A, Bengal Criminal Law Amendment

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Act. Rajendra Chakrabartti of Baharia, Chandpur, had to be restrained for his activities. Siddiquer Rahaman of Chandpur talked about committing a dacoity, but the plan never matured. Hirendra Datta took charge of the party at Agartala and visited Comilla several times. There was talk of more firearms and dacoities amongst the party members, particularly among Hirendra Datta, Haripada Bhattacharji and Manindra Pal, but the plans for committing dacoities never matured and with the exception of a .380 revolver produced by A.S. 56 and a 5-chambered .320 revolver recovered from the house of one Nityahari Sen of Bakra in Chandpur (the accused person got 5 years' rigorous imprisonment), the firearms remained elusive as before. Krishna Chakrabartti of Boalia was doing some work among the boys of Boalia and Matlab. There was in fact very little activity and the little that was in existence was finally stopped.

51. **The arrest of the remaining few workers :—**

They are :—

(1) Dhirendra Karmakar of Comilla—12 November 1935.
(2) Monomohan Ghosh of Comilla—12th November 1935.
(3) Gopal Datta of Agartala—6th August 1935.
(4) Asharanjan Chakrabartti of Agartala—6th August 1935.
(5) Pratul Datta of Chandpur—23rd September 1935.
(6) Krishna Chakrabartti of Chandpur—3rd December 1935.

This was the last set of persons arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in this district and the Anushilan activities in fact stopped after these persons were taken away.

52. **At the close of the year 1935 :—**

At the close of the year 1935, the party had no activity and it was remarked in the Secret Summary of the district that "although the parties throughout the district are inactive, I believe that on the release of any detenus who are determined to carry on organisation, there is sufficient nucleus for parties to be easily formed. Detenus will have to be very carefully watched as they arrive".

1936

53. **Brief history for the year :—**

There was nothing much going on by way of recruitment and organisation and every one "wanted to keep the spirit alive and wait for the return of the senior members". In the beginning of the year we found one Prolhad Mama writing from Dinajpur to some Anushilan members

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in Tripura State. He was believed to be an absconder, but he never turned up. On the 14th February 1936 an agent stated that the Mogra Anushilan group was responsible for the theft of cash and ornaments worth Rs. 1,500 from a shops in 1935. Sachindra Datta and Pabitra Pal who were convicted in the Agartala Dacoity and were in the Agartala jail tried to pick up connection with party members and encouraged them to continue their work. From March 1936, we had information that the notorious absconder Sita Nath De was visiting Shyamagram now and then. He was ultimately arrested in a shelter on the 4th May 1936. A conditionally-released detenu named Ramesh Ray is believed to have arranged this shelter. There was information of fire arms and ammunition, but only some cartridges and 2 S.B.M.L. guns were recovered. Detenu Probhat Ray *alias* Deb Barman wrote to young workers from the Agartala jail and encouraged them to carry on. There was general talk of reorganisation, but no active attempt was successfully made to reorganise the party in 1936.

1937

54. **Brief history for the year :—**

The first active attempt at reorganisation started in April 1937, by one Naresh Deb of Bholachang. Benoy Bhaumik, Shyama Charan Chakrabartti, Manindra Pal and Probodh Kar kept the party going at Comilla and only waited for a programme. In May 1937, Pocha Ghosh and Dhirendra Dhar, two released detenus, moved in Comilla, the interior of the district, Agartala and Calcutta and we hear them talking of Communism as the latest programme of the party. Circulation of books was reported now and then. In June 1937, ex-detenu Hemanta Singh of Chandpur came home of leave and talked to the members about the cult of communism and scientific socialism and the division of detenus in two groups on these two lines. Ex-detenue Miss Protiva Bhadra mixed with Probodh Kar and other youths again on release and talked on party matters. In August, 1938, Manindra Pal and Benoy Bhaumik tried in vain to secure fire arms from a Muhammadan youth living near Comilla. In November 1937, Probhat Ray *alias* Deb Barman was released from the Agartala Jail and took up the work of the reorganisation of the Milan Sangha group in right earnest. In the same month one Monoranjan Chakrabartti, a college student of Comilla, is stated to have assumed charge of the Comilla Anushilan. Towards the close of the year a large number of detenus were released as a result of the Gandhi-Nazimuddin Pact. Most of them resumed activity in a different form as they stated that they did no longer believe on terrorism. The latest doctrine was

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Communism or Socialism as they prefer to call it, but it is apprehended that this will lead to terrorism once more in a more extensive and vigorous scale. Most of the released detenus were noticed discussing plans and programmes at the close of the year. On the 23rd December 1937, the released detenus were extolled as heroes and martyrs by the Congress, Krishaks and the Congress Socialists (which existed merely in name at the time). Conditionally-released detenu Nibaran Chandra Datta declared in this meeting that the detenus had occasion to study the different political ideologies in jails and camps and came out with a complete training to lead the masses in a revolutionary movement on the lines of Socialism.

1938

55. History at the beginning—Groups in formation :

In January 1938, conditionally-released detenu Nibaran Chandra Datta became the Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party which called political meetings on any pretext whatsoever and took the chance of observing "Days" in memory of terrorist convicts who died in jails as a result of disease or otherwise (e.g., hunger-strike of Harendra Munshi). Most of the Anushilan detenus have joined this Congress Socialist Party which has so far been found to work with the right-wing of the Congress. Ex-detenu Silendra Ray organised a Students' Federation and held a conference with Professor Humayun Kabir in the Chair. The point that was brought home to the students was the adoption of the principles of Socialism. The Federation organised a strike and picketing in the local college on the flimsy ground of deferring the examination on account of heat. Lalit Datta Gupta, Rai Haran Chakrabarti, Gopal Datta and a few other Anushilan released detenus have joined the Left-wing and have been working in the Krishak Front. Ranjit Ray Chaudhuri has started the Pragati Lekhak Sangha (Progressive Writers' Association) which is believed to be a Communist organisation. Lalit Datta Gupta was instrumental in the formation of a Students' Federation at Chandpur and the Puranbazar School has gone on strike on the imaginary ground of the guardians having been abused by another guardian in the presence of the Head Master. The Left-wing of the Congress with which most of the Jugantar detenus have joined hands have been just now organising a Youth Conference and the All-India Krishak Conference.

The detenus are more or less in a state of flux just at the moment and it is not safe to put one in a particular group before matters settle down and take a definite turn. The different groups as they exist now have been shown on a chart. A precise history of this period will have,

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therefore, to be written at a subsequent date, and we must now be satisfied with a preliminary discussion on the subject.

57. I complied a very brief history of the party previously showing the different centres and the important workers of the Anushilan party in the district of Tippera according to a map produced by an agent. The chart has been placed on pages 6 to 24 in file No. 28 of 1937.

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Eastern Bengal and Assam Police Office

SPECIAL BRANCH

Subject

History Sheet

Satish Ch. Chatarji

File No. 706 of 1909

Remarks

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SATISH CHANDRA CHATARJI

Babu Satish Chandra Chatarji, Professor of Mathematics and Physical Science in the College, is a prominent politician of the Bakarganj district. He is Babu Aswini Kumar Datta's Lieutenant in the political organisation and is Secretary of the "Bandhab Samiti". As such, the executive conduct of the agitation and of the "volunteer" movement lies largely in his hands. The Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti and its staff also direct the movements of a Jatra party handed by one Mukunda Lal Das, the object of which is to spread the boycott and the agitation. Babu Satish Chandra Chatarji is a leading officer of the "volunteers" at Barisal, and on the night of the 16th May 1907, when an armed force of "volunteers" turned out a Barisal town to repel an imaginary attack by Muhammadans, he was in command of a body of these persons. Up to the time of the publication of the Regulation of Meetings Ordinance, Babu Satish Chandra Chatarji was a prominent speaker at public meetings, both at Barisal and at places such as Jhalakati and Uzirpore in the interior of the district. At each of HCL latter places it has been found necessary after his visit to station additional Police for the preservation of the public tranquility. It will be remembered that Jhalkati was the scene of most serious riots which culminated. He was specially active at the time the Ordinance issued. On the 5th March 1907 he accompanied Babu Bipin Chandra Pal and Krishna Rao to Jhalkati; on the 24th March he spoke at a meeting at Barisal; (1) In addressing the meeting hold to consider the forthcoming Conference he advocated resistance to the authorities, he stated that the previous year people had observed that the reign of the English had come to an end but that little had been done since then. On the 28th March he left for the Berhampore Conference; on the 7th April he spoke at Barisal about the Comilla disturbances; (2) Inciting the Muhammadans to believe that Government after encouraging them in illegal acts had left then in the lurch; (3) On the 4th April he was present at a meeting when one Nibaran Ch. Das made a violent speech in which he called on his audience never to forget his oppression that had suffered and classed the Feringhees as the religious enemies of the Moslems, on the 27th April he addressed a boycott meeting at Madaripore in the Faridpore District; at the end of April and beginning of May he and Dr. Nishi Kanta Bose visited Jhalakati in connection with the efforts to paralyse trade which were being made at that time by "Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti".

4. Here he made inflammatory speeches stirring up the Muhammadans and Hindoos against he British and as a result of this boycott and

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the picketing of the bazaar increased. On the 18th May a meeting was proclaimed by beat of drum at Jhalakati under his auspices to sympathize with Lal Lajpat Rai, but in Police who had just received news of the Ordinance intervened. After the passing of the Ordinance, Babu Satish Chandra Chatarji was frequently present at the secret and private meetings held at Barisal. He has from time to time made tours in the Interior for the purpose of political propagandas, the maintenance of the boycott; the collection of subscriptions and other political business. In these tours he is sometimes attended by "volunteers" including students. He accompanied Babu Aswini Kumar Datta during part of the latter's tour. He has taken a prominent part in the political demonstration at Barisal, such, for instance as the procession and meeting in commemoration of the Barisal conference in April 1907; the Boycott celebrations in August the demonstration on behalf of the convicts in the Amua boycott case in September; the demonstration in favour of Leakat Hussain in September and October; and the public and noisy exhibitions of sympathy with the Editor and Publisher of the "Barisal Hitaishi" who were convicted of sedition in December. He also telegraphed the news of Durga Mohan Sen's conviction to different centres in the district, and he interested himself in this person's defence. Babu Satish Chandra Chatarji also takes a part in political affairs outside the Province. In March 1907 he was a delegate to the Berhampore Provincial Conference; in June he attended the City College Conference at Calcutta where he took a prominent part; he being the only Mufassil delegate. In October 1907 he attended the conference at Calcutta regarding the election of a President for the National Congress and he afterwards interested himself in the deputation of delegates from Bakarganj to the Surat Congress and himself attended it. He also organized the attendance of delegates at the recent Pabna Conference, suggested Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt as President, attended the Conference himself, and took an important part in the Proceedings.

5. During the absence of Babu Aswini Dutta at Matheran Babu Satish Chandra Chatarji has assumed the mantle of his chief, and is regarded and is referred to as the present leader of the party of agitation. He recently issued a circular on behalf of the "Swadesh Bandhab Samiti" calling on its adherents to devote themselves with renewed vigour to Swadeshi and boycott and to support the "Barisal Hitaishi" newspaper.

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6. He also joined with Babu Kali Prasana Ghosh in promoting the last Rakhi Bandhan celebrations, Babu Satish Chandra Mukerji made speeches before the Ordinance, and afterwards attended a number of secret meetings at one of which he kept guard at the gate. He was one of the leaders of the rejoicing which took place at the College Boarding House in September last to commemorate the acquittal of Babu Arabinda Ghosh. On the 12th December he joined in the crowd which escorted the Editor and the printer and publisher of the "Barisal Hitaishi" to jail. He interested himself in the trial for sedition of Jadhu Gopal Dhar and he helped to organize the general College celebrations on the release of Babu Bipin Chandra Pal.

7. There were public meetings at the Raja Bahadur's Haveli in May June at which large number of the R. M. Students were present. Meetings were held on May 24th, June 7th, and June 14th. The issue of the Barisal Hitaishi of May 11th published a list of subscriptions realised for the establishment of a National School. The list appears over the name of Satish Chandra Chatarji.

8. In the Hitaishi of June 15th 1908 it is stated that Rs. 550/- was received by 300 families from the Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti on account of the additional police tax. The paragraph goes on to state that Satish Chandra Mukharji and Tarani Kanta Sen (both of the B. M. Institution) had been at Uzirpore and had composed certain difference. From other sources it is known that a meeting was held at which methods of distribution were discussed. It was further reported that several people paid up the tax after receipt of the money.

9. On the 24th June a warning Post Card was sent to Nilratan Thakur saying he would be boycotted if he allowed one Bhuban Mohan Das Gupta (described as a traitor to the country) to live in his compound. The Post Card is signed secretary to the Bandhab Samiti e.g., Satish Chandra Chatarji.

10. Early in June Satish Chandra Mukharji was collecting funds for the defence of Arabinda Ghosh and among others Pratapananda Bhattacharji and clerk in the steamer office was asked for a subscription for the purpose.

11. On the 19th July Satish Chandra Chatarji with Surendra Chandra Ghosh a student of the B.A. Class of the College was at Jhalakati. He attempted with a teacher of the Jhalakati School to hold a meeting in the compound of the Bhuikailash Wards Estate Kutcherry but the Tehsildar objected. In the end the gathering had

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to be ordered to be dispersed under section 127 C.P.C. by the Police Sub Inspector of Jhalakati. With shouts of Bande Mataram the party moved elsewhere and here Satish Babu delivered an address exhorting them not to use British goods. He also uttered threats against the landlord of the Bhuikailash Kutcherry and told the audience they must so conduct themselves that the landlord would be compelled to grant them the right.

12. On the 2nd of August Aswini Kumar Dutt presided at a public meeting at which a resolution of sorrow and sympathy with Tilak was passed. An objectionable speech was made by him. He was supported by Satish Chandra Chatarji, Bhabaranjan Mazumdar and other B. M. teachers.

13. The Barisal District Conference for 1908 was held on the 17th and 18th August in the Raja Bahadur's Haveli. Arrangements were made under the direct supervision of Aswini Kumar Dutt who on more than one occasion visited the spot with Satish Chandra Chatarji, Bhabaranjan Mazumdar and others masters of the B. M. Institution.

14. On the 15th the Conference was presided over by Aswini Kumar Dutt. After he had been elected Satish Chandra Chatarji read the report of the Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti. *Inter alia* the report said that the Samiti is a parent institution with 159 Branch Samities, one of the professed object of which is boycott. It was stated that these branches held 300 sittings during the year and that about 80 persons were actually punished by them for using foreign goods. The report further expressed sympathy with Durga Mohan Sen who is undergoing imprisonment on account of a seditious article that had appeared in the Barisal Hitaishi of which he was the editor and with which Aswini Babu is connected. The report also contained improper references to Government Officers. The character of the Samiti may be judged by the following remarks made by the Vice-president Upendra Nath Sen. The Swadesh Bandhab Samiti was started by Barisal and has given the impetus to the agitation. Barisal has become one of the first places in India as far as Swadeshi politics are concerned. The reason for this is education and the B.M. Institution has imparted education for almost the last 5 years. Aswini Kumar Dutt who is also the President of the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, then delivered the inaugural speech.

15. The proceedings of the 2nd May (18th) consisted of a series of Resolutions. These included two exhorting the practice and

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continuance of boycott, and another moved by Satish Chandra Chatarji expressing sympathy with Tilak Leakat Hussain Upendra Dutt and Durga Mohan Sen, Brahma Bandhab Upadhya and Chidambram Pillay who had been convicted for sedition. At the close the President urged the audience not to give up the Swadeshi movements stating that he had done his duties in this respect. Amongst those present at the Conference were 13 Prof. and teachers of the Brojo Mohan Institution and a very large number of the students of the Institutions.

16. At a further meeting held in the Raja Bahadur's Haveli on the 19th of August Satish Chandra Chatarji, Professor B. M. College was one of the teachers. Several B. M. Boys were present. Some of those present gave an exhibition of lathi play whilst two played with big knives.

17. On the 23rd of August Satish Chandra Chatarji visited Jhalakati in connection with the proposals to convert the Jhalakati School into a National Institution; and on that and the following days he helped to collect subscriptions for this purpose. He also delivered speeches.

18. On the 27th September Satish Chandra Chatarji broke his journey to Calcutta at Jhalakati. He was there met by Rajani Kanta Chatarji a master of the local school with regard to whom the University has decided that unless he is dismissed recognition of the school will be discontinued. These two attempted to realise subscription for political causes.

19. The teachers and boys both of the School and College took a prominent part in the preparation for the carrying out of the celebrations of the anniversary of the partition day.

20. On the 16th the proceedings opened with a meeting at 8 A.M. at Raja Bahadur's Haveli in which Satish Chandra Chatarji and a large number of students of the school and the college took part by having rakhis tied. After the meeting Satish Chandra Chatarji and some students went round the town tying rakhis on the arms of those persons whom they met. Kamini Kumar Bidyaratna, Sanskrit Professor of the College was among those wearing the rakhi. In the afternoon Satish Chandra Chatarji and several students of the Institution took part in a procession through the town to the Raja Bahadur's Haveli where a second meeting was held. Among the remarks made by the speakers were the following :—

"It is impossible to have favour from a shopkeeper king (Bene Raja). The red colour of the rakhis assumed this year" represented

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the drops of blood in human lives to be shed for the country either in the field of action or on the gallows. "The speaker added "no country could be made independent without bloodshed". Rajani Kanta Guha Principal of the B. M. Institution was present at the meeting.

21. On or about October 21st Satish Chandra Chatarji went to Amrajuri and realized about Rs. 30/- a subscription towards payment of the fine of Durga Mohan Sen.

The case of Babu Satish Chandra Chatarji depends on the two facts that he is the organizing Secretary of the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, he is reported to have resigned this post but immediately afterwards he is found performing the Secretary's functions and reading the annual report at a convention of the samiti and generally his activity has increased rather than decreased since his alleged resignation and that he is the most prominent and the most active amongst the Professors of the Braja Mohan Institution and has throughout been the ablest and most efficient Lieutenant of Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt in the systematic use of the machinery of that College to bring up young men in a spirit of hatred of the British and of determined opposition into the existing Government. The peculiarly dangerous condition of the Bakarganj district is well known to the Government of India. During the past eighteen months it has been found necessary to station Military police permanently at the headquarters, to increase the armed civil police reserve from 50 to 100, to station additional police at the cost of the inhabitants at three different centres of the district, to reinforce the executive staff almost to the extent of doubling it expressly on the ground of the constant vigilance required and the responsibility of the officers owing to the dangerous form which the political agitation has assumed. At one time measures had to be taken to prevent the occupation of the district by hundreds of young men armed with lathis thoroughly organized and controlled only by their leaders (this latter place is Jhalakati to which Satish Chandra Chatarji has paid more attention than to any other place in the district except to the district headquarters, which he has constantly visited and where he has constantly delivered speeches and addressed meetings and used all his arts to inflame the anti-British feeling and the tendency to terrorism of the local agitators who are already of a dangerous class). Lastly for some weeks past the district has been groaning under a system of visits by young men professing to be representatives of the boycott movement to the principal bazars and markets, these visits being frequently followed by threatening notices denouncing those who deal in foreign goods and

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warning them that their shops will be set on fire. Such has actually been the result in the case of the Goila Bazar and the fact that similar incendiary fires have occurred at markets in the adjoining districts of Faridpur is well known in Bakarganj and completes the terror of the shopkeepers.

All this lawlessness and seditious agitation is practically the work of a single political organization known as the Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti. This society has two headquarters, one at 62 Harrison Road, Calcutta and the other at Barisal. Of this former Babu Lalit Kumar Das Professor of the City College Calcutta is the Secretary (It will be remembered that this person last year conducted an inspection of the Goila Bazaar and that the repent fire at the place was preceded at a brief interval by the appearance in the "Barisal Hitaishi" of a letter from him complaining if its backsliding in the matter of the boycott of foreign goods) Of the branch at Barisal Satish Chandra Chatarji as the life and should and his paramount influence has been more and more asserting itself as Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt the original founder and president of the organization has withdrawn himself from the overt headship. At a recent meeting he claimed publicity that association had 159 branches in the district of Bakarganj.

In July 1907 this Government recommended that Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt should be placed in confinement. Since then the organization which he had founded and by which he carried out his work has become more and not less pernicious and the active head is a younger and physically more vigorous man. The reasons therefore which led Government to make such a recommendation 18 months ago are still in full effect and it is merely the personality with reference to whom the recommendation is changed. It should not be forgotten that early in 1907 the preaching of the Bandhab Samiti against the export of rice from the district led in one instance (at Uzirpur) to the stoning to death of a boatman who was bringing a boatful of paddy past that village and it is very significant that during 1906 in several instances grain boats were robbed in the neighbourhood of Jhalakati by parties of men in boats who shouted Bande Mataram.

The methods by which he conducts the work of organization are mainly as follows :—

1. Inflammatory speeches and public meetings.
2. Constant touring to foster the local boycott
3. The organization through the agents of the samiti of local branches and their co-relation with the headquarters at Barisal.

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4. The training of youths in dissatisfaction with the present orders and in the hatred of the British Government.
5. The organization of terrorism of persons who make themselves obnoxious to the agitators and who refrain from obeying their behests to abandon the sale or use of Europeans goods.

The note enclosed shows the extraordinary activity of this person in conducting his operations and it will be noticed that his absence from headquarters has been increasingly frequent during the past few months. During the period in which the Regulation of Meetings Ordinance and subsequently the Seditious Meetings Act were in force in the district of Bakarganj it was noticed that Babu Satish Chandra Chatarji was almost invariably attending the secret meetings at which the plans of the agitators were developed and in which the authorities of the Braja Mohan Institution were promoters.

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Eastern Bengal and Assam Police Office

SPECIAL BRANCH

Subject

History Sheet

Pulin Behari Das

File No. 706 of 1909

Remarks

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PULIN BEHARI DAS

Pulin Behari Das of the Anushilan Samiti, Dacca, and Captain General of the National Volunteers, is a son of Naba Kumar Das of Lonesingh, P.S. Palong, Faridpur. He has some landed property in Sabhanpur, in Chandpur Sub-division of Tippera District. His age is 36 and he was educated at Lonesing and the Dacca College, where he has read up to the B.A. standard.

The following relatives are or were Government servants :—

1. Uncle : Suryya Kumar Das — Deputy Magistrate.
2. Cousin : Lal Behari Das — E.A.C. Sunamganj. Lal Behari's further the late Pran Kumar Das was a P.A. to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, and his grandfather, the late Rai Abhay Charan Das Bahadur, was P.A. to the Commissioner of Dacca. An uncle, the late Lalit Kumar Das was Deputy Magistrate, Dacca.
3. Cousin : Chandra Kumar Das — Retired clerk.
4. Uncle : Akhay Kumar Das — is a Munsiff.

2. Pulin's importance begins from September 1906, when Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. P. Mitter came to Dacca and held meetings. Mr. Mitter asked those who were willing to sacrifice them selves for the country to come forward. Eighty persons stood forth including the following :—

   1. Pulin Behari Das.
   2. Birendra Chandra Bose, S.O. Pleader Rajani Bose, and an accused in the Janmastami stabbing case.
   3. Nripendra Chakrabarty son of Pleader Sashi Chakrabarty, an accused in the Janmastami Stabbing case and at present an absconder in the Barrah Dacoity Case.
   4. Suresh Chandra Pal of Chitrakote, Munsiganj – a prominent member of the Samiti there and subscriber to the "Gaelic American".
   5. Narendra Datta of Chakda, Faridpur – still a very active member of the Anushilan.
   6. Satala Kanta Banerji, brother of Pleader Suryya Kumar Banerji – an extremist.

An oath was administered by Mr. P. Mitter himself, and it is said that these two extremists were the means of founding twenty secret societies in Dacca.

3. Pulin is now the head of the whole Anushilan Samiti Organisation, which extends throughout Eastern Bengal and Sylhet and to

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Western Bengal. He lives generally in the Central Samiti as it is called, at South Maisundi, Dacca. There are numerous documents to show that the most important principle of the Anushilan Organisation is absolute obedience and subordination in various grades, under a supreme leader – namely Pulin Behari Das. Printed and written documents prove this and in particular the following may be quoted from an essay in Pulin's own handwriting. The subject is "The total surrender of one's personal independence in the hands of a leader". It is argued that even under the so-called "popular" governments of America, the real power is in the hands of a few leaders. The secret of Japan's success was the placing by the people of all power in the hands of the King. On the other hand, in Russia, mischief rather than good has been done to the nation as a whole by the Nihilist party – apparently through their lack of unity". "The democratic principle cannot hold good in matters relating to the army, because in these affairs speediness is the secret of success. The proper time for work passes by and the whole thing falls to the ground if the consent of every one has to be taken". The same lesson of unquestioning obedience is taught in the "Paridarshak" – the longest and most important exposition of the Anushilan's organisation, of which we possess five copies, one in Pulin's handwriting. The special vow which every member is required to take upon a "Kali Murti" is the following :— "I will not be bound by any tie for my father, mother, relatives, kinsman, friends, and home, until the object of this samiti is fulfilled". A document found consists of this vow with the signature of fifteen youths below it, their ages ranging from 22 to 9, mostly below 15. The object of this samiti is nowhere stated explicitly. One boy who had taken the vow said the object was explained is him as the "Salvation of India". The "Paridarshak" is more precise in the statement "it is impossible thoroughly to eschew foreign articles unless the foreign people and the foreign King are first driven out". Unless this – the overthrow of British Rule – be the ultimate object of the Samiti organisation there is no weaning in the ascetic training, the labouriously practised lathi, dagger and sword play, boxing and jujitsu, the military training, the mock fights and competitions. Apart from direct evidence which may be forthcoming, there is strong corroboration of this view in the seditious books, letters and documents found in the Samiti; and apart from any direct connection with the Calcutta anarchists which may be proved later, there is ample evidence that they are all regarded as martyrs.

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It is clear then that the Anushilan is an extremely well-organised, revolutionary society, of which Pulin is the head, with dictatorial powers. From this it follows that the history of the Anushilan is the real history of Pulin and I have therefore gone somewhat into detail regarding it. I believe the society was intended to work very secretly and quietly, without any collision with the authorities, until the deeply laid plans were fully matured. Generally speaking, the commission of the crime appears to have been the work of insubordinate members in moments of excitement. There have however, been deliberately planned crimes particularly the dacoities. The latter were probably suggested in the first instance by agents of the Jugantar. The Anushilan however took up the idea with enthusiasm; funds would be replenished; real military experience gained; and with little danger from the public afterwards; they would approve the deed and any who disapproved could be coerced into silence.

The Samiti is also now willing that the public should know its aims and objects and rely on the dacoities because the impression of the power which it yields and of the comparative impotence of Government. I shall now resume the personal history of Pulin, with the remark that I consider it of less importance than his history as head of the Anushilan.

4. Pulin is himself an expert in lahti, sword and dagger play, in all of which he was trained by Murtaza of Calcutta. He holds regular classes for instruction in these arts, himself inspects the lathi play of Mufossil samitis sends out trained volunteers to instruct members of muffossil samitis, and organises mock fights and competitions in which medals and prizes are given.

It is reported that he instructs volunteers in archery and has discovered the formula for a deadly poison to be applied to arrow heads.

(i) In July 1907 Pulin was present at a mock fight at Genderia in which about 250 volunteers were engaged. There were the usual shouts of "Hara Hara, Bom, Bom," and "Bande Mataram". About 500 spectators were present including some pleaders. Pulin himself acted as bugler.

(ii) In July 1907 Pulin organised a secret meeting of 300 volunteers in the premises of the National School when the necessity of lathi play was urged.

(iii) In April 1908, Pulin visited Manchganj to celebrate the first anniversary of the local branch of the Anushilan, which was founded by him. The celebrations lasted for four days and there were two mock fights. There were about 500 combatants

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equally divided into two opposing forces, representing the Swadeshi and British forces respectively. The Mahratta war cry was raised and there were also shouts of "Bharat Mata Ki Jai" and "Mantrer Sadhan Kinba Sarir Patan".

(iv) In May 1908, Pulin visited Noakhali to establish a branch of the samiti in the town.

(v) In July 1908, Pulin visited Tangail, Mymensingh and was received with the usual shouts of "Bande Mataram" by the students of the "Bindubasini and Union School". The Samiti was inspected, there was formal worship with sacrifice of two goats at the Kalibari, Pulin lectured on Swadeshi and encouraged boycott. There was an assault of arms next day attended by about 400 persons. Pulin took with him two up-country lathi experts. Since this date of the visit of Pulin the force of the extremist agitation in the mofussil has greatly increased and the Sub–Divisional Officer reports that a state of terrorism prevails.

(vi) In August there was a series of competitions and a mock fight organised by Pulin at Dacca, to which volunteers attended from districts throughout East Bengal. Pulin judged the competitions and money prizes were given. The mock fight was between a mufossil party of which Pulin was Captain and a town partly captained by Surendra Nath Nag and Upendra Nath Nag of Barodi, Narainganj. About 500 volunteers took part in the fight, of whom 139 received prizes. In the various competitions 147 boys won prizes. This festival extended over a week.

(vii) In September, early one morning Pulin with Asutosh Gupta (known as bugler) and 4 or 5 youths left Dacca in great haste in a boat which has just come from Kolwa bazar, Munshiganj, and which the majhi said, was ordered to go back there. Pulin and Asutosh had changed their appearance by shaving off beard and moustache and were seen coming out of Pleader Lalit Mohan Ray's house, Asutosh carrying a big bundle. A telegram was sent to Munshiganj and enquiry showed that no boat from Dacca ever came to Kalwa bazar that day.

5. Pulin with five members of the samiti have been convicted in case No. 27 of November 1907. He was sentenced under S. 160 I.P.C. – affray – to 3 weeks R.I. and to pay a fine of Rs. 15/-. They were also bound down under S. 106 C.P.C. in two sureties of Rs. 250/- each to keep the peace for two years. The case arose out of a fight between

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members of Pulin's akhara and some Muhammadan regarding a calf. Mr. P. Mitter defended. On appeal the conviction was upheld, but with the sentence of Rs. 15/- fine only. The order under S. 106 C.P.C. was also set aside. The Public Prosecutor was of opinion that a clear case of rioting was made out. Certainly it must be granted that the Magistrate's order was illogical; if the accused only committed affray it was unreasonable to bind him down for 2 years; if binding him down was necessary then his offer was more serious than an affray. This is the only conviction standing against Pulin. Next for mention are the series of dacoity and violent crimes which are characteristic of the development of the anarchist societies during the current year. Foremost among these are :— (1) The Barrah Dacoity; (2) The Narial Dacoity; (3) The murder of Manasha Chakrabarty.

(1) **The Barrah Dacoity** : Seven prominent members of the Samiti, Sashi Kanta Sarkar, Amrit Hazra, Moti Lal Sen, Nirpendra Chakrabarty, Lal Mohan De and Rajendra Datta are on the strongest grounds actual accused in the case and all are absconding since the date of the crime. Rajendra Datta, an expert lathi player, was seen after the dacoity with a wound in his hand and then absconded. The dacoits' boat was received by the people of Dhamrai with shouts of Bande Mataram. Friendly talk took place. Dhamrai has a strong branch of the Anushilan, and is the home of Nikhleswar Rai, Jagjiban Rai and a person called Moti, whose letter exults in Mr. Allen's approaching death. A printed leaflet of the Anushilan was dropped here, and at another place a manuscript book of swadeshi songs which had been proved to belong to Lal Mohan De, another member of the samiti who lived in Pulin's akhara and is now absconding. At Asulia the rendezvous of the dacoits both before and after the crime, Lalit Kanta Sarkar, brother of Sashi and Kali Narayan, Sashi's uncle terrorised the villagers against giving evidence and in connection with the disposal of the dacoit's boat a witness of Brajo Nath Mandel deposes that "Lalit told us that Pulin Babu of Dacca had paid Rs. 300/- for having the boat removed".

(2) **The Narial Dacoity** : In Rajabari Outpost, Munshiganj, there are at villages Nitira, Baherak, Beharpara, Dighirpar and Rajabari flourishing branches of the Anushilan Samiti with many trained volunteeers and it can be proved that Pulin frequently visited those samitis. The dacoits' boat was found

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at Mitra Chur near Rajabari, and among many other papers and articles found fragments of a large printed form for recording village notes as laid down in the "Paridarshak" also parts of a printed notice issued by Pulin. Numerous counterparts of these papers have been found in Pulin's samiti. Further evidence of Pulin's connection has not been obtained; but upon this evidence alone it is safe to conclude that the dacoity was organised by members of the Anushilan, and considering Pulin's undoubted power and authority such a large undertaking as a dacoity must have received his sanction and approval.

(3) The Malda Dacoity and the more recent Kushtia case are probably to be attributed to the same origin.

(4) The murder of Monasha Chakrabarty : On November 4th a definite charge of kidnapping was laid against Pulin. This was the first formal complaint. Not less than a dozen cases, however, of minors or very young boys being enticed from home had previously come to my notice. More fortunate parents had rescued their children by force and stratagem; in other cases the boys were kept in concealment and false stories told by Pulin himself to put parents off the scent. Quondam supporters of Pulin and his samiti like Pleaders Ananda Ray and Ananda Chakrabarty were appealed to by parents, but their messages to Pulin were ignored. This new policy of the samiti aroused the bitterest feeling in the district together with the dacoity development, has or is believed effected a severance between Pulin and those men of position who once supported him. Prompt action was taken upon the first clear case of enticement which presented itself. Pulin and 27 members of his samiti were arrested. The particular minor was found and five others. Pulin was detained in hajat and the other released late at night on bail. The same night however certain of these proceeded to the homes of the various minors and with the dreaded power of the samiti, told the parents and guardians what they should do. Police enquiries proceeded, and a boy Sukumar Chakrabarty *alias* Manasha, who had been named as the local agent who enticed the minor, was examined at his home in Srinagar on November 10th. Papers connecting him with the Anushilan were found in his house and entries in registers subsequently found in the samiti building at Dacca prove conclusively that Manasha had been a short while before

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a resident member of the samiti. He was released on bail to appear before me or November 12th at Dacca. He did not appear and on the afternoon of the 13th his shockingly mutilated body and the severed head were found in a jungle place N. of the town. The body was identified not only by his relatives, but also by the Police officer who recorded that the words "Sukumar" and "Jiban Pradip" were tattooed on his arms. The latter was his samiti name and found in the records. In connection with this case the samiti was .... 15th and practically everything removed. During the search it was discovered that a large number of clothes had been sent to the dhobi on the 13th and a search of the dhobi house resulted in the seizure of a coat belonging to the samiti containing in the pockets some extremely seditious papers and a false moustache. One paper contains three bloodthirsty battle-songs, inciting to court death like Profulla and the heroes of the mutiny in the service of Mother India. Three marks on this paper have the appearance of blood stains. An enquiry at the jail elicited the information that Pulin had been visited before the murder and on the morning of the 13th by 5 or 6 youths among whom on the second occasion, Jotermoy Roy *alias* Benga was recognised. Jotermoy Ray was convicted in the Janmastami stabbing case and was sentenced to 8 months R.I. He had been found in the samiti and arrested with Pulin on Nov. 4th. Manasa had left the samiti before this occurrence and when it was known that he was to appear before me there was some reason for believing that he would turn an informer. Hence he shared Narendra's fate. The circumstantial evidence against the samiti is very strong and as in the dacoity case it is a most reasonable presumption that the action of the samiti required and received Pulin's consent.

8. The enticement of minors and young boys.

Little need be said in addition to the summary statement given above, and the mention of the document in para : 3. A postcard written and signed by Pulin and addressed to Sarada Charan Chakrabarty of Rantbhog Munshiganj was found with Nripendra Nath Bannerji and handed over to the Sub-Divisional officer by Upendra's brother a Mukhtar. A case under S. 506 was instituted against Sarada who absconded, but the case will fail for Upendra now will not support his original statement. This Sarada was instrumental in enticing from home

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a minor name Ganga Charan Datta, the son of a cultivator. The writing of Pulin's postcard is "For such as are willing to sacrifice their lives for the samiti, food and clothing are provided. Suitable education is also provided for them by the samiti; but if any have also to study at a school, there is no provision of food and clothing for them. If you give up the idea to schooling and sever yourself from all worldly affairs and are ready to do the work of the samiti, then you can come to the samiti. Give my love to all our members...." It is obvious that the terms of this letter offer the strongest inducement to poor parents to send their children to the samiti. Ganga Charan Datta, whose age is not over 13, had been a month in the samiti when he was removed under my orders on Nov. 4th. His father next evening hearing the boy's lying statements and seeing his defiant air remarked that a months' training in the samiti had deprived his son of his senses and made him a blackguard. It is also clear that this policy of catching boys very young has been deliberately adopted by Pulin as an admirable means to his ultimate object. It is reported that one of Pulin's lieutenants, Fatik Chadra De, is specially in charge of the "Recruiting Department". In this connection it may be noted that whereas a year or more ago only bhadralok youths became volunteers, now large and increasing numbers of low class Hindus also join the Samitis.

9. Pulin's connection with prominent agitators.

Pulin is a member of the Executive Committee of the "All India Volunteer League" of which Mr. Tilak was the President. Pulin is said to have been in direct communication with Mr. Tilak. After the Tinnevelly riots, Pulin was in communication with the leader of the Anushilan Samiti of Madras, evidently with the object of sending volunteers from this province to protect the Madrasis from Police oppression. Only 15 volunteers were actually sent. In July Pulin had a large gathering at his house for the purpose of organising a demonstration in sympathy with Tilak. At this time Pleaders Ananda Ray and Ananda Chakrabarty were consulted, but having disapproved of any measure, which, as they said, would only irritate Government, were reprobated as turncoats. The estrangement really began after the Barrah Dacoity in June.

10. Pulin's connection with the Calcutta anarchists.

Pulin frequently visits Calcutta and generally stays with the Anushilan Samiti, No. 49 Cornwallis St., but also with Mr. P. Mitter. At the end of Atugus Pulin went to Calcutta with 4 or 5 volunteers and Ganga Prasanna Gupta, father of Barendra and Dhirendra, both accused in the anarchist cases. Ganga Prasanna had circulated a printed appeal for funds.

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In connection with this address the following suspicious telegram was sent from Dacca shortly after Pulin's return. The receipt was found in the samiti but the original telegram reads "To Manager, Bengal Stores, 49 Cornwallis St., Calcutta. Send articles necessaries directly immediately with men. From Sen Co". The address of the sender is given as "Manager, Sen and Co;, Patnatoly, Dacca".

Information has been received that long before the Mozaffarpore outrage, Pulin and his followers imported stores of chemicals for making bombs, and that Pulin himself is an expert hand. It may be noted here that Pulin, while at Dacca college, served as Laboratory assistant. In May 1908 Brahmananda Gupta, Captain of the Kamarnagar Samiti, and one of Pulin's close associates, admitted that he had worked for some time with Barindra Ghose in learning bomb-making and said that bombs could be prepared at a few days notice, but nothing was then being done or would be done until the authorities became less vigilant.

It is reported that revolvers have been obtained and most members of the samiti possess them. It is well known that some of the more desperate characters frequently carry them about. Most definite information was received that large quantities of arms and ammunition were hidden somewhere in the neighbourhood of Gendaria. I believe this report to be correct but it has been impracticable to test it.

11. Pulin's connection with the National School.

Pulin was from the outset a teacher in the school, which used to meet in premises belonging to Bhupesh Chandra Nag. Pulin's akhara was at the time in Cemetery Road next door to the National School. In July the samiti was removed to a secluded house not far distant now called "Bajrapuri". In October Pulin had a quarrel with Bhupesh Nag about the management of the school and for this and because a notice to quit was served, the school was removed to "Bajrapuri" which now received the additional name of "Pulin's Boarding House". National School and Samiti were no and one the same thing. The School was removed after some of the searches in November to Sib Nag's house and finally to a house in Gowalnagar. The school was well supported by contributions in 1907 but local subscriptions have been discontinued and the Calcutta grant cut down by half, so that the school appears to be now in a moribund condition.

12. I have seen and talked with Pulin. He is a slightly built and wiry man about 5 feet 3 inches in height. His ears have been recently bored and only two others were found in the samiti with this peculiarity. This is supposed to be a mark distinctive of those who

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belong to the innermost circle of the society. Pulin appeared to me a man of ability but full of cunning and deceit.

13. In considering the incidents outlined in the previous paras, it must be borne in mind that the power which Pulin Behari Das is wielding through the agency of the Anushilan Samiti is becoming continually more widespread and more intense. The number of the branch samitis is continually growing and so also are their strength and organisation. This reacts on the position of the authorities for with the strengthening of the association the difficulty of securing evidence against any of its members guilty of crime becomes continually greater. On several occasions an attempt has been made to procure sufficient evidence to institute proceedings against Pulin himself or against members of his association in respect of the crimes of which they have been guilty but in every instance (except the ordinary affray for which he was convicted) the terror of the organisations has effectively prevents evidence being adduced and in many cases also the arrest of the accused. This terror has been greatly intensified by the murder of Manasha Ranjan and Nanda Lal Bannerji and Norendra Nath Gossain of Bengal. One of the results has been that the case against 6 of the 10 accused in the Barrah Dacoity case has had to be withdrawn owing to the witnesses resiling from their former statement.

The series of affrays and violent crimes of greater or less gravity with which the Anushilan Samiti has been intimately connected since the middle of 1906 are extremely significant of the dangerously criminal aspect of Pulin's association and work. Prominently among these stand out the affray at the Nangalband Mela in April 1907, the affray of a Jhulan festival in which led up to the fatal stabbing affray at the Janmastami festival in September 1907, and the affray with the Muhammadans alluded to above. Other instances are given in Mr. Allen's report on the samiti. While the last case mentioned above was under trial a conference of volunteers from different districts took place at Pulin's headquarters and within a few days of that conferences occurred the attempted assassination of Mr. Allen. The extreme difficulty of obtaining evidence in the ordinary cases has prevented us from touching the guilty though we have every reason to believe that it exists. The whole of the investigation and all reports that we have received regarding these cases tend beyond a doubt to convince us that Pulin and his organisation are the guilty parties.

Dacca, 6th Dec. 1908 Officers on Special Duty

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Eastern Bengal and Assam Police Office

SPECIAL BRANCH

Subject

History Sheet

Bhupesh Chandra Nag

File No. 706 of 1909

Remarks

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BHUPESH CHANDRA NAG

Bhupesh Chandra Nag is the second son of the late Sambhu Chandra Nag, Sub Judge. His home is in village Barodi, P.S. Narayangang where he holds landed property jointly with his brother.

In Baradi the Nag family is all powerful and this influence extends widely through surrounding villages.

Bhupesh Nag has several relatives in Govt.. service : —

Cousin	:	Purno Chandra Nag, Dy. Magistrate, Mymensingh.
Cousin	:	Syama Kanta Nag, Off. Sub Judge.
Cousin	:	Gyan Chandra Nag, Sub Judge.
Brother-in-law	:	Jogendra Chandra Ghose Deputy Magistrate
Cousin	:	Rebati Kanta Nag, Sub Judge
Cousin	:	Manindra Chandra Nag, Sub Inspector of Police—Manindra is the son of the late Sib Chandra Nag P.A. to the Commissioner Dacca. Bhupesh has passed the B.A. examination and has recently sat for the M.A. examination.

2. Since the Partition of Bengal, Bhupesh joined the agitators and showed his activity chiefly in picketing. His influence was exerted in Baradi and neighbouring villages in preventing people from purchasing foreign articles. At the Nangalband mela of 1907 it is remarkable that although the volunteers had expressly forbidden picketing three of the gang actually caught in the act of picketting were inhabtiants of Barodi and their leader was Birendra Chandra Nag a member of Bhupesh's family.

3. When the Dacca Anushilan Samiti was started, Bhupesh became a member and has continued ever since as a recognised leader. With the help of Kunja Lall Nag, M.A., principal of the National school, Bhupesh started several branches of the Anushilan in Barodi and the neighbourhood. Besides Barodi there are flourishing branches at Parram, Kansardi, and Baidya Bazaar where many low class Hindu boys are being trained in lathi play and similar exercises and are ready to carry out any order Bhupesh may issue. Nara Singha of village Sonamayi was one of the minors recently found in the Samiti. Subsequently a letter was found which throws considerable light on the working of mofussil Samitis. The letter is dated 11th October from Sobamayi and is addressed to Palin. "I am sending my brother Sriman Nara Singha. Please enroll him as a member of the circle. My cousin Mohini is also going with him. He is a member

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of my Samiti. I am sending also a thorough fool. I believe if he be properly trained he will prove particularly useful. He knows nothing about reading or writing but he is very industrious. If you think after examining him that he can be made a man, please retain him too.

Please send Sriman Hiranmoy here to me for 4 or 5 days. Please send with him some copies of the Manager's duties preliminary and final vows. I shall take the monthly subscription with me when I go.

Obediently Yours,
Guru Dayal Das.

4. Bhupesh makes regular payments for the maintenance of the central Samiti in Dacca and is a very active member of what may be called the Executive Committee of management. This Committee consists of Pulin Behari Das – Captain General, Ashutosh Das Gupta – Bugler, Bhupesh Chandra Nag, Jotirmoy Roy *alias* Benga, Akshay Kumar Datta, *alias* Loha of 74 Chaunighat.

5. Bhupesh is an expert lathi player, knows boxing and jiujitsu and he has a gymnasium fitted up in his house where he trains with Makunda Lal Das Gupta of Goila, Barisal, himself one of the most notorious Officers of the Samiti. Bhupesh also teaches jiujitsu to members of the samiti.

6. There is constant intercourse between Bhupesh Nag's house and the Samiti which used to be next door. The new premises in South Maisundi are very close. Samiti boys have been seen living in Bhupesh Nag's house or going there to consult with him. On the other hand Bhupesh Nag is a frequent visitor of the Samiti and also of recognised extremists such as Pleaders Ananda Chakravarty, Rajani Gupta and Surjyo Kanta Banarji and of Prassana Kumar Sen doctor.

7. The closeness of Bhupesh Nag's connexion with Pulin and the Anushilan may be gathered from the following notices of his in daily confidential reports :—

May : Pulin came from Faridpur via Rajbari in a boat with two young men who were living in the house of Bhupesh.

July : Mukunda Lal Das Gupta was seen in Bhupesh Nag's house. ditto There was meeting in Bhupesh Nag's house to discuss Sir Charles Bayley's speech at the Dacca College, which was severally criticised.

August : Patik Chandra Dey head of the recruiting department paid a long visit to Bhupesh Nag.

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August :	Some Samiti boys slept in his house.
do.	Abdus Salim reported that there were bombs, arms and ammuniton in his house.
ditto.	Nothing was found in the search of Bhupesh Nag's house but it was reported that if the search had been one hour earlier much would have been found. There are good grounds for believing that this is because news of the projected search had leaked out.
September :	Bhupesh was taking lessons in jiujitsu from Mukunda Lal Das Gupta and teaching Samiti boys.
October :	Bhupesh took the south Maisundi house jointly with Pulin for the accomodation for the samiti.
November :	Surendra Nath Nag the brother of Bhupesh is also an active member of the Samiti. He and Upendra Nath Nag, both of Barodi were captains of the town party in the mock fight which took place in Dacca in September.

In fact Bhupesh Nag is the most able lieutenant of Pulin Behari Das and would be the man to take on his work.

Sd. W. L. Salkeld
Officer on special duty.

Dacca,
dated 6th December 1908.

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Eastern Bengal and Assam Police Office

SPECIAL BRANCH

Subject

History Sheet

Surendra Nath Sen

File No. 706 of 1909

Remarks

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SURENDRA NATH SEN

Surendra Nath Sen is the Headmaster of the Kishoreganj national school founded in 1905 by Babu Pyari Mohan Rai in memory of his father the late Hari Mohan Rai. The school at first sought recognition from the Calcutta University but this was refused owing to the headmaster's already established character as a professional agitator and it was accordingly declared to be a national school in August 1906. Even then the Institution had been markedly associated with the violent forms of political agitation. In November 1905 some of the students assisted the proprietors of Baniagaon hat to prevent Muhammadans from selling salt there. In the case which followed the owners were bound over to keep the peace. The students also took an active part in boycotting shops where European goods were sold at the Jhulan Melas of 1905 and 1906 and in January of the latter year several of them offered insults to certain prominent Muhammadan zemindars returning from a visit to Sir Bamfylde Fuller at Maymensingh. In March 1907 two students of the school with others attacked a hackney carriage in which was a case of European spirits, broke the bottles and beat the driver. These two students were convicted of rioting and mischief and sentenced to fine and imprisonment but one of them is still a student of the school. The school was markedly associated with lathi drill and other demonstrations during the hot weather of 1907 and in October of that year the Commissioner observed "The centre of the agitation is a school master named Surendra Nath Sen who appears to be a person of some force of character and with the gift of talk which has so great an influence among Bengali Hindus. His precept and example have stirred the local pleaders and a number of small local Hindu Landholders into a fervour of seditious agitation which, I think exceeds anything that exists outside some of the work places in the Bakarganj district. The two principal pleaders and a small talukdar are the three principal tools of this Surendra Nath Sen. This handful of persons has succeeded during the past two years in causing an extraordinary amount of oppression and annoyance to persons who will not fall in with their views. They have kept the place in ferment and have done an immense amount of mischief". The boycott of the Jhulan Mela in 1907 was been done in so organized and threatening a manner that it was necessary to send large forces of police to keep the peace and to protect the property offered for sale. Ever since the school has associated itself with the extremist section, thus in July 1908 about Rs. 60/- was subscribed for the defence of Arabindo Ghose and on the 7th August (boycott anniversary) was celebrated by the teachers and

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pupils of the school and the local agitators with elaborate ceremony. Surendra Nath Sen acted as the President and led the company after bathing in the river to the Kalibari where songs were sung and then to the national school where exhibitions of lathi and sword play were given. This was followed by a meeting at the school largely attended by students where firm adherence to the boycott was advocated and the audience was told not to be downhearted at the transportation of Tilak and Pilai and the prosecution of Arabindo Ghose and others. Surendra Nath Sen's activities are by no means confined to his own district. In August he attended a political conference at Barisal and moved a Resolution advocating the establishment of national schools in the district of Bakarganj, to developing feelings of nationality and to earn an independent livelihood. It is remarked that the speech was noticeably anti-British in tone. In the same month he attended a meeting at Jasadal in the same district where he criticised the fairness of the sentences passed in the so called swadeshi prosecutions. He next attended a meeting at Jhalakati also in Bhakarganj on the 23rd August in support of boycott, swadeshi and the national school. A summary of his speech is enclosed. The next day at Basunda he delivered another speech the substance of which is appended.

On the 22nd of September the second anniversary of the school was celebrated at the proprieotor's house and was made the occasion of a political demonstration. Placards in large vernacular type exhorting the public to trample foreign goods under their feet stand on their own legs and worship the mother were exhibited at the meeting. In reading the annual report the Secretary of the students Union quoted the Bengali couplet :

> "We do not crave for heavenly bliss, nor for paradise
> "If only we obtain the treasure of independence, our
> faces will beam with glory".

A recitation then followed in which one of the characters said "The English are our rulers" and was angrily asked "Why are we under foreign rulers". To this the reply was "Have patience, it is not yet time to answer that question". Another character was called on to rise and when he said "The time is not come to rise" he was told to take courage from seeing the rise of sister countries such as Japan. Another boy then addressed the meeting on behalf of the students contrasting the administration in the times of the Indian rulers with that of the present Government which he accused of torturing and oppressing the people. These demonstrations are quoted as indicating the effect of Surendra Nath Sen's influence. He was not present himself having gone on a tour ostensibly to collect

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subscriptions for the school. The imprression left on those who were present is reported to have been that the proceedings were intended to incite the audience to resist the Government and to perform acts of violence by way of acquiring independence.

Surednra Nath Sen's speech at Jhallkati on 23rd August.

Now is the time for us to pay: if we pay now, we shall be amply repaid when the time comes for us to receive payment. There was once a time when the Japanese King and the Japanese people, the rich and the poor, had to contribute everything they had earned to the roval coffers for the sake of national advancement. But now the time having come for them to reap the reward, they are reaping its fruits for the last five years and the king and the people are equally sharing in the benefits.

Japan has achieved so much progress during the last few years that during the last Russo Japanese war, the Russians had to skulk away with their tails rolled up. The British Lion is now cajoling Japan in manifold ways.

It is needless to speak of foreign sugar, salt and piece goods. We have eschewed them forever and we shall on no account allow them to be imported into the country. But this only won't do, other foreign articles must be eschewed like salt, sugar and cloth. We shall deserve to be called true swadeshis when we shall be swadeshi at heart, in speech and in action. Mr. Buchannan, Under Secretary for State for India, has said that the Indian Government will adopt the most rigorous measures within its power to stamp out the unrest that prevails among the Indians.

Whenever we are confronted with any difficulty, we first go to the Daroga Babu, if we are disappointed in that quarter we go to the Inspector Babu, then to the Superintendent of Police, then to the Magistrates like Mr. Buller who are anxious for dinnar parties to be got up at the time of departure. Then we go to the Commissioner, then to the Lieutenant Governor, then to the Viceroy and then to Parliament where even we do not meet with any success. We remain the same deluded fools that we were. No representations of ours are ever heeded.

It is 150 years that the British Government has been administering the country. During these 150 years the English could have promoted our advancement in many ways, but they have not done this. Hence we are being compelled to work out our own salvation.

Government has enforced many stringent measures to suppress the swadeshi movement. We are not sorry for that. India is a vast country. The whole of Europe may be only a little larger in extent than India. Japan is a small Kingdom. Now that that country has even become independent and progressive, the English and the French are ascribing

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this unrest (in India) to the ambition on the part of the Indians to emulate the Japanese. We shall have to wipe off that stigma.

A national school must any how be established at Jhalakati. National schools have been established at places like Mymensingh and Sylhet, but it is a matter for regret that though there are so many self sacrificing swadeshis at Jhalakati, a national school has not been established here. I thank the patriotic inhabitants of Jhalakati most heartily for their earnestness towards establishing a national school.

Surendra Nath Sen's speech at Basanda on 24th August.

I shall only speak a few words on the lines adopted by Satis Babu in his speech. Three years ago, on the day on which the partition of Bengal was effected, i.e., on the 16th October, the 30th Aswin, Srijukta Manoranjan Guha and Srijukta Krishna Kumar Mitra, Editor of the Sanjibani, two devoted servants of the country, hired a carriage in Calcutta and went round it see how the city presented looked on that day. They drove round many places in Calcutta but did not find any shops open anywhere. Being struck at the sight the city presented, they sang the priases of God and exclaimed "what a change". It seems as if the Bengalis, through God's favour, have awakened from deep slumber and that the potent spells they were under have been snapt. From all this it appears that a change has undoubtedly come". So saying they got down from the carriage and handed over a rupee to the coachman, asking him to take ten annas (the hire) out of it for himself as his due and to return the balance of six annas to them." The coachman tried many places but could not find a single shop open where he could get change in return for the rupee. So the coachman came back to the shop where the gentlemen stood and said that not a single shop was open, that the shop-keepers had closed their shops and gone away, and that no change for the rupee could be had. At this the two gentlemen said—"Through God's grace we have imposed upon ourselves a prodigious task and it is quite probable that, through God's grace, the task will be accomplished." They then address the coachman and said "Brother ! we have been very much pleased to hear what you have said. You have given us the occasion to hear this agreeable news that "all shops are closed" and as a reward for that we give you the entire rupee. From that day we have learnt to address all men—coachmen, shoe makers, washermen, barbers, etc., as "brothers".

2. One day a student of my school, only seven year of age, said to aconstable who was guarding the Collector's office at Kishoreganj. "What can you do with your gun ? Come, fight with me. Let us see who wins". At this the sentry burst into laughter. The boy came to

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the school and narrated this to the students, the other teachers of the school, and myself. We thanked the boy most heartily for this. But, mark brothers, before this time youngman of twenty would not have dared say so. Brothers ! mark how the times have changed. Formerly men would shut the doors and windows of their houses at the sight of policemen, but such is not more the case.

3. An ordinary constable drawing a pay of Rs. 8 dares force entrance into the house of a man with an income of a lakh or 50 or 60 thousand rupees by breaking open his doors and windows and arrest him, if the former happens to be armed with a warrant to be executed against the latter. Nobody will oppose him (the constable) through fear. If we similarly set about our work with badges stamped with the mother's name on our persons, we shall also be dreaded by others and our courage will also increase. It is the chapras (the badge worn by constables) that emboldens constables. Can they of themselves be so daring? If we, at this time, through the favour of the mother, put on badges, no body will dare call our acts in question. therefoe be you all firm in your resolve, perform your own duties, impart education to boys and never seek for help from others.

4. When I used to read at College, I once came home during the holidays and found that a cocoanut tree, about one hundred years old, which had been felled to the ground by a tempest had again reared its top aloft and sent forth new shoots and born fruits which threw a shadow on the ground underneath which men might seat themselves comfortably. I then though within myself in the following strain "Oh tree you have witnessed many deeds done by my father and grandfather and have distributed fruits and shade to them but the tempest had reduced you to this miserable flight". To me it seems that (the tree of) India has similarly been levelled to the ground, by a hurricane but it has not been torn up by the roots yet. If even now the sons of India take their stand on their unity and display zeal and enthusiasm, there is no doubt that India will yet yield fruits and shade. At the present moment everything depends on our zeal and energy. I have come to the village of Basanda for begging for aid on behalf of the Matri Bhandar (funds for the motherland). These collections have been undertaken for the purpose of establishing a national school at Jhalakati. Brothers, Mothers and sisters please come forward with what you wish to contribute to the fund.

Sd. R. Nathan

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